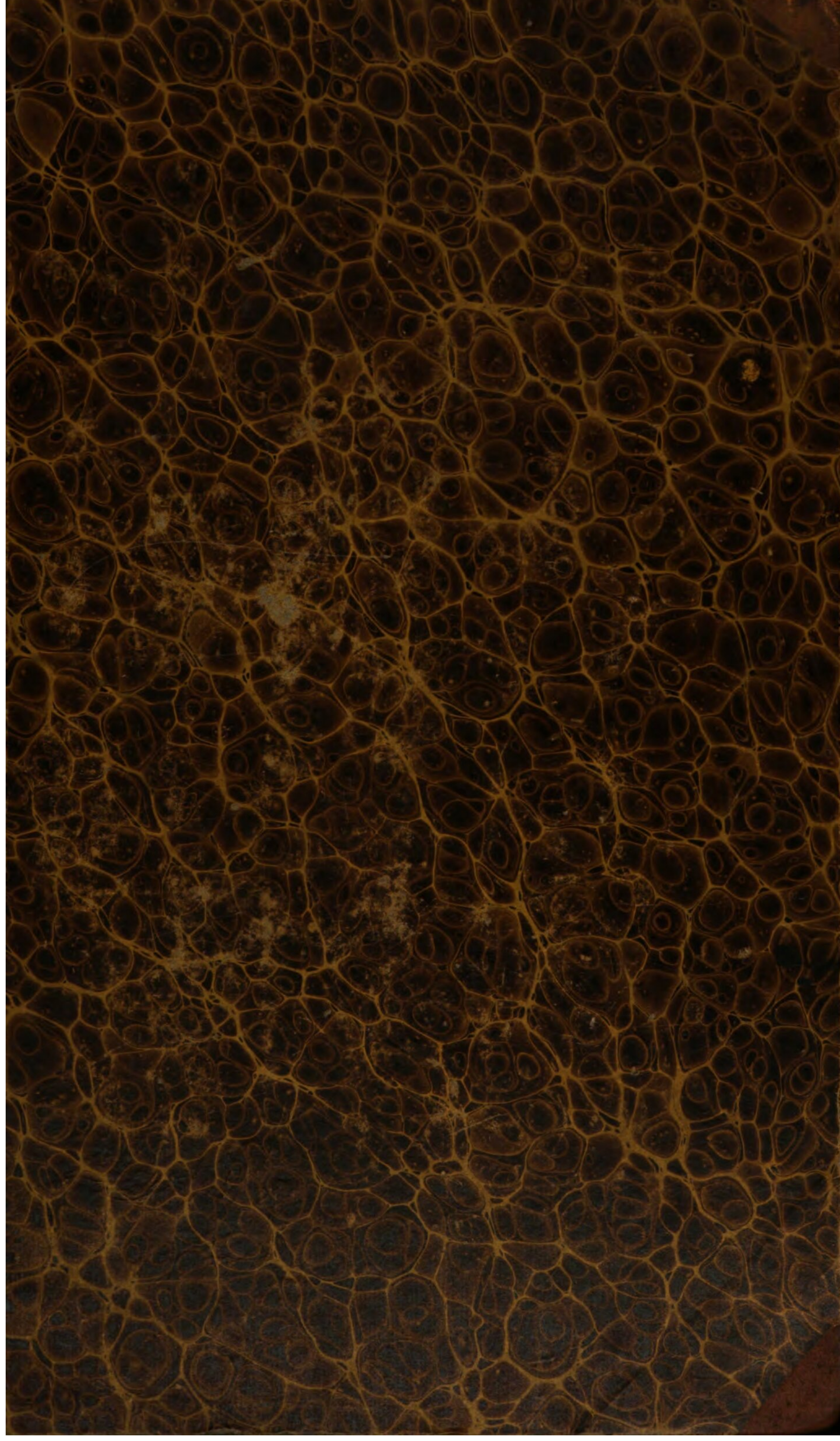
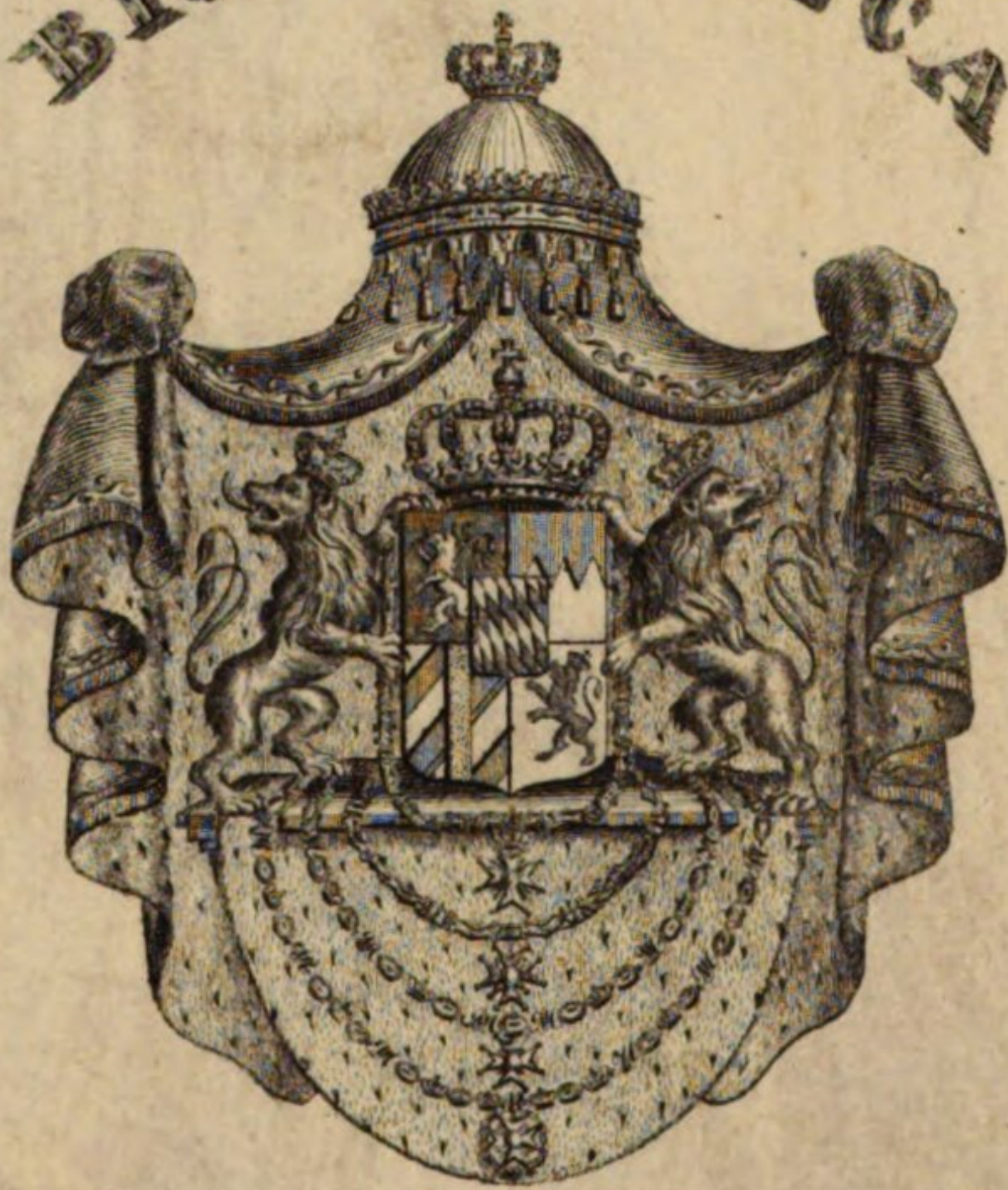




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CALEDONIA:

OR,

AN ACCOUNT,

HISTORICAL AND TOPOGRAPHIC,

OF

NORTH BRITAIN;

FROM

THE MOST ANCIENT

TO

THE PRESENT TIMES:

WITH

A DICTIONARY
OF PLACES,

GEOGRAPHICAL AND PHILOLOGICAL.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

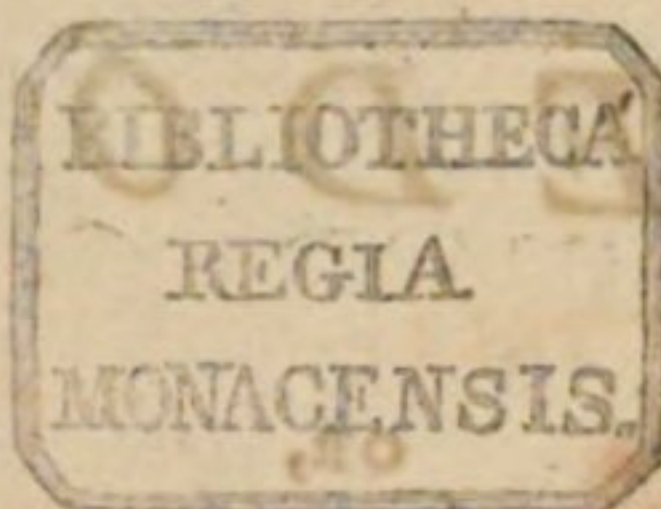
BY GEORGE CHALMERS, F.R.S. and S.A.

LONDON:

Printed for T. CADELL, and W. DAVIES, Strand; and
A. CONSTABLE and Co. at Edinburgh.

1807.

137.D.



AN ACCOUNT

HISTORICAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL

OF

NORTH BRITAIN;

FROM

THE MOST ANCIENT

ANTIQUITIES MAY BE LOOKED UPON AS THE PLANKS OF A
SHIPWRECK, WHICH INDUSTRIOUS, AND WISE MEN GATHER,
AND PRESERVE, FROM THE DELUGE OF TIME.

WITH

BACON.

A DICTIONARY
OF PLACES

GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL

IN FOUR VOLUMES

VOL. I.

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THE
P R E F A C E.

I PRESUME to lay before the Public a work, which has been the agreeable amusement of many evenings.

The earliest ages of the Scottish annals have been considered by able writers, as the wild region of pure fable; and have been fastidiously resigned, by great historians, to the vain credulity of industrious antiquaries. Yet, was I not discouraged, from persevering in the purpose, which I had long entertained, of rectifying the ancient history of North-Britain, whatever might be its fabulousness, or obscurity, or its difficulties, arising from disputes: I thought I saw "a clue to guide me through this gloomy maze:" and, I was not in the habit of being very apprehensive of "certain contentious humours, which are never to be pleased." I soon formed my plan; and began to collect my documents; knowing that, in the details of history, as well as in the distribution of justice, he who proposes what is not admitted, as incontrovertible, ought to give the best evidence, which the nature of the subject allows. I immediately perceived that, the ancient chronicles, which the critical Innes first submitted to the public, did not plunge the curious reader into the abyss of fabulous antiquity. It was, during the vehement competition for the Scottish crown, that the two nations, the one contending for superiority, and the other for independence, carried up their several pretensions to the utmost verge of "antiquary times." Those great examples were followed, by the two earliest of the Scottish chroniclers, Fordun, and Wyntown, who brought the aborigines of Scotland from Egypt, by a direct transmission, during the remotest ages. Boece, and Buchanan, who might have derived a better spirit, from the recent revival of learning, went beyond those useful chroniclers, in the grossness of their fables, and the absurdities of their theories. It was wittily remarked, by the late Lord Hailes that, "although we have been long reformed from Popery, we are not yet reformed from the fictions of Hector Boece." Lord Bacon complained, in his *Advancement of Learning*, "of the partiality, and obliquity, of the history of Scotland, in the latest, and largest author, [Buchanan], that I have seen." Yet, did the late learned author of the *Ancient Peerages* declare "the sceptical doubts of Buchanan, as entitled to more consideration, than the laborious researches of shallow antiquaries." Till the scholars of Scotland shall be reformed from such "speculative heresies," it will be scarcely possible to rectify the errors of fabulists, or to repress the dogmas of her polemicks. Of those veracious chronicles, as they have been published in the *Critical Essay* of Innes, I have made some good use: Of the fablers, who succeeded them, I have hardly made any.

By pursuing a very different track, and using quite dissimilar proofs, I have been able to ascertain the *Aborigines* of Caledonia, by evidence, which comes near to demonstration. Without appealing to doubtful authorities, I have traced the *Roman Transactions*, in North-Britain, and have illustrated the obscure histories of the Picts, and Scots, from such satisfactory documents, as convey moral certainties.

The earliest disputes, touching the Scottish history, began with the petulant attack of George Buchanan on Humphrey Llyud, for presuming to suppose the Britons to be more ancient than the Scots. But, a thousand facts, which are now stated, collaterally, attest, that Buchanan was wrong, while the Welch antiquary was right. The effluxion of a century brought very different polemicks upon the stage. Sir George Mackenzie, a scholar of various erudition, was so heroic as to come before the public, in defence of the length of the royal line of the Scottish kings against Bishop Lloyd. This heroism of the *Lord Advocate* called out that able controvertist, Bishop Stillingfleet. There are documents now introduced, for a very different purpose, which prove, with full conviction, that Sir George attempted impossibilities, while Stillingfleet only showed how much he over-rated his own knowledge. The King's Advocate was thus drawn into a dispute with the Irish antiquaries, touching the original country of the Scots. The genuine history of this Gaelic people, which, from satisfactory information, is at length submitted to the Reader, demonstrates that, the antiquaries were historically right, while the Lord Advocate was completely fabulous. This success led the Irish writers to claim the family of the Stewarts, as by descent their own. They were encountered by Richard Hay, a professed antiquary, who pointed out their errors, without being able to ascertain the truth. The genuine origin of the Stewart family will be found to be fully discovered, after the researches of learned men had altogether failed. The true descent of the Douglas family had been equally sought for by intelligent zeal, but without success, whatever diligence, and learning, were employed in the search. Their origin will be seen in the following work, as it was discovered in charters. Thus, will it appear, from the perusal of the following Account of North-Britain, that there has been scarcely a controversy in her annals, which is not therein settled, a difficulty, that is not obviated, a knot, which is not untied, or an obscurity, that is not illustrated, from documents, as new, as they are decisive, though they are introduced for different purposes. Such is the elaboration of this work; it may perhaps supply hope with expectation, that the wild controversies of the elder times may be now consigned to lasting repose.

“ The history of Scotland, saith the late *historiographer royal*, may properly be
 “ divided into four periods. The first reaches, from the origin of the monarchy to the
 “ reign of Kenneth II. The second from Kenneth's conquest of the Picts to the death
 “ of Alexander III. The third extends to the death of James V. The last from thence
 “ to the accession of James VI., to the crown of England. The first period [from 0 to
 “ 843, A. D.] is the region of pure fable, and conjecture, and ought to be totally
 “ neglected, or abandoned to the industry and credulity of antiquaries. Truth begins to
 “ dawn in the second period [from 843 A. D. to 1286,] with a light, feeble at first,
 “ but

“ but gradually increasing ; and the events which then happened may be slightly touched,
 “ but merit no particular, or laborious inquiry. In the third period [from 1286 to
 “ 1542] the history of Scotland, chiefly by means of records preserved in England,
 “ becomes more authentic ; not only are events related, but their causes and effects
 “ are explained ; and here every Scotsman should begin not to read only, but to study
 “ the history of his country. During the fourth period [from 1542 to 1603] the
 “ affairs of Scotland were so mingled with those of other countries, that its history
 “ becomes an object to foreigners.—The following history is confined to the last of
 “ these periods.” Thus far, the historiographer royal, who thus tells, in specious
 terms, what part of the annals of his country ought to be written, and what ought to
 be read.

Yet, the late Lord Hailes, when he wrote his “ Annals of Scotland from the
 “ Accession of Malcolm III.,” pushed his inquiries far into the obscure regions of the
second period, which is indicated by the royal historiographer: Nay, he even went back
 to the accession of Duncan, in 1034 A. D. ; declaring, however, “ that the history of
 “ Scotland, previous to that period, is involved in obscurity, and fable.” The critics
 of his country cried out, with alacrity, “ Thus has his lordship happily freed from
 “ fable the whole reign of Malcolm Canmore !” In this manner, then, were left a
 thousand years of *obscurity*, and *fable*, to my “ credulity, and industry, as an antiquary ;”
 to enlighten the one, and to dispel the other. Yet, I doubt, whether any writer can be
 fairly charged with credulity, who reduces his *historical topics* to *moral certainty*, or fitly
 accused of fabulousness, who ascertains his facts, by a comparison of charters with
 circumstances. *Id est certum, quod certum reddi potest* : Every thing is certain, which
 may be made certain. Buchanan did not know, who built the Roman wall, between
 the Forth, and Clyde : But, Camden, by throwing his antiquarian eyes on the lapideous
 records, which had been dug from its foundation, ascertained that curious fact. Nor, is
 there any thing more certain, in any period of the Scottish history, than the Roman
 transactions, in North-Britain, as they have been now investigated, and at length
 ascertained : In them, there are much less debate, and uncertainty, than in the history
 of Mary Stewart, and her son.

The Society of Edinburgh, for the Encouragement of Arts, Sciences, and Manufactures,
 offered, in 1756, a *gold medal*, “ for the best history of the *Roman*, and afterwards of
 “ the *Saxon* conquests, and settlements, to the north of Severus’s wall.” But, the
 scholars of Scotland remained sluggish, and silent. And, I now submit to the reader’s
 judgement a history of both those interesting events. The same Society offered a *gold*
medal, “ for the best account of the rise and progress of commerce, arts, and manu-
 factures, in North-Britain.” But, the scholars of Scotland remained inert, and uncom-
 municative of what they did not know. And, I presume to submit such an account
 of the origin of commerce, arts, and manufactures, to the curious eye of inquisitive
 men. I come, however, too late to claim *the gold medals*. And, I fear the last of that
 Society expired with the recent deaths of Sir William Pulteney, and the Earl of Roselin !
 But, I may shelter myself under the authority of the most learned, the most intelligent,
 b 2 and

and the most accomplished men, in Scotland, who offered those prizes, from the charge of folly, in treating of trifles, and from the sneer of self-sufficiency, for scribbling of events, *which merit no particular inquiry.*

I was ambitious, I will avow, to offer my countrymen the *ancient history* of Scotland, elaborated into detail, and illustrated into light; without regarding previous opinions, or fearing contentious opposition; without dreading difficulties, or apprehending disappointment. I have divided my work, without regarding fantastical conceits of fabulous epochs, into such periods, as were analogous to the genuine history of each successive people. The *Roman period*, extending from Agricola's arrival, in North-Britain, A. D. 80, to the abdication of the Roman authority, in A. D. 446, forms the first book, from its priority in time, as well as precedence in importance. In discussing this interesting subject, I was not content with previous authorities. I engaged intelligent persons to survey Roman roads, to inspect Roman stations, and to ascertain doubtful points of Roman transactions. I have thus been enabled to correct the mistakes of former writers, on those curious topics. Much perhaps cannot be added to what has been now ascertained, with respect to the engaging subject of the first book. Yes: since *Caledonia* was sent to the press, a discovery of some importance has been made: A very slight doubt remained, whether the Burghead of Moray had been a Roman station, as no Roman remains had there been found: But, this doubt has been completely solved, by the recent excavation, within its limits, of a Roman bath. The first Chapter of the following work will be found to be as much the first chapters of the annals of England, and of Ireland, as it is of Scotland. The *Pictish period* naturally succeeds the *former Book*, as it extends, from the Abdication of the Romans, in A. D. 446, to the overthrow of the Picts, in A. D. 843. It will be found to comprehend interesting events: The affairs of the Picts; the fate of the Romanized Britons; the arrival of the Anglo-Saxons on the Tweed; the adventures of the Scandinavians, in the Orkney, and Western Isles; the colonization of Argyle, by the Scots, from Ireland. It is the business of the *Pictish period*, to trace the singular history of all those people, various as they were in their lineages, throughout the different events of their obscure warfare, and the successive turns of their frequent changes: Add to those topics of peculiar interest the *introduction of christianity*, which, in every age, and in every country, has produced such memorable effects. The *Scotish period*, forming the *third Book*, and extending from A. D. 843 to 1097, will be found to comprehend historic topics of equal importance: The union of the Picts, and Scots, into one kingdom; the amalgamation of the ancient Britons of Strathclyde with both; the colonization of Galloway by the Irish; the annexation of Lothian to the Scotch kingdom; the history, both civil, and ecclesiastical, of all those people of various races, with notices of their antiquities, their languages, their learning, their laws; all these form historical matters of singular interest to rational curiosity, if they be investigated from facts, in contempt of fabulosity. The *fourth Book* contains the *Scoto-Saxon period*, which extends from A. D. 1097 to 1306, and which details many notices of varied importance. At the first, and at the second of those epochs, momentous revolutions took place, though they have passed unnoticed by the Scotch historians; and were unknown to the historiographer royal.

royal. With this period began a new dynasty of kings, who introduced new people, new manners, new usages, and new establishments. In this period, the Saxon colonization of proper Scotland was begun. In this period, was the Scotican church reformed. In it, was introduced the municipal law of North-Britain, in the place of Celtic customs. In this period, originated her agriculture, her commerce, and shipping, and fishery, her manufactures, and her coins. The beginning of this period formed the pivot, on which turned the Celtic government of ancient ages, and the Anglo-Norman polity of subsequent times. Yet, is it of a period so crowded with changes, and so varied with novelties, that the late historiographer royal says, "the events, which then happened, may be slightly touched, but merit no particular inquiry." But, I have dwelt on those revolutions, and have marked every change. By a vast detail from *the Chartularies*, in respect to the civil history, from 1097 to 1306, to the ecclesiastical annals, to law, to manners, and to domestic economy, I have tried to ascertain every interesting circumstance, and to render the national annals of that interesting period quite familiar to every reader: And, to give completeness to the whole, are added supplemental views of subsequent times, which have their details to instruct, and their curiosity to amuse: Such is the plan, which I have formed, and essayed to execute, for reforming, and ascertaining the ancient history of North-Britain, which has been so long distorted by controversy, obscured by fable, and disregarded by fastidiousness.

It is the common complaint of intelligent readers, that there is nothing *new*, in history; as the same facts are again served up, in different forms, with some interspersions of sentiment. It is very seldom, indeed, that any history contains so many new facts, new discoveries, and new documents, as the following Account of North-Britain discloses. What can be more novel, than ascertaining *the aborigines* of the country, by proofs, which are as curious in themselves, as they are decisive in their inferences. Roman camps, in North-Britain, had been already brought before the curious eye: But, it is quite new, to show their location amidst the prior forts of the Britons, for some hostile purpose. Roman roads, and Roman stations, had been before mentioned by tourists, and traced by antiquaries: But, it is altogether new, to investigate their policy; and to form the whole of the Roman transactions, in Caledonia, into a connected body of genuine history, during four interesting centuries. The Picts had been sometimes casually mentioned: But, it is quite a novelty, to give the history of the Pictish people, their lineage, their language, their antiquities: It was known from Bede, that the Picts had defeated, and slain the Northumbrian Egfrid, in the battle of Nectan's Mere: But, it is altogether new, to ascertain the true site of that consequential conflict. The genuine chronology of the Scottish kings, their civil wars, their hostilities with the Picts; the Scottish laws, and literature, are all novelties. The colonization of Scotland, by the Anglo-Saxons, Anglo-Normans, and Flemings, comprehending the origin of the Stewarts, and the descent of the Douglasses, is quite new. The history of law, during the twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, including the origin, and epoch of the *Regiam Majestatem*; the history of manners in this period; the account of agriculture, of manufactures, of trade, and of the various topicks, which are connected with them;

are entirely new. The whole volume may be regarded as a novelty, considering its arrangement, its matter, and its documents. Few histories can be found, wherein there are so many charters called for, so many records avouched, so many facts ascertained, and so many documents quoted.

Yet, this volume, which comprehends the history of so many people, during ages of darkness, does not comprehend my whole plan, for rectifying the annals, and ascertaining the antiquities of CALEDONIA. I propose to offer to the public three other volumes, successively, and soon, if my health, and spirits should continue. As the present volume has given the history of the several people, the next volume will form a DICTIONARY OF PLACES, *Choreographical* and *Philological*; for the investigation of the various languages, which have been ever spoken within that country. This volume will be immediately sent to the press. The two subsequent volumes will contain the local history of every shire, in Scotland, upon a new plan, and from the most authentic informations. The materials for all these are already collected; and they are mostly all worked up: so that there is little to prevent me from sending the whole to the printers, except that, I should certainly feel this circumstance too fatiguing, and the public might perhaps regard it, as too repulsive. We must always remember with MILTON that,

“ ————— God hath set

“ Labour and rest, as day and night, to men,

“ Successive. —————

I will conclude, with a passage, from honest Verstegan's *Restitution of decayed intelligence*, 1605. “Abeit it may seeme unto some a rash, and unadvised attempt, that after so many the great, and woorthy labors of our learned antiquaries, a new work, under the name of [CALEDONIA] should now be presented unto publyke view; yet, when it shall have pleased the courteous reader to have considered of the contents of the chapters, I trust he will see, that the ensuing matter will be answerable to the foregoing title; much of it being so extraordinary, and unwonted, that perhaps not any (especially of our nation) hath thereof written before. I know, I have herein made myself subject unto a world of judges, and am lykest to receive most controlement of such, as are least able to sentence me. Well I wot, that the works of no writers have appeared to the world, in a more curious age than this; and that, therefore, the more circumspection, and warynesse are required, in the publishing of any thing, that must endure so many sharpe sights, and censures: the consideration whereof, as it hath made me the most heedy not to displease any, so hath it given me the less hope of pleasing all.” After so long a preface, I will beg leave to add only four words:

“ FACILIUS CARPERE

“ QUAM IMITARI.”

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P. S. This Work is illustrated with a *British Roman Map of Caledonia*; with a Plan of the Roman Camps at Normandykes, which is quite new to the curious Reader; with a Plan of the Roman Fort, at Clattering-bridge, that is also new; with Sketches of the Roman *Tuessis* on the Spey; of the Roman *Varis*; and of the British hill-fort, on *Barrabill*; all which are now submitted to the Public, for the first time.

AN
ACCOUNT
OF
NORTH-BRITAIN.

BOOK I.

THE ROMAN PERIOD. A. D. 80—446.

CHAP. I.

Of the Aborigines of North-Britain.

THE first Book naturally extends from the colonization of North-Britain to the abdication of the Roman government. It will be found to contain many matters of great importance. The investigation, with regard to the *Aborigines*, is not only curious in itself, but will comprehend, in its progress, sketches of the peopling of Europe, of the history of the Celts, and of the origin of the Goths; topics these, which are intimately connected with that investigation, either by original analogy, or by subsequent opinions. When it shall be made apparent, by the most satisfactory evidence, who those *Aborigines* were, every inquiry must cease, concerning the first settlers of North-Britain. The reader, when every tribe, who inhabited that country, during the first century of our common era, shall be exhibited before his curious eyes, must read with more satisfaction, and intelligence, the account of their struggles, in defence of their original land against their powerful invaders. The campaigns of Agricola, the transactions of Urbicus, the conflicts of Severus, the treaty of Caracalla, in four divisions, will conduct the diligent inquirer

about the affairs of the Romans, in North-Britain, through the Roman period, from the arrival of the Romans, in A. D. 80, to their abdication in 446 A. D. The Picts first, and the Scots afterwards, will merely appear, in the dawn of their obscure histories, when they were scarcely known to classic authors, under those celebrated names. It is the common complaint of well-informed readers, that there is nothing novel in history. It must be the business of this first period of the North-British annals, to introduce new notices, and to inculcate uncommon truths; to spread out before the inquisitive eye the geographical position of the Aboriginal tribes, with their natural antiquities, as they are evidenced by remains; and to settle on immoveable foundations the itineraries, the roads, and stations of the Romans, while their empire was at its greatest extent, in North-Britain; illustrating the obscurity of their relicks; and explaining the objects of their policy: Yet, must all those topicks be introduced to the attention of the more judicious reader, by retrospections to the pristine ages, and by sketches of the first movements of the most illustrious nations.

In the history of every people, *the dispersion* of the human race ought to be considered as the earliest epoch. To that event, the various tribes owe their discrimination, and their origin (*a*). Then, it was, “that mankind were divided in the earth, after the flood, after their tongues, in their countries, and in their nations.” (*b*). Chronology has fixed the epoch of the *dispersion* seventeen hundred and fifty-seven years after *the creation*, and two thousand two hundred and forty-seven years before the birth of Christ (*c*). When the mind contemplates those dates, it becomes familiarized with the most distant objects, by the steadiness of its own views; and it gains fresh energy, while it makes the most difficult inquiries, by the constant exercise of its own powers.

The chief place of our regard, as the preserver of *the Patriarch*, and as the refuge of his issue, is *Asia*, the fairest quarter of the earth, where the sun of

(*a*) Bryant's Myth. 3 v. 95.

(*b*) Genesis, ch. 10. *The Scriptures*, says Sir William Jones, after all his researches, contain, independently of a divine origin, more true sublimity, more important history, and finer strains of eloquence, than could be collected, within the same compass, from all other books, that were ever composed. Asiatic Researches, v. iii. p. 15, 16. The President Goguet had already expressed a similar opinion on this interesting topick. There is nothing certain, he says, with regard to the early annals of mankind, but in *the Scriptures*. Moses, he adds, is the only guide, in the first peopling of countries. De L'Origine des Loix, &c. Liv. 1. art. v.

(*c*) Moore's Chron. Tables, 1593, p. 3; Helvicus Chron. Hist. p. 4; Usher's Chron. Geneva Ed. p. 5; Raleigh's Hist. World, 1614, p. 132; Goguet's L'Orig. des Loix, tom. 1. Table Chronologique; Well's Hist. Geog. v. i. p. 378.

science first rose, and the arts of society were originally cultivated. On this scene mankind began to multiply, and early commenced their career. The most fruitful soil enabled the children of men to increase; and a climate, the most pure, called forth the energies of the human genius. In the progress of settlement, and in the pursuits of ambition, empires successively arose; flourished for their several periods; and, from domestic weakness, or from foreign invasion, sunk into non-existence. While conquest, by extension, enfeebled the influence of her own success, the genius of commerce, at length, raised up the Phenician people, who, cultivating the arts of peace, accumulated wealth, by their practice of every art, with characteristick perseverance. As the parent, and the instructor of nations, Asia will always appear, in the pages of history, venerable for her antiquities, and respectable for her knowledge (*d*).

From Asia, meanwhile, went out the colonists, who were destined to settle Africa, to plant America, and to people Europe. If Asia were, indeed, the nursery of mankind, every other quarter of the globe must, necessarily, have been colonized by the superabundance of her populousness.

It is demonstrable, that the west was peopled from the east; allowing the Hellespont to be the meridian. The track of colonization cannot be precisely ascertained: but, it is certain, that Ion, the son of Japhet, with his children, found a temporary abode, after a short period of migration, near the shore of the narrow strait, which separates Asia from Europe (*e*). During the agitations of mankind, their pursuits are not to be stopped by any barrier. The curiosity, which is natural to man, the restlessness, that is incident to colonists, urged the posterity of *the Patriarch* to cross the Hellespont in such vessels, as necessity would direct, and ingenuity provide (*f*). In this manner, did the children of Ion pass into Europe, during a very remote age (*g*). This division of the earth was already settled, as we may learn, from the intimations of Moses, at the epoch of *the Exodus*, fourteen hundred and ninety-five years before our common era (*h*).

(*d*) See the *Asiatic Researches*.

(*e*) Genesis, ch. 11; Josep. Antiq. l. i. ch. 6.; Goguet's *L'Orig. des Loix*, tom. i. p. 57.

(*f*) Many ages after that event, five thousand Bulgarian horsemen had the courage to swim across the Hellespont, without the aid of either float or bark. Geb. Monde Primit. 9 tom. xxxiii. The narrowest part of the strait is scarcely a mile broad.

(*g*) Stillingfleet's *Origines Sacræ*, b. iii. ch. 3; Bedford's *Animad. on Newton's Chron.* p. 40. The sons of Ion, or Javan, says Bryant, were certainly the first colonists, who planted Greece. Myth. 3 vol. p. 378—9. *Javan* is thought, says Shuckford, to have first planted Greece. *The Seventy* were of this mind: and, they constantly translated the Hebrew word *Javan* into *Ἕλλας*, or Greece. Shuckf. Connect. v. i. p. 158. Well's Hist. Geography, vol. i. ch. 3.

(*h*) Usher, Bedford, Calvisius, Helvicus.

The period of the ancient Greeks commenced at *the Exodus* (*i*). The patriarchal emigrants first occupied the nearest districts of that vast triangle, which is formed by the Danube, on the north, the Egean sea, on the east, and the Adriatic, on the west (*k*). In regions, that offered to their inquiries every advantage of soil, and every commodiousness of water, the original settlers began to cultivate those districts, which, however sterile, for ages, produced, in after times, the fair fruits of valour, literature, and the arts. Whether it be, that childhood is captivated with the variety of adventures, or that youth is charmed by the allurements of letters, or that age delights in the lessons of wisdom, it is certain, that the annals of a country, which abundantly gratified all those propensities, have found, in every period, many readers.

Yet, is the history of the aborigines of Greece involved in all the gloom of uncertainty; because it is confounded with all the misrepresentations of fiction (*l*). Alas! when the luminous torch of Moses ceases to blaze before our eyes, every step of our inquiry must be made in the anxiety of darkness. The ablest of the Greek writers neither knew the origin of their own ancestors, nor understood the etymology of their own language (*m*). A few hints, indeed, were handed down, from the earliest times, by means of doubtful traditions (*n*). But, what history could the first people have, before there were events to record; and what etymology could they teach, before they had a formed language to write? From the epoch of *the dispersion* to the era of *the olympiads*, nineteen centuries elapsed; whilst the aborigines of Europe were searching for places of repose. During that long period, the children of Ion were continually in motion; having chiefs to guide their steps, rather than rules to direct their actions; without the ease, which settlement only can give, or the security, that polity alone can afford. The paucity of events, during two thousand years of colonization, demonstrates their original insignificance; because, in history, want of incidents, and want of importance, are the same. Their annalists, indeed, speak of tyrants, who enslaved the first people; of heroes, who freed them; of legislators, who civilized them; while those tyrants, heroes, and legislators, only existed in the strong remembrance of hatred, or in the feeble recollection of benefits.

It is apparent, however, from satisfactory notices that, during the first ages, colonization was accomplished by journies on land, rather than by enterprizes at

(*i*) Petavius Hist. of the World.

(*k*) Geb. Monde Prim. tom. i. p. 33.

(*l*) Bryant concurs with Stillingfleet, in reprobating the early annals of Greece, as a congeries of fable, mythology, and imposition.

(*m*) Goguet's L'Orig. des Loix, tom. i. bk. 1; Bryant's Myth. vol. i. p. 306. vol. iii. p. 392.

(*n*) Geb. Monde Prim. tom. 9. p. 156.

sea. While the art of ship-building was yet unknown ; while the nearest bays were yet unexplored ; it was the direction of the countries, along the course of the rivers, which conducted the unenlightened steps of the original emigrants. It is extremely probable, that western Europe was explored, and settled, by means of the Danube and the Rhine : these great rivers showed the natural openings of the regions, and furnished the necessary accommodations to the settlers along their banks.

In penetrating, from the Euxine to the Ocean, the more adventurous colonists easily explored, and early planted Italy. The original people carried a strong principle of division along with them ; the nature of the country corresponded with their general habits : and, they formed many distinct settlements, which had no other connection between them, than a common language, the same worship, and similar customs. It was in a much later age, that new migrants, who were easily distinguished from the aborigines, crossed the Adriatic sea, from Arcadia, and formed fresh plantations ; which, as they gave rise to disputes, necessarily produced events. A thousand years elapsed, from the settlement of Italy to the foundation of Rome, while that fine country was yet inhabited by several distinct tribes, which were again subdivided into clans, and towns, that were connected, only, by a common origin, and joined, merely, by political confederacies. Among those tribes, the *Latins*, who occupied the country between the Tiber and the Liris, were, at that epoch, conspicuous ; and became, in after ages, most pre-eminent, at least for their language. After the Roman epoch, four centuries of bloody warfare contributed, by the subduction of all those clans, to gratify the ambition, and augment the greatness of Rome.

Whoever may be disposed to pause here, for the useful purpose of surveying the eighth century, before our common era, would see a new order of things commence. The face, both of the east, and of the west, was at once changed : the Greeks established the Olympiads (*o*) ; Rome was founded (*p*) ; the epoch of Nebonassar took place (*q*) ; the empire of the Assyrians, which had domineered over Asia, for thirteen hundred years, sunk under its own weight ; and the Chinese began to move. History, at length, attempted to free herself from fable ; and the heroes of antiquity fell back into their original obscurity, as soon as the sun of truth shot forth the irradiations of a clearer light on the dark events of the most ancient times (*r*).

(*o*) In 776, A. A. C.

(*p*) In 753, A. A. C.

(*q*) In 747, A. A. C.

(*r*) Geb. Monde Prim. 8 tom. p. 34. At those great epochs of universal history, the judicious Prideaux began his *Connection* between sacred and profane history. Those early dates form one of the epochs of Bossuet's *Histoire Universelle*. And those dates are called by the ingenious le Sage, in his *Atlas*, *Epoques historiques*, when something like history begins to appear.

Meantime,

Meantime, the impulse, which had been given to the human race, at the epoch of *the dispersion*, filled the European regions with people. The kindred tribes of those colonists, who settled Greece, and planted Italy, penetrated from the Euxine to the Atlantic, and occupied the ample space, from the Mediterranean to the Baltic, and perhaps to the Frozen Sea^(s). Yet, were not the aborigines of Europe, who, in subsequent ages, acquired the name of *Celtæ*, any where found, in large assemblages of men. While Asia, and Africa, show several examples of empires, vast, and flourishing, in the earliest times, we only see, among the *Celts*, clans, disconnected from habit, and feeble from disunion. At the recent period, when the Romans entered Gaul, with whatever design of revenge, or conquest, that extensive country, the appropriate seat of the Celtic people, was cantoned among sixty tribes, who were little united by polity, and still less conjoined by the accustomed habits of natural affection. Wherever we turn our inquisitive eyes on the wide surface of Europe, we look, in vain, for a Celtic empire, however the Celtic people may have agreed, in their language, in their worship, and in their customs. Yet, at the dawn of history, we see the European nations, who dwelt to the westward of those waters, which flow eastward to the Euxine, denominated *the Celtæ* ^(t).

Disunited, however, as the Celtic clans were, and dispersed, in their several positions, they often made themselves felt. During the reign of the elder Tarquin, if we may believe Livy, more than five centuries and a half before our era, the Gauls, under Belovesus, seized the country on the Po; while another swarm, under Segovesus, settled in Germany ^(u). Four hundred years before our common era, the Gauls invaded Italy, in such a numerous body, as to evince the extent, and populousness, of the country, whence they proceeded. Brennus, their leader, sacked Rome. They were repulsed by the genius of Camillus; but they were not dismayed by their disaster. They again over-ran Italy by a second invasion. And it required all the valour, and all the skill, of the Roman armies, to repress the daring of the Celtic people ^(x). The Gauls

^(s) The learned authors of the *Universal History* have diligently shewn what was sufficiently probable in itself, that the Celtic nations peopled, originally, the whole extent of Europe, v. vi. p. 10, 13. Plutarch, in the Life of Camillus, speaks of the vast extent of the Celtic countries; stone monuments, and tradition, attest, that they extended from the Baltic even to the Northern Ocean.

^(t) Herodotus, Melpomene; Ptolomy: and, among the eastern nations, says Selden, the term *Celts* was a general name, for all the Europeans: the Greeks applied the name to the western Europeans. Tit. Hon. 8 Ed. p. 75.

^(u) Bossuet *Histoire Universelle*, p. 41; M. le Comte du Buat's *Histoire Ancienne*, v. i. chap. 2.

^(x) *Universal Hist.* v. xi. ch. 532; ib. xviii. p. 604; ib. xi. p. 533—4—9.

overspread Thrace, and plundered the temples of Greece, whatever genius, and force could be opposed to their inroads. They invaded Asia, which had already acknowledged the superior character of European firmness, and discipline; and which gave their irresistible invaders a settlement, that was long known, by the vivid remembrance of their perseverance, and their prowess (y).

Those intimations of history seem to demonstrate, that western Europe, throughout its wide extent, was already filled with Celtic inhabitants. It was the superabundance of its populousness, which discharged itself, during successive ages, in quest of plunder, or in pursuit of settlement. It is thus apparent, from every notice of history, and every specification of geography, that *the Celtæ* were the aboriginal people of Europe, throughout its ample limits (z). Yet, has it been debated by ingenuity, and inquired by learning, whether the Celtæ, or the Scythes, were the most ancient people; as if there could be priority of origin, while they were both descended from a common, though distant origin. It is of much more importance to inquire when, and on what occasion, the Celtæ, who were thus, for ages, the sole inhabitants, as they were the original colonists of Europe, became mingled with a dissimilar people, either by colonization, or conquest.

A history of the Celtic nations has long been a *desideratum* among intelligent antiquaries. Such a work has, indeed, been essayed by Pelloutier: but, *bescreened in night, he so stumbled on his subject*, as to confound the Celts with the Scythians (a). While the Mosaical account of the peopling of Europe is so distinct, who would plunge into the cloud of uncertainty, which perpetually hangs, in ever-during darkness, over the remote annals of the Scythes, and Scythia!

(y) See Petavius, and the Universal History.

(z) The Geographer Ortelius was so persuaded of the foregoing truths, that he considered the names of *Europe*, and of *Celtica*, to be synonymous.

(a) “*Les Celtes ont été connus anciennement sous le nom général de Scythes.*” Such is the hallucination of his first chapter! From this opening, which is not quite consistent with the fact, it is easy to perceive, that he must constantly confound the ancient Celts with the modern Goths. The ingenious vindicator of the ancient history of Ireland has also entangled his subject, and embarrassed his readers, by connecting the Scythians, with the Irish. Our erudite mythologist has shown, however, with his usual learning, and research, that in ancient times, there were tribes of Scythes, in Asia, Africa, and in Europe. *Ancient Mythol.* vol. 3. p. 143. wherein he treats distinctly, of the *Scythæ*, *Scythia*, and *Scythismus*. As Britain was undoubtedly peopled from Gaul, and Ireland from Britain; the early annals of our islands seem to have no relation to the Scythes and Scandinavians, who, like the Scandian Vikingr, during the middle ages, infest our researches, by the frequency of their intrusions, and perplex our reasonings, by the obscurity of their aberrations.

It

It is a singular circumstance, in universal history, that the migration of the second race of colonists, throughout western Europe, is much more obscure than the progress of the first. The torch of Moses lights the steps of the original settlers of Europe, while every motion of the second emigrants is involved in peculiar darkness. The silence of history seems to prove, that the introduction of the new people upon the old was made, without any great change, which must have been transmitted by tradition, and much less of warfare, that must have been noticed by historiography. As language is the genealogy of nations, philology may lend her aid: but, it is geography, which must exhibit to our unenlightened eyes the distant positions of the various people, at successive epochs.

The pretensions of the Scythes have created confusion, through every age. They assumed so many shapes; they appeared in so many places; they arrogated such superior antiquity; that inquiry has been bewildered, in following their steps, and judgment is perplexed, in settling their pretensions. Bryant, and Gibbon, seem to concur in opinion, that their name has been vaguely applied to mixed tribes of barbarous nations, in distant countries, during the expanse of time. In this view of a curious subject, it is in vain, that paradoxical writers attempt to ascertain the antiquities, to trace the progress, or to fix the chronology of that devious people. Epochs of “the first Gothic progress over Europe” have, indeed, been assigned, with more confidence than authority. And, in order to establish those fanciful epochs, the *Scripture chronology*, which Kennedy has demonstrated to be morally certain, has been rejected, for a fictitious chronology, that has been obtruded, in the appropriate place of “the Hebrew verity (b).”

Yet, are we told, with the specious tongue of historic certainty, that the first dawn of history breaks with the reign of Menes, in Egypt, before Christ 4000 years (c). This fictitious reign is thus placed *before the creation*, according to Petavius, Calvisius, and Helvicus; and four years *after the creation*, according to Usher, Dufresnoy, and Bossuet. (2.) The Scythians are said to have conquered Asia 3660 years *before* the birth of Christ (d). This fabulous event is thus placed several centuries before the *dispersion* of mankind, according to Usher and Dufresnoy, Petavius, Calvisius, and Bossuet. (3.) Ninus, the first monarch of the Assyrian empire, establishes that empire on the ruins of the

(b) See a Dissertation on the origin and progress of the Scythians, or Goths, 1787. But, the Scythian chronology, say the learned authors of the *Universal History*, after all their researches, is not to be ascertained. Vol. vi. p. 87. See, in the same volume, “the few fragments, which antiquity has left of the Scythians.” There is, indeed, scarcely any thing but fable to be related of the *ancient Scythians*.

(c) Dissertation on the Scythians, 186.

(d) Ib. 187.

Scythian: and, the Scythiæ evacuate Persia, and settle around the Euxine, 2160 years *before* the birth of Christ (*d*). These fictitious events are thus said to have happened eighty-seven years *after* the dispersion, and eight and twenty years after the settlement of Egypt, as we know from Usher; and, Ninus, as we learn from Bryant, and Gebelin, is merely a mythological personage, like the Gothic Odin. (4.) The Scythians are said to begin their settlements, in Thrace, Illyricum, Greece, and Asia-minor, 1800 years before the birth of Christ (*e*). These settlements are thus made to begin four years *before* the flood of Ogyges, according to Usher, Petavius, and Dufresnoy: yet, all those settlements are said to have been completed 1500 years *before* the birth of Christ (*f*). These fabulous settlements are thus stated to have been formed only nine and twenty years *before* the flood of Deucalion, according to Usher, and Dufresnoy, and fifteen years, according to Calvisius. (5.) Sesostris attacks the Scythians of Colchis, 1480 years before the birth of Christ (*g*). Sesostris is another mythological conqueror, as we learn from Bryant, and Gebelin. (6.) The Scythians peopled Italy 1000 years before the birth of Christ (*h*). This fictitious event, about which history, and chronology, are silent, is thus said to have happened, during the age of Solomon, two hundred and forty-seven years before the building of Rome (*i*). The Scythians, on the Euxine, are said, however, to have held the supreme empire of Asia, by conquering Media 740 years before the birth of Christ (*k*). This event, for which there seems to be some foundation, though it is mixed with much fable, happened more than a century afterwards, according to Usher, and Raleigh. (8.) Yet, the Scythians, we are told, peopled Germany, Scandinavia, a great part of Gaul, and Spain, 500 years before Christ (*l*).

(*d*) Id.(*e*) Id.(*f*) Id.(*g*) Id.(*h*) Id.

(*i*) For the genuine letters, and ancient language, of Italy, see Gebelin's *Monde Primitif*. t. vi. Disc. Prelim.

(*k*) Dissertation on the Scythes, p. 187. This event is stated by chronology, in 634, A. C.

(*l*) Id. Herodotus, whose geographical notices extend from 450 to 500 years, before the birth of Christ, included the inhabitants of western Europe, from the sources of the Danube, under the general name of *the Celtæ*. Rennel's *Geog. Syst. of Herodotus*, p. 42. Diodorus Siculus, whose geographical informations may be deemed *five hundred years* later, placed the Scythians to the *eastward* of the Celtæ. Id. Pliny concurred with Diodorus. Id. Eschylus, who was born forty years before Herodotus, concurred with the father of history, in his position of the Scythes, on the Euxine. See the *Mem. Liter.* 1750, p. 217, "of the situation of *Scythiæ*, in the age of Herodotus, "by T. S. Bayer." Until we are better informed, with regard to the origin of the Scythians, who were attacked by Darius, on the western shores of the Euxine; until a specimen of their language be produced; I shall not admit, that either those Scythians, or their descendants, ever came into western Europe.

We are now arrived, after a tedious march, through the absurdities of fiction, and the obliquities of prejudice, at an important period, in the real history of the Scythic people, and country, which are undoubtedly ascertained. The well known expedition of the Persian Darius against the European Scythians took place, at the beginning of the sixth century, before the birth of Christ (*m*). He passed the Bosphorus into Thrace; he crossed the Danube by another bridge; he pursued the flying Scythes along the *western shore* of the Euxine to the bank of the Wolga; he followed them south-westward, through the desert, to the Carpathian mountains; and he was obliged to recross the Danube, by the same bridge, while he was pursued by the Scythians (*n*). We thus perceive, that history concurs with geography, in placing the European Scythians, on the north-western shores of the Euxine, from the Danube to the Don, at the very period of 500 years before Christ, when system supposes them to have inhabited Scandinavia, and Germany, Gaul, and Spain (*o*). It is a fact, then, that the Scythians continued, at that epoch, to live on the rivers, and shores, of the Euxine, and not in western Europe. The Scythians still remained on the Euxine more than a century and a half later than the age of Darius, during the conquests of Alexander, whom they were studious to court, in 334 A. C. (*p*).

All attempts, to trace the migrations of the Scythic people, from the Palus Mæotus and the Euxine, to the Baltic and the Atlantic, have failed (*q*). These migrations, as we may learn from the silence of history, if they were ever made,

(*m*) Usher places this expedition, in 514 A. C.; Prideaux concurs with Usher; Petavius fixes this epoch, in 508; Dufresnoy places the building of the bridge over the Thracian Bosphorus, by Darius, in 508 A. C.

(*n*) See Rennel's Map, in his Herodotus, No. iii. facing p. 50, of Western, or "Euxine Scythia, with the surrounding countries, and the march of Darius Hystaspes." And see the map, in Wells's Hist. Geog. v. 1. facing page 109. Arrian, bk. 1. ch. 3. And Gibbon concurs with all these. Hist. v. iv. p. 355.

(*o*) Dissertation on the Scyths, and Goths, p. 187. Herodotus, says this writer, p. 173—4, places most of his Scythians, in Germany. The context of Herodotus might have shown him the true position for his Scythians, which Arrian confirms. Bk. iv. ch. i. The safe line of demarcation, between the *Celtæ*, and the *Scythians*, during the successive periods of Darius, and Alexander, is the points of partition, whence flowed the waters, in contrary direction, westward to the Atlantic, and eastward to the Euxine.

(*p*.) Id.

(*q*) This difficult task was attempted, indeed, in the dissertation on the Scythians, or Goths, ch. v. wherein "the progress of the Scythians into Scandinavia is especially considered." But, the dissertator has failed, like other theorists, who try to perform impossibilities. He acknowledges, like the more learned, and judicious, writers of the Universal History, "that the narrower the bounds, to which we confine the knowledge of the ancients about Scandinavia, we shall be the nearer to the truth." Dissertation, p. 168.

must

must have proceeded quietly, without the efforts of war, or the perturbations of revolution. The chronology of such migrations cannot possibly be fixed, if they ever existed. If, however, we compare the notices of Eschylus, and Herodotus, with the much more recent intimations of Diodorus, and Pliny, we shall be convinced, that the Gothic migrations westward did not happen, much more than a century, before the Christian era. But, whether Scythic, or Gothic migrations came into Western Europe, at that recent period, they arrived too late to augment the populousness of the original tribes, much less to change the Celtic language of the British isles.

That Gothic colonists came into Western Europe, from whatever country, at some period, we know, from the prevalence of their speech, which has almost superceded the aboriginal tongue. But, whence came they? is a question, that has been often asked; yet has not hitherto been answered (*r*). With a view to that question, we must throw our inquisitive eyes over the instructive course of the Danube, from its spring among the Celtæ, to its issue into the Euxine, among the Getæ (*s*.) There, we may see, on the banks of the Danube, Dacia, the country of the Daces, Getia, the region of the Getes, and Moesia, which, in after ages, gave subsistence, and a name to the Moeso-Goths. On the northern side of the Danube, flowed the sister stream of the Tyras, which gave rise to the name of the Tyro-Goths, who lived either upon its banks, or within its isles; and who, in subsequent times, were denominated by Ptolomy the Tyran-Goths. In his time, the appellation of Goths, by the philological changes of seven centuries, had displaced the more ancient name of Getes: and there can, therefore, be no reasonable doubt, whether the Goths were any other than the same people, who, in more early times, had been known, by the kindred designation of Getes, and Daces (*t*). Thus, the Goths, the Tyro Goths, and the Moeso-Goths; the Dacians, and the Getes; were the same people, who, like other barbarous tribes, in successive ages, and in varying situations, were differently denominated by writers, who viewed them, in different lights.

The

(*r*) One of the latest, and ablest inquirers about *the origin* of the Goths is Gibbon. As he does not admit the Mosaic account of *the dispersion*, and the subsequent migrations of mankind, he knows not how to trace the dubious descent of the Gothic people. He is disposed to consider SCANDINAVIA, as their original country: yet, he durst not say, as J. Caesar had said before him, of the Britons, that they had grown, like meaner matter, from the virgin earth. Gibbon is glad to find the Goths, on the Vistula, at the epoch of Christ, though he is unable to ascertain, whence they came.

(*s*) See the Geograph. Antiqua, Tab. ix. the map of Paunonia, Illyricum, Moesia, and Dacia.

(*t*) Pliny says, that the Getæ were called by the Romans Daci, lib. iv. c. 12: see Stephanus's Dict. in vo. *Getæ*. Yet, in Pliny's age, the name of Goths had scarcely displaced the ancient ap-

pellation;

The Gothic tribes, however denominated, formed one of the aboriginal people of Europe. On this event, history is silent; but, philology is instructive. The Gothic language is certainly derived from a common origin with the most ancient languages of the European world; the Greek, the Latin, and the Celtic (*u*). Ancient Thrace, comprehending Getia, Dacia, and Moesia, was the original country of the Goths. Every inquiry tends to demonstrate, that the tribes, who originally came into Europe, by the Hellespont, were remarkably different, in their persons, their manners, and their language, from those people, who, in after ages, migrated from Asia, by the more devious course, around the northern extremities of the Euxine, and its kindred lake. This striking variety must for ever evince the difference between the Gothic, and the Scythic hords, however they may have been confounded, by the inaccuracy of some writers, or by the design of others (*x*).

Long after Western Europe had been occupied by the Celtæ, the Gothic people still appeared within their original settlements (*y*). During the fifth

pellation; and the Gothic people were but little known, in that age, by their new designation. The first appearance of the Goths, as a great and united people, was in the year 250, A. D. when they were felt, by the Roman empire: in 328, A. D. the Gothic empire, on the Danube, was formed, by Hermanrick; and was destroyed by the Huns: in 375, A. D. the Huns, from the borders of China, chased the Alans from the Black sea; overpowered the Goths; and sapped the foundations of Rome. Writers, who mention those several hords, do not sufficiently advert to those *recent epochs*.

(*u*) Geb. Monde Primitif. t. ix. p. 41—51; Schilter's Thesaurus Antiquitatum Teutonicarum; Wachter's Glossarium Germanicum: these vastly learned authors demonstrate, without intending it, that the Celtic, and Teutonic, languages had a common origin.

(*x*) This interesting investigation has been very learnedly discussed by the ingenious, and erudite William Clarke, in his Connexion of Coins. (1.) Even as early as the revival of learning, in Europe, scholars observed a great similarity of the Greek and the Teutonic tongues. But, neither Henry Stephens, Joseph Scaliger, nor Camden, drew any inference from *the fact*, which so forcibly struck their curious eyes: and, it was Salmasius, Francis Junius, and Meric Casaubon, who first inferred, that the Greek and Gothic languages, which were so similar, in many respects, must have undoubtedly come from a common parent. (2.) Yet, was it reserved for Salmasius to assume, with modest erudition, that people speaking the same language must necessarily be descended from a common stock. De Hellen, p. 364. This evidence of speaking the same tongue may be acknowledged, says the very intelligent Clarke, as one of the surest proofs of original descent. Connexion, p. 77. (3.) That the Getæ were undoubtedly Thracians was observed by Herodotus. L. iv. c. 93. That the Getæ, Daci, and Gothi, were but different appellations for the same people, was strongly intimated by Strabo. V. 1. p. 466. That the Germans, and Goths, were sister nations, is a conclusion, which results from their common language. (4.) The same circumstances led M. de Gebelin to the same conclusions, on this curious subject, during our own times, in opposition to M. d'Anville, who was a geographer, but not a philologist. Monde Prim. t. ix. § 7.

(*y*) Wells's Hist. Geog. v. 1. the map prefixed to p. 109; Bayer's Dissert. in Mem. Lit. 1750, p. 211—259; Gebel. Monde Prim. t. ix. p. xlix.

century,

century, before our common era, they inhabited the western shores of the Euxine, on the south of the Danube. The Gothic people were found in that position by Darius, when he crossed the Hellespont, and the Danube, in pursuit of the unsettled Scythians (z). The Gothic people felt his power, but maintained their possessions. They remained within Thrace, their pristine country, when Xenophon, a century later, finished the retreat of the ten thousand among the Thracian tribes, who acknowledged the Greeks, as a kindred people. The Gothic nations still remained, within their ancient dominions, when Alexander was preparing to invade Asia, a hundred and seventy years, from the invasion of Darius, one of the earliest epochs of European history (a). Asia had hitherto predominated over Europe: Europe began now to domineer over Asia, when the superiority of Europeans over Asiatics was at length felt: and, the grim visage of war, during that memorable period, turned stedfastly to the opulent weakness of the eastern regions. The pages of history are crowded with the continual enterprizes, which resentment, or ambition, or avarice, prompted Greece, and Macedon, and other nations of Europe, to send against the less hardy, and worse informed people of Western Asia. Thus, during the effluxion of five centuries, from the epoch of Darius's expedition, there does not appear an event, which could have contributed to force the Gothic inhabitants on the Euxine, and the Danube, in any great bodies, to remove westward, in search of new settlements, on the Rhine, and the ocean.

If the Gothic people continued to dwell on the Euxine, and the Danube, during the active age of Alexander, the same people could not have resided, at the same period, on the Atlantic, and the Rhine: if the Gothic people did not reside, at that epoch, in Western Europe, they could not have emigrated thence to the British isles, at some period, three centuries before our common era. When, and on what occasion, and by what route, the Goths, with their associates, moved westward, from their ancient settlements, are questions, which the united scholars of Europe have been unable to answer. History has not always disdained to supply the defect of events, by the fictitious adventures of mythological characters (b). The credulity of Cassiodorus, the ignorance of
Jornandes

(z) Herodotus, Melpomene; Pliny, l. iv. ch. 9; Count de Buat's Hist. Ancienne des Peuple de L'Europe, g. 1. ch. 1—8.

(a) Arrian, bk. i. ch. 3. bk iv. ch. 1; Q. Curtius; De Buat's Hist. Ancienne, t. i. ch. 1—8.

(b) Even Gibbon has not hesitated to introduce the fabulous adventures of the mythological Odin into serious history. The *demons* of Rudbeck, and the *giants* of Torphæus, are plainly the obscure representatives of the *Celtic aborigines* of Scandinavia. The good sense of Mascœu preserved
him

Jornandes, the fastidiousness of Gibbon, concur in supposing, that the Goths were indigenes of Scandia (*c*). We know, that the Gothic tribes were not indigenous plants of that sterile soil: and the questions must ever be asked, when, and from whence, did the Gothic people migrate into Scandia. Yet, does fable, taking the place of history, send out the Goths, from that *storehouse of nations*, at the Christian era, to conquer, and to colonize the world. When Gibbon has conducted the enterprising Goths from Sweden, by an easy voyage, across the Baltic to the Vistula, at that era, he is induced, by an intimation of Tacitus, to cry out, in the midst of his reveries, “Here, at length, we land “on firm, and historic ground!” (*d*). He might have easily found other writers of as much knowledge, and equal authority, who placed the Gothic people, at the same period, on the Euxine (*e*). The fact seems to be, that there were Gothic tribes, at the Christian era, spread out in a scanty populousness, among the aborigines from the Euxine to the Atlantic. The silence of history, and the unconsciousness of tradition, evince that, the migrations of the Gothic people had been made, without the perturbations of violence, in the progress of colonization. From the notices, which have been collected, with regard to the Germans, who were a Gothic tribe, with a new name, it is apparent, that they

him from the reproach of writing nonsense, or fiction, with regard to the antiquities of Germany: he considers the Gothic people as the first settlers of his country, though they were apparently only the second: they obviously came in on the Celtic aborigines; as we learn from J. Cæsar, and Tacitus; from Schilter, and Wachter.

(*c*) Hist. v. i. p. 387—397. The learned Cassiodorus, and his abridger Jornandes, were the masters, who taught the historians of the middle ages, to derive every people, however different, from the *Scandinavian hive*. With regard to the origin of nations, the silence, and loquacity of history are equally uninformative. It is a maxim that, the populousness of every country must be in proportion to the constant supply of its food. The dreary forests, and uncultivated wastes of the Scandinavian regions, preclude the notion of those desert countries having ever been the *officina gentium*, except in the systems of theory, or in the misrepresentations of fabulists.

(*d*) Hist. v. i. p. 392.

(*e*) Pliny, lib. iv. c. 11; Mela, l. 11. c. 2. Gibbon was aware, that Ovid, being banished by Augustus, to Tomi, near the southern branch of the Danube, lived long among the Daces, a Gothic people, whose Gothic tongue, the poet learned. Ovid wrote a poem, which he addressed to Augustus, in the *Gothic* language. When Ovid resided at Tomi, in A. D. 11, there were only two tongues, (except the Greek), heard on the western side of the Euxine; the *Getic*, and the *Sarmatic*; which were diversely spoken by two nations, who were different in their origin, and still more distinct, in the course, that conducted them into Europe. See Clarke's *Connexion of the Roman, Saxon, and English Coins*, p. 45—47.

were

were recent settlers among an ancient people (*f*). The other Gothic tribes cannot boast a more early settlement, in Western Europe (*g*).

Meantime, the original impulse, which had been given to mankind, peopled the British islands, during the most early times. The stone monuments, which still appear to inquisitive eyes, in Britain, and Ireland, evince that, the first settlement of those islands must have been accomplished, during the pristine ages of the post-diluvian world, while only one race of men existed in Europe; and while a second impulse had not yet induced various people to quit their original settlements in Asia. As the current of colonization, during those times, constantly flowed from the east to the west; as the isles were necessarily colonized, from their neighbouring continents; Britain must undoubtedly have been settled, from adjacent Gaul, by her Celtic people (*b*). J. Cæsar, and Tacitus, agree, in representing the religion, the manners, the language of Gaul, and of Britain, to have remained the same, when those curious writers cast their intelligent eyes on both those countries (*i*). But, it is the facts, which are stated by ancient authors, more than their opinions, respectable as they may be, for their discernment, and veracity, that ought to be the grounds of our conviction. The religion, and manners, of the two countries, remained the same, during ten centuries: their pristine language has continued the same, in several districts, to the present day. Britain, indeed, was a mirror of Gaul, at the recent periods, when the Romans invaded the British shores. The several tribes were

(*f*.) Tacitus, Mascou, and Gibbon, severally attest the truth of that representation: and, Cluverius, when he delineates ancient Germany, as a region of uncultivated lands, rugged mountains, vast woods of horrible aspect, and stinking fens, sufficiently proves its late settlement by a new people of rude manners. When J. Cæsar, and Tacitus, speak of Celtic colonies proceeding from Gaul into Germany, they only confound those recent colonies with the ancient people, who appear to have been unknown to those celebrated writers. Strabo, who was not well informed, with regard to Western Europe, acquaints us, indeed, that the *Daci ab antiquo*, of old, lived *towards Germany*, around the fountains of the Danube. V. i. p. 446. If his notion of *antiquity* extended to the age of Herodotus, we might learn, from the father of history, that the Danube had its springs among the *Celte*.

(*g*) Rudbeck, and Torfaeus, had already proved this position, when they scribbled of *demons*, and *giants*.

(*b*) Schoepflin's *Vindiciæ Celticæ*, § L. with his authorities, and facts.

(*i*) J. Cæs. de Bel. Gal. l. v. c. 2; Tacitus Agric. § 11. "The present age," says Gibbon, "is satisfied with the simple and rational opinion, that the islands of Great Britain, and Ireland, were gradually peopled, from the adjacent continent of Gaul. From the coast of Kent to the extremity of Cathness, and Ulster, the memory of a Celtic origin was distinctly preserved, in the perpetual resemblance of language, religion, and of manners." Hist. of the Decline and Fall of the Rom. Em. 8vo ed. v. iv. p. 291.

united

united by a polity, which allowed but slight ties: they practised the same religious customs: they were actuated by the same personal habits: they spoke a common language: but, we see nothing of a body politic, which fastened the disunited clans, by the kindred bonds of civil society. Neither does there appear, within the narrow outline of their affairs, any event, either of warfare, or colonization, which would lead a discerning observer to perceive, that their principles had been corrupted, their habits altered, or their speech changed, by the settlement among the aborigines of a new people.

Yet, has it been supposed by some, and asserted by others, that Belgic colonies emigrated to Britain, and occupied no inconsiderable portion of her south-eastern shores, three hundred years before the birth of Christ (*k*). If the Belgic colonists were of a *Teutonic* race, this supposition would settle them, in Britain, before the Teutonic tribes had sat down, in Western Europe (*l*). If the Belgic colonists were a Celtic people, it is of little moment, whether they came from Germany, or Gaul, as they must have spoken a Gaelic, and not a Gothic tongue. The topography of the five Belgic tribes of Southern Britain has been accurately viewed by a competent surveyor; and the names of their waters, of their head-lands, and of their towns, have been found, by his inquisitive inspection, to be only significant, in the Celtic tongue (*m*). I have followed his track, in searching for *Gothic* appellations; and finding only *Gaelic* names of people, and places, I concur with him in opinion, that the *British Belgæ* were of a *Celtic lineage* (*n*). It is even probable, that the Belgæ of Kent may have obtained

(*k*) Dissertation on the Scythians, p. 187.

(*l*) This inquiry, with regard both to the lineage, and colonization of the Belgæ, in Britain, has arisen, by inference, rather than by direct information, from J. Cæsar, when he speaks of the Belgæ, as occupying one third of Gaul, and as using a different tongue, from the other Gauls. De Bel. Gal. l. i. c. 1. Yet, from the intimations of Livy, and Strabo, Pliny, and Lucan, we may infer, that J. Cæsar meant *dialect*, when he spoke of language. He ought to be allowed to explain his own meaning, by his context. He afterwards says, that the Belgæ were chiefly descended from the Germans; and passing the Rhine, in *ancient times*, seized the nearest country of the Gauls. Ib. lib. ii. c. 4. But, Germany, as we have seen, was possessed by the Celtæ, in *ancient times*: it was occupied by them 500 years A. C.; it was occupied by them 330 years A. C.; and it was occupied by them 112 years A. C.; when the Cimbri is supposed to have made an irruption from the Elbe to the Rhine; and when those migratory people were repulsed by the Belgæ, as we learn, indeed, from J. Cæsar himself. Germany continued to be occupied by Celtic tribes, during the subsequent century, when it was described by Tacitus. See his Treatise on the manners of the Germans: and the same fact, or rather inference, from the fact, is more strongly stated by Schilter, and by Wachter, in their elaborate Glossaries.

(*m*) Genuine Hist. of the Britons, p. 83—145.

(*n*) In every question, with regard to our topography, in those early times, Ptolomy must be our useful instructor: from him, we learn, that three of those Belgic tribes are named *Carnabii*, *Damnii*,

obtained from their neighbours, the Belgæ of Gaul, their Gaelic name; and even derived such a tincture, from their intercourse, both in their speech, and their habits, as to appear to the undistinguishing eyes of strangers, to be of a doubtful descent. In the meantime, the name of the Belgæ was derived from a Celtic, and not a Teutonic origin. The root is the Celtic *Bel*; signifying tumult, havoc, war: *Bela*, to wrangle, to war; *Belac*, trouble, molestation; *Belawg*, apt to be ravaging; *Belg*, an overwhelming, or bursting out; *Belgiad*, one that overruns, a ravager, a Belgian; *Belgws*, the ravagers, the Belgæ (o).

If

Damnii, and *Cantæ*: we find also the *Carnabii*, in Cheshire, and Shropshire, and the *Carnabii*, and *Damnii*, in North-Britain, and also the *Damnii*, in Ireland: there are the *Cantæ*, in North-Britain, who, as well as the Belgic *Cantæ*, in Kent, derived their significant name from the districts, which they inhabited; being the British *Caint*, signifying the open country. The rivers, in the country of the Belgæ, have the same Celtic appellations, as those in the other parts of Britain; such as the *Isca*, which led Lhuyd astray, the *Alauna*, the *Durius*, the *Abona*, the *Tamesa*, and the *Tamara*: there are other rivers, in different parts of Britain, named *Isca*, and *Esica*, which derive their names from the Gaelic *Easc*, signifying *water*: the Belgic *Alauna*, as well as the *Alauna*, in Northumberland, and the *Alauna*, in Perthshire, derive their names from the British *Alawen*, which, like the analogous *Alain* of the Gaelic, signifies the *bright or clear stream*: *Durius* is merely the latinized *Dur*, which, in the British, and Irish, signifies *water*, and gives names to several rivers, in Britain, and in Ireland: the *Abona*, as well as the *Abona* river in the country of the *Cantæ*, in North-Britain, and the *Avona* river in the country of the *Iceni*, derive their names from the British *Avon*, being the Irish *Abhan*, signifying a river. The *Tamesis*, and the *Tamar*, derived their names from the British *Taw*, *Tam*, *Tem*, Gaelic *Tamb*, signifying what expands, or spreads, or what is calm: the other British rivers named *Tame*, *Tave*, *Tavy*, and *Taw*, derive their appellations, from the same source. The names of many of the Belgic towns end in *Dun*, or *Dun-um*; as *Dunum*, *Londinum*, *Vindonum*, *Milsidunum*: this termination equally appears, in the names of other towns, in different parts of Britain; as *Camelodunum*, *Rigadunum*, *Maridunum*, &c.: and, *Dunum* is the name of the chief town of the *Cauti*, in Ireland, which is asserted to be a Belgic tribe: now, *Dunum*, and *Dinum*, are the latinized form of *Dun*, and *Din*, which, in the British, and Irish, as well as in the ancient Gothic, signify a fortified place: the *Dun*, and *Din*, appear in the names of several towns, in Gaul, and in Spain. The towns of the proper Belgæ are named *Uxela*, and *Venta*: now, *Uxela* is the latinized form of the British *Uchel*, signifying *high, lofty*: and the same British word, which is still retained in the *Ochil*-hills, also appears in the names of the *Uxellum* promontorium, a *point*, at the mouth of the Humber, in the *Uxellum*, a town of the *Selgovæ*, in the *Uxellum*-Montes among the *Novantes*, in the *Uxellum*-Montes among the *Cantæ*, in *Rofs*. *Venta* was also the name of the chief town of the *Cenomani*, in *Norfolk*: and all the *Ventas* derived their names from the British *Gwent*, which, in composition, is *Went*, signifying the open country: and thus was the British *Went* latinized *Venta*. Such, then, is the significant sameness, between the names of the Belgic tribes, their rivers, and towns, in South-Britain, and those, in every other part of the same island: all are indisputably Celtic, and all are descriptive, in the British, and Gaelic, languages: and, such are the *facts*, which stand opposed to the *doubtful authorities* of ancient, and modern times.

(o) See Owen's Welsh Dict. in Art. The root of this word does not appear, in any of the

If the nearest shores of Britain were colonized from the neighbouring continent, we might easily be convinced, that Ireland must have been originally peopled from the nearest promontories of Great Britain, if fable, and system, and self-conceit, had not brought emigrants to the sacred isle, from every country, except the parental island. It is morally certain, that Western Europe was originally settled by the Celtic people. Gaul, Spain, and Britain, remained in possession of Celtic tribes, when Rome successively conquered those several regions. As there were no *indigenes*, in Europe, whatever Gibbon might think, or Tacitus might talk; as the stream of colonization ran from the east of Europe to the westward, Ireland, lying to the west of all those countries, within the bosom of Britain, must have been settled, by her children, in the subsequent age to the peopling of Gaul, Britain, and Spain (*p*). All the probabilities, then, are in favour of the reasonable proposition, which refers the population of Ireland to the people of Britain.

With regard to this curious subject, the taciturnity of history, and the loquaciousness of archæology, are equally uninformative. Yet, amidst this obscurity, topography offers her informations to those inquirers after truth, who can listen patiently to her lessons. The most early maps of Ireland are Ptolomy's *Table*, and Richard's Supplement, which exhibit the names of places, and of waters, in that island, during the second century: these topographical notices may be compared with similar intimations in Britain: and, barbarized as those appellations are, by tradition, and transformed by transcription, they yet evince to attentive minds, by their Gaelic names, that Ireland was originally colonized from Britain, by Celtic tribes (*q*).

After

Gothic languages: yet, in some of the mixed dialects of the Gothic, a few derivatives, from the Celtic root, appear, in analogous significations; a circumstance this, which is far from uncommon, in the Teutonic.

(*p*) Diodorus Siculus, who lived under J. Cæsar, and Augustus, says, *Iris*, the Ierne, or Ireland of that age, was inhabited by *Britons*. The map of Europe, indeed, evinces, that the British isles embrace Ireland, within their kindred bosoms. The western point of Caermarthenshire is only distant from the coast of Ireland five and thirty English miles; and Holyhead is about six and thirty: the Mull of Ceantyre is only sixteen miles, and the Rins of Galloway nineteen miles, from the opposite shores of Ireland: the nearest promontory of Gaul is distant from the nearest point of Ireland three hundred English miles; while Cape Ortegal, in Spain, is not nearer to Cape Clear, in Ireland, than five hundred and twenty of the same miles.

(*q*) We see as well in Ptolomy, as in Richard, the tribe of the *Brigantes* both in Britain, and in Ireland. The *Damnii* we perceive in Ireland, in North-Britain, and in South-Britain. There are, in Ireland, the *Clorindii*; and the *Coritani*, and *Cornabii*, in Britain. In Ireland, there are the *Voluntii*,

After the maps of Ptolomy, and Richard, we have no other delineations of Ireland, till much more recent ages (*r*). Yet, in these, we equally see the same names of many waters, in Britain, and in Ireland, which can only be shown to have significance, and meaning, in the Celtic dialects, which were spoken by the original colonists of the sister islands. The undoubted certainty of the facts is demonstrable, by the subsequent detail; being a comparative statement,

Voluntii; and in Britain, the *Voluntii*, or *Volantii*, and the *Sistuntii*. There are, in Ireland, the *Vennicnii*, and in Britain, the *Vennicones*. We see in Ptolomy, the *Gangani*, the *Cangani*, in Richard: the point of Caernarvonshire, which is the nearest land of South-Britain to Ireland, is called *Ganganorum* promontorium by Ptolomy, and by Richard, *Canganorum* promontorium; and he calls the bay, on the south side of this promontory, *Canganus sinus*: from these coincidences, we may easily infer, that the tribe of the *Gangani* emigrated from the opposite coast to Ireland. On the east coast of Ireland, as we see in Ptolomy, and Richard, there is a tribe of the *Menapii*, whose metropolis is *Menapia*: on the opposite point of South Wales, there is the town of *Menapia*, as placed by Richard: and from these coincidences, we may reasonably presume, that the *Menapii* of Wales were the progenitors of the *Menapii* of Ireland. There was a tribe, which equally bore the name of the *Menapii*, in Belgic Gaul. The *Dur* river, and *Dourena*, in Ireland, are obviously from the Celtic *Dur*, or *Dour*, signifying *water*: this word appears in the names of several rivers, in Britain, in Gaul, and in Spain. The *Iernus* river, in Ireland, is derived from the same Celtic source as the *Ierna* river in North-Britain, whereon stood the Roman station of *Hierna*. The *Aufona* river in Ireland, which is incorrectly written *Ausona*, in some maps, is obviously the Celtic *Avon*, the name of so many rivers, in Britain, which is merely latinized into *Aufona*. The *Senus* is the latinized form of the Celtic *Sen*, which signifies great, grand, and slow. In either sense, it is a very appropriate name, for this river, which, Ware assures us, is the most noble river in Ireland; and runs so slow as to stagnate into several lochs, in its extended course. Antiq. Hib. p. 43—4. The name of this fine river was first changed into *Senen*, then *Shenen*, and finally into *Shannon*. The *Buvinda* of Ptolomy is the *Bui-on*, or *Yellow* river of the Irish, which is now called the *Boyne*. The *Banna* of Richard's map is the latinized name of the Celtic *Bann*, denoting a white coloured water, the same as the *Bain*, in Lincolnshire: there are, in Ireland, other two rivers named *Ban*. The *Durabona* of Richard's map is obviously the Celtic *Dar-abhon*, or *Dar-avon*, the Oak river. The *Birgus* of Ptolomy, which is undoubtedly the *Barrow* of modern maps, may have derived its significant name from *Bir*, *Bior*, signifying water: whence, *Biorach*, watry. The *Deva* of Richard's map is the same as the *Deva's* in South, and North, Britain, the latinized name of the Celtic *Dee*. We may find a river *Deva*, in Ptolomy's map of Spain. On Ptolomy's, and Richard's maps of Ireland, we may see the *Argita* river; and in Gaul, Ptolomy marks the *Argen*, and *Argentus*, rivers: the root of these names is the Celtic *Ar*, or *Aer*, which denotes a clear stream, or a *rapid stream*: there are several rivers of this name, and quality, in Britain, and in the other countries of Europe, which were settled by the Celtæ.

(*r*) O'Connor has, indeed, given, in his Dissertations, p. 170, "a map of Ireland agreeable to the times of Ptolomy the geographer." This map is, in fact, compiled from the old Irish historians, rather than from any preceding geographer: yet, it is obvious, that the names of places are all Gaelic, and not Gothic.

statement of the names of *rivers*, in Ireland, and in Britain, with the subjoined meaning of each appellation, from the Celtic language ;

IN IRELAND ;

The *Airds*, a remarkable peninsula, on the coast of Down.

Ard-more, a promontory on the coast of Waterford.

Arran isles, in Galway-bay ;

Arran isle, on the coast of Donegal.

Adar, a river, in Mayo-county ;

Aile, in Mayo-county ;

Allen-loch, in Leitrim county ;

Allow river, in Cork ;

Ara-glin river, in Cork ;

Ari-gadeen river, in Cork ;

Arrow river, Loch-Arrow, in Sligo ;

Aven-banna river, in Wexford ;

Aven-bui river, in Cork ;

Aven-more rivers, two of this name in Mayo ;

Aven-more river, in Sligo ;

Aven-gorm, in Sligo ; and several other *Avens*, in Ireland.

Aul-duff, or *Ald-dubb* water, in Cork ;

IN BRITAIN :

The *Aird*, a similar peninsula, on the east coast of Lewis.

Ard-more, a promontory, in the kindred Frith of Clyde (1).

Arran Isle, in the Frith of Clyde ;

Arran Isle, in Wales (2).

Alder, a river, in Wiltshire ; *Adur*, in Sussex.

Adder-black, *Adder-white*, in Berwickshire (3).

Ale, in Roxburgshire ; and *Ale*, in Berwickshire.

Allen, or *Allan*, is the name of several rivers in South, and North, Britain (4).

Allow, two rivers of this name, in Northumberland (5).

Arre river, in Cornwall ; *Arc*, in Yorkshire ;

Aray, in Argyle ; *Ayr*, in Ayrshire ; and

Ayr, in Cardigan (6).

Arrow river, in Hereford ; *Arro*, in Warwick ;

Arw, in Monmouthshire.

Several rivers, both in South, and North, Britain, are named *Avon*, which, in the ancient British, and Gaulic, languages, signifies a river (7).

Ald-dubb rivulet, in Perthshire (8).

Aw-beg

(1) The Gaelic *Aird*, signifying a *point*, or *projection*, is applied to several promontories on the coast of Ireland, and on the shores of North-Britain.

(2) *Aran*, in the British, signifies a *high place* : it is the name of several mountains, in Britain.

(3) *Aweddur* (Brit.) signifies running water.

(4) *Alwen* (Brit.) *Alain* (Gaelic) signify the white, or clear, stream.

(5) *Allow*, or *Ail-ow*, means the clear, or bright, water : *Aw*, and *Ow*, in the British, and other dialects of the Celtic, signify water.

(6) *Air* (Brit.) denotes the bright, or lucid, stream ; and *Aer* signifies the violent, or tumultuous stream. *Aer-ow*, or *Aer-ay*, convey the same meaning. *Arw* in ancient Gaulish signified *rapid*.

(7) *Avon-ban*, signifies the white river ; *Avon-bui*, the yellow river ; *Avon-more*, the great river ; and *Avon-gorm*, the blue river. These epithets appear frequently in the names of waters, and hills, in North-Britain.

(8) *Ald-dubb*, in Gaelic, signifies the black rivulet. The epithet *dubb* is frequently applied, in the names of dark-coloured waters, in Britain, and Ireland. See *Duve*.

IN IRELAND ;

Aw-beg river, in Cork ;
Aney river, in Meath ;
Anne river, in Clare ;

Bann river, in Down ;
Bann river, in Wexford ;
Avon Banna river, in Wexford ;
Bandon river, in Londonderry ;
Ben river, in Mayo.
Bar river, in Donnegal.
Barrow river, in Kilkenny.
Beg river, in Limerick ;
Bow river, in Louth ;
Bray river, in Dublin county ;
Brow water, in Galway ;

Callen river, in Kilkenny ;
Camon river, in Tyrone ;

Camlin river, in Longford ;
Car lake, in Armagh ;
Carra lake, and river, in Kerry ;
Cary river, in Antrim ;
Carron river, in Tyrone ;

IN BRITAIN :

Aw river, and *Aw loch*, in Argyle (9).
Auney river, in Devon ;
Annan river, in Dumfries (10).

Bane river, in Lincoln ;
Banney river, in York ;
Bann-oc-burn, in Stirling ;
Banon river, in Pembroke ;
Bain river, in Hertford (11).
Barle river, in Somerset.
Barrow river, in Westmoreland (12) ;
Biga river, in Montgomery (13).
Bow river, in Shropshire.
Bray river, in Devon (14).
Brue river, in Sommerset (15).

Calne river, in Wilts (16).
Cam river, in Cambridgeshire ;
Cam river, in Gloucester.
Camel river, in Cornwall, &c. (17)
Car river, in Dorset ;
Care river, in Devon ;
Carran river, in Gloucester ;
Carron river, in Stirling (18).

Clyde

(9) *Aw*, in the British, and in the ancient Gaulish, signifies water : *Aw-beg* signifies the *small water* ; as, *Avon-beg* signifies the *little river*.

(10) *An*, *Ana'*, or *Annagh*, in the Gaelic, signifies a water, a river : *An*, and *Ana'*, are compounds, in the names of several waters, in Britain.

(11) *Ban*, *Bane*, *Banna*, *Bannon*, all signify the white water, from the Gaelic *Ban*, white.

(12) *Bar* (Brit.) signifies *impulse*, fury ; and so, is applicable to a rapid stream.

(13) *Beg* river, is perhaps an imperfect translation of *Avon-beg*, signifying the little river.

(14) *Brai* (Brit.) means the stream, that *floods* or *swells*.

(15) The *Bro*, and *Brue*, have *probably* derived their names from the countries through which they run : *Bro* (Brit.) *Bru* (Ir.) signify the level, or plain country, the vale, or borders, or banks of a river.

(16) *Caolan*, in Gaelic, signifies the small water : hence, a small water, in Argyleshire, is named *Caolan*. *Call-an*, in British, means the water, that is apt to run out of its channel.

(17) *Cam*, *Cam-on*, *Cam-lin*, denote the crooked, or bending water, from the British, and Gaelic, *Cam* : it is a compound, in the names of several streams of this description, in Britain ; as *Cam-las*, in Brecknock, *Cam-let*, in Shropshire ; *Cam-bec*, in Cumberland, &c.

(18) *Car*, *Carra*, and *Carran*, signify the winding water : there are several winding streams, in North-Britain, named *Carron*.

IN IRELAND;

Clyde river, in Louth county;
Clodagh river, in King's county;
Clodagh river, in Fermanagh;
Clody river, in Londonderry;
Culany river, in Sligo;

Dee river, in Lowth, the *Deva* of Ptolemy;

Dearg river, and lake, in Donnegal;
Dearig loch, in Longford;

Derina loch, in Kerry;
 Glen *Don* river, in Antrim;
Doro river, in Dublin county;
Doro river, in Queen's county;

Dorry water, in Wicklow;
Duŕe river, in Kildare;

IN BRITAIN:

Clyde river, in Lanerkshire; and *Cluyd* in Wales.

Clydach, two of this name, in Pembroke.

Cledach, in Glamorgan; *Cledach*, two rivers of this name, in Brecknock (19).

Culan water, in Banffshire (20).

Dee river, in Wales; two *Dees* in North-Britain, the *Devas* of Ptolemy (21).

Dearg-an water, in Argyle; several rivulets, and some lochs in North-Britain, are named *Dearg*, from the red colour of their waters (22).

Deren river, in Caermarthen (23).

Don river, in Aberdeen (24).

Dour water, in Fife, and *Dour* water, in Aberdeen: and hence the names of *Aberdour*.

Durar water Argyle (25).

Dove river, in Staffordshire (26).

Avon-Ea,

(19) *Clyd* (Brit.) *Clud* (Ir.) signify warm, sheltered: *Clydach*, of a warm or sheltered nature: *Clydag* is a diminutive form of the word: the Irish *Clodaghs* may possibly mean, indeed, from analogy, the slimy, or dirty waters; from *Clodagh*, dirt, slime.

(20) *Cul-an* (Brit.) signifies the narrow, or confined water.

(21) The name of the *Dee* is probably derived from the British *Dw*, which is pronounced like *Dee*, and signifies the dark coloured stream: the Gaelic form of the word is *Dubb*, which is pronounced *Duv*, and may account for the ancient name of *Deva*, that was given it by Richard, and Ptolemy.

(22) *Dearg*, and *Dearg-an*, signify, in Gaelic, the red water.

(23) *Dair-an* (Brit. and Ir.) signifies the oak water; and *Daran* (Brit.) means the sonorous or noisy stream. But the *Der*, in these names, is perhaps only a variation of *Dur*, water, which is common to all the dialects of the Celtic.

(24) *Dawn* (Brit.) *Don* (Ir.) signifies dusky, or discoloured, which is characteristic of the colour of those waters: the *Doun*, in Ayrshire, retains its original name, in the British form.

(25) All these streams derive their names from the Celtic *Dur*, or *Dour*, signifying water. In the British, it is *Dwr*; in Cornish, *Dowr*; in Gaelic, *Dur*, or *Dobhar*, which is pronounced *Dour*; in the ancient Gaulish *Dur*, and *Dour*; and in Bas Breton *Dur*. The *Dur* is a compound in the names of many British rivers, as the *Cal-dur*'s, *Glas-dur*, *Dur-back*, &c. There is a *Dur* river, and there is a *Dourona* river, in Ptolemy's map of Ireland.

(26) These, and several other rivers of similar names, have probably derived their appellations from the Gaelic *Dobh*, or *Dove*, signifying boisterous, swelling; or more probably from *Dubb*, *Dow*, denoting, like the British *Dee*, the dusky, or dark colour of the water. This epithet appears in the

IN IRELAND;

IN BRITAIN:

Avon-Ea, or *Ea* river, rises from Loch-*Ea*, in Donegal.

Erne loch, in Westmeath, mistakenly called Iron loch;

Erne river, and *Erne* loch, in Fermanagh, and Cavan;

Esk river, and Loch-*Esk*, in Donegal;

Esky river, in Sligo;

Esker river, in King's county:

Feal river, in Kerry;

Fallen river, in Longford;

Fane river, in Lowth;

Fina river, in Monaghan;

Finn river, and loch, in Donegal;

Foy river, in Waterford;

Foyle river, in Londonderry; Loch-*Foyle*, in Donegal;

Fuogh river, in Galway;

Ea river, in Dumfries; *Ey* river, in Berwick; and *Ey* river, in Aberdeen (27).

Erne river, and *Erne* loch, in Perthshire; *Erne* river, now called Findhorn, in Elginshire; *Earn* water, in Renfrew (28).

Esk is the name of a number of rivers in Britain, from the Gaelic *Esc*, *Easc*, signifying water.

Fale, or *Fala* river, in Cornwall.

Fall water, in Perthshire (29).

Fane loch, in Sutherland (30).

Fine loch, in Argyle.

Fin rivulet, in Argyle; *Fin* loch, in Ayr; *Fin*-glan-water, in Lanerk (1).

Foy river, in Cornwall (2).

Foyle, which gives name to *Aber-foyle*, in Perth (3).

Feugh river, in Kincardineshire (4).

Geron

the names of many British waters: the name of Black water, which several streams bear, in Ireland, and in Britain, is a mere translation, from the Gaelic *Uisge-dubh*, and *Avon-dubh*. Spenser mentions, in his *Fairy Queen*,

“ Swift *Avinduff*, which, of the Englishman,

“ Is call'd *Blukewater*, and the Liffer-deep.”

(27) *Ea*, *Ey*, *Ew*, and *Aw*, all signify *water*, in the old Celtic.

(28) The *Ernes* may have derived their names, from the British *Aeron*, or *Airon*; signifying the bright, or foamy stream. A river, in the south of Ireland, which is different from the *Erne*, in the text, is called by Ptolomy *Iernus*: the ancient name of the *Erne*, in Perthshire, is preserved in the name of the Roman station of Hierna, which was placed on its banks: the origin of the whole may be perhaps found in the British *Er*; signifying an impulse, or progression.

(29) *Feal*, *Fall*, and *Fallen*, derive their names from the British *Fall*, denoting what spreads out, a spread.

(30) *Fan*, and *Fana*, in the Gaelic, signifies a descent, or declivity, also lower.

(1) All those waters, which are named *Finn*, and *Finne*, derive their appellations, from the Gaelic *Fion*, or *Finn*; signifying white. *Finn* enters into the formation of the names of several waters, in North-Britain; as *Fin-monie*, *Fin-glass*, *Fin-ern*, &c.

(2) *Foy*, *Faoi*, in the Gaelic, signify the noisy or sonorous stream.

(3) *Foile* is the English orthography of the Gaelic *Phoil*, which is an inflection of the *Pol*, and is applied both to a loch, and to a slow-running water: it is put in the oblique case, from having the terms, *Avon*, *Loch*, or *Aber*, prefixed to it.

(4) *Fuogh*, and *Feugh*, may have derived their names from the Gaelic *Fio'ach*, *Fiu'ach*, signifying woody; or from *Frachd*, cold, chill.

IN IRELAND;

IN BRITAIN:

<i>Geron</i> point, a promontory on the coast of Antrim;	<i>Garon</i> point, a promontory on the coast of Kincardineshire (5).
<i>Gara</i> lough, in Sligo;	<i>Gare</i> loch, in Dumbarton; <i>Gare</i> loch, in Ross.
<i>Gale</i> river, in Kerry;	<i>Gala</i> river, in Selkirk (6).
<i>Gara</i> river, and Loch-Gara, in Sligo;	<i>Garry</i> river, in Perthshire; <i>Garry</i> river, in Inverness (7).
<i>Garnere</i> water, in Clare;	<i>Garnar</i> river, in Hereford.
<i>Glass</i> loch, in Westmeath;	<i>Glas</i> river and loch, in Inverness (8).
<i>Gui-barra</i> river, in Donegal;	<i>Guy-le</i> river, in Caermarthen.
<i>Gui-doro</i> river, in Donegal;	<i>Guy-thel</i> , in Herefordshire (9).
<i>Inver</i> river falls into <i>Inver</i> bay, at <i>Inver</i> village, in Donegal.	<i>Inver</i> river falls into Loch- <i>Inver</i> , in Sutherland (10).
<i>Kelvin</i> river, in Londonderry;	<i>Kelvin</i> river, in Lanerk.
<i>Lagan</i> water, in Antrim;	<i>Lagan</i> loch, in Inverness;
<i>Lagan</i> , or <i>Logan</i> water, in Down;	<i>Logan</i> water, in Dumfries;
<i>Logan</i> water, in Louth;	<i>Logan</i> water, in Lanerk (11).
<i>Lee</i> river, in Kerry;	<i>Lee</i> river, in Hertford;
<i>Lee</i> river, in Cork;	<i>Lee</i> river, in Cheshire (12).
<i>Leane</i> river, in Kerry.	<i>Line</i> river, in Northumberland; <i>Lyne</i> river, in Peebles; and several others of the same name, in Britain (13).

Liffar

(5) *Garran*, in the British, signifies a *Shank*, what stretches out.

(6) The *Gale*, and *Gala*, may be derived from the British *Gal*, signifying what breaks out, or makes an irruption; and, secondarily, from the Gaelic *Geal*, denoting *white*, bright.

(7) *Garra*, and *Garry*, signify the rough, or impetuous river, from *Garw*, (Brit.), *Garbh*, (Gaelic), *rough*, a *torrent*. Several torrents, in Britain, are named from this source.

(8) The epithet *Glass*, which signifies *grey*, *blue*, or *green*, in the British, and Gaelic, is applied to a number of waters in Britain; as *Glas-dur*, *Fin-glass*, and a variety of streams named *Duglas*.

(9) These, and many other streams in Britain, derive their names from the British *Gwy*, signifying water, a stream: and the same, in Cornish. The same *Gwy* frequently appears, in the names of rivers, in the form of *Wy*, *Uy*; as the (g) is dropt in composition.

(10) *Inbhear*, in the Gaelic, which is pronounced *Inver*, denotes the mouth of a river, the influx of a river into the sea, or into a lake, or the influx of one river into another: hence, the term *Inver* has, in a few instances, been transferred to the rivers themselves.

(11) These waters probably derived their names from the *valleys*, through which they run, as *Lagan*, and *Logan*, in the Gaelic, signify a *hollow*.

(12) *Lli*, in the British, signifies a flux, a flood, a stream. *Ana'-lee* has its prefix from the Irish *Ana'*, a river.

(13) *Llyn*, in the British, and *Linne*, in the Gaelic, signify what proceeds, or is in motion, what flows,

IN IRELAND;

Liffar river, which was called by Spenser the
Liffar deep;
Lough, and *Loch*, are every where, in Ireland;

Maig river, in Limerick;
Mayne river, in Antrim;
Mayne river, in Desmond;
Mang river, in Kerry;
Mulla river, in Cork;
Moyle river, in Tyrone;
Neagh lough, in Antrim;
Roe river, in Londonderry;
Rohe river, in Mayo;
Rye river, in Kildare;

IN BRITAIN:

Liver river, in Cornwall;
Liver river, in Argyle (14).
Llwhch, and *Loch*, are every where, in Wales, and
 Scotland (15).
Meag river, in Rossshire (16).
Mayne river, in Stafford;
Main water, in Wigton;
Mean water, in Dumfries (17).
Mulle river, in Montgomery; *Moule* river, in
 Devon; *Mole* river, in Surrey (18).
Neag water, in Denbigh (19).
Roy river, in Inverness;
Rue river, in Montgomery (20).
Rye river, in Yorkshire; *Rye* river, in Ayr.

Rea

flows, water, a pool, a lake. The word frequently appears in the names of rivers in Britain, particularly of such as form pools. *Loin*, in Gaelic, signifies a rivulet; and is frequent, in the topography of North-Britain. *Llion* is the plural of the British *Lli*, a flood.

(14) The *Liffar*, and *Liver*, as well as the *Liffy*, which bisects Dublin, derive their names from the British *Lif*, or *Lliv*; signifying a flood, or inundation. The rivers, named *T-lif*, which are now *Ila*, and *Ilen*, in Britain, have their names from the same source.

(15) The British *Llwhch*, and the Gaelic *Loch*, or *Louch*, signifying an influx of water, a lake, are every where, in Britain, and Ireland, applied to inlets of the sea; and to lakes.

(16) The *Maig*, and the *Meag*, may have derived their names from the British *Maig*, signifying a sudden turn, or course; or, perhaps, from the Gaelic *Meag*, denoting the *whay colour* of their waters. The *Meggit* water in Peebles, the *Meggit* in Dumfries, the *Miglo* in Fife, and the *Migil* in Sutherland, probably derive their names from the same source.

(17) *Mayne*, *Main*, and *Mean*, may derive their names from the Gaelic *Meadhon*, which is pronounced *Mean*; signifying the *middle*: so *Avon-Mean* signifies the middle river; or, perhaps, from the British *Mai-an*; signifying the agitated, or troubled water; which is, indeed, characteristic of those several streams.

(18) The British *Moel*, and the Gaelic *Maol*, signify *bare*, naked; and may have, therefore, been applied to those waters, from the circumstance of their being naked, by being without the covering of wood: *Mwl* (Brit.) means close, warm: *Mol*, (Gaelic), of which *Mhoil*, and *Mbuil*, are inflections, signify loud, noisy. The *Mulla* is often called by Spenser, by the endearing epithet, *mine*; as it ran through his domain.

(19) *Neach*, in Gaelic, signifies an apparition: *Neoch*, in Gaelic, means good, and originally meant, any thing *noble*, *excellent*, *eminent*. Collect. Hibern. v. 3. p. 279. In this sense, it is very applicable to loch *Neagh*, which is certainly the largest lake, in Ireland.

(20) *Roe*, *Roy*, and *Rue*, all signify the *red* coloured water, from the Gaelic *Rua'*, *Ruai*, red: the analogous word, in the British, is *Rhudd*.

IN IRELAND;

IN BRITAIN;

Rea loch, in Galway; *Rei* loch, in Roscommon;*Rea* river, in Shropshire; *Rea* river, in Warwick;
Rey, or *Ray*, in Wilts (21).*Slaney* river, in Wexford; *Slaan* river, in Cork;*Slanie* water, in Perthshire (22).*Suire* river, in Waterford;*Sowre* river, in Leicester; *Swere* river, in Oxford (23).*Swelly* river, in Donegal; *Swilly* river, and *Swilly* loch, in Donegal;*Swail* river, in Yorkshire; *Swail*, two of this name, in Kent; *Swily*, in Gloucester (24).*Ta* loch, in Wexford;*Taw* river, in Devon; *Tay* loch, and river, in Perth; *Taw* river, in Glamorgan (25).*Tay* river, in Waterford;*Tone* river, in Somerset (26).*Toone* river, in Cork;*Tuile* river, in Fife (27).*Tulie-clea* river, in Fermanagh;*Urrin* river, in Rosshire;*Urrin* river, in Wexford;*Urr* river, in Galloway; *Urie* river, in Aberdeen (28).*Avon-Ure*, in Roscommon;

(21) *Rea*, *Rey*, and *Rye*, rivers, derive their names from their quality of quickness of flow: *Rbe*, (Brit.), *Rei*, and *Rea*, (Gaelic), signify a swift motion, rapid: *Uisge-rea*, and *Uisge-rei*, signify literally *running water*; of which *Rea* water, or *Rea* river, is a half translation.

(22) *Slaan*, and *Slaney*, may have derived their names, from the Gaelic *Easc-lan*; signifying the full water.

(23) In the Irish, and other dialects of the Celtic, *Sur*, and *Suir*, signify *water*. Collect. Hibern. v. 3. p. 147; and Bullet, mem. in voc. *Sugh* (Gaelic) and *Sugh* (British), means *juice*, or liquor.

(24) *Suaill*, in the Gaelic, signifies *small*, and *Suall*, famous: but, neither of these terms are very applicable to the objects: these rivers may have borrowed their names, from the nature of the countries, through which they ran: *Ts-wal*, in the British, signifies a sheltered place, an inhabited, or cultivated country.

(25) These, and various other similar names of rivers in Britain, are all derived from the British *Ta*, *Taw*, Gaelic *Tamb*, *Tav*, signifying what expands, or spreads; also what is still, or quiet: the fine expanses formed by these waters justify the propriety of their British appellation: *Tay* is the English pronunciation of the British *Taw*.

(26) *Ton*, (fem.), *Tawn*, (masc.), in the British, and also, in the Gaelic, denote a water, which forms surges, or waves, in its roll: but, these names are, perhaps, merely a variation of *Tain*, which anciently signified a *river*, in the British, as well as in the old Gaulish.

(27) Both these rivers derive their names from the Gaelic *Tuile*, a *flood*. The Gaelic *Tuile* enters into the formation of other names of streams, in Britain; as *Avon-thuile*, or *Avon-uile*; *Tuile-ilt*, a stream, in Aberdeenshire.

(28) *Avon-'uar*, (Gaelic), and *Avon-oer*, (Brit.), signify the *cold* river: *Avon-wyr*, (Brit.), *Aven-ur*, (Gaelic) signify the *pure*, or fresh river.

From

[To face page 26.]

SOUTH	The Number of Parishes.	The Number of Inhabitants.				
		In 1755.	In 1791.	In 1801.	Fighting Men.	Persons to a Square Mile.
ROXBURGH	31	31,520	32,713	33,682	8,012	48 : 39
BERWICK	31	24,114	29,734	30,206	7,150	67 : 72
HADINGTON	24	28,697	29,230	29,986	7,038	107 : 09
EDINBURGH	40	90,438	123,093	124,124	27,710	346 : 71
LINLITHGO	13	16,438	17,271	17,847	4,120	147 : 5
PEEBLES	16	8,847	8,045	8,735	2,198	25 : 84
ROSS	28	39,045	46,059	49,459	11,585	18 : 11
CROMARTY	5	7,753	8,843	8,544	1,945	29 : 66
SUTHERLAND	13	21,147	23,187	23,117	5,282	12 : 55
CAITHNESS	10	21,402	22,976	22,609	5,160	32 : 58
ORKNEY	17	23,381	24,050	24,445	5,497	68 : 86
	12	15,370	20,385	22,379	5,040	39 : 68
	503	750,950	839,621	875,229	202,930	40 : 17
	393	504,713	675,378	743,074	173,830	92 : 49
	896	1,255,663	1,514,999	1,618,303	376,760	54 : 27

The ancient Division	in each State	THE SOUTHERN STATES
Length		
S. West to N. East	Tennessee and Kentucky	Tennessee
East to West	Tennessee, Kentucky and Indiana	Kentucky
East to West	East Kentucky	Indiana
East to West	Mid-Kentucky	Kentucky
N. East to S. West	West Kentucky	Kentucky
S. S. West to N. E.	Tennessee	Tennessee
S. West to N. East	Tennessee	Tennessee
E. S. East to W.	Kentucky, Tennessee, Kentucky	Kentucky
S. East to N. West	The east part of Kentucky	Kentucky
S. S. East to N. N.	The west part of Kentucky	Kentucky
South to North	Cumberland, Kentucky and Tennessee	Kentucky
S. S. East to N. N.	Cumberland	Kentucky
E. S. East to W.	Kentucky	Kentucky
S. East to N. N.	Kentucky and Tennessee	Kentucky
East to West	Cumberland and Kentucky	Kentucky
E. S. East to W.	Kentucky	Kentucky
S. West to N. East	Tennessee and Kentucky	Tennessee
East to West	A part of Kentucky	Kentucky
East to West	Kentucky	Kentucky
S. East to N. N.	Kentucky, Tennessee, Kentucky	Kentucky

From this comparative view of the rivers of Ireland, and of Britain, arises a moral certainty, that the British islands were originally settled, by the same Celtic tribes. This certainly might even be made more certain, by a comparison of the names, which the first colonists imposed on the other great objects of nature. Of these, islands, and insulated places, have the Gaelic name of *Inis*, which appears from the maps, in the various forms of *Insh*, *Inch*, *Ince*, *Ennis*; and which is the same, as the Cambro-British *Ynys*, and the Cornish *Ennis* (a). Of the mountains, several are named from the Gaelic *Sliabh*; as *Sliabh-sneacht*, the *snow mountain*, in Donegal; *Sliabh-damb*, the stags mountain, in Sligo; *Sliabh-glas*, the grey mountain, in Cavan; *Sliabh-bui*, the yellow mountain, in Wexford (b). The Gaelic *Bein*, signifying a mountain, is the general appellative of many hills; as *Ben-dubh*, the black mountain, in Tipperary; *Ben-levagh*, in Galway; *Ben-balbagh*, *Ben-icolben* in Sligo. Several heights have the Gaelic prefix *Mam*, which also signifies a mountain; as *Mam-arty*, in Mayo; *Mam-trasna*, in Galway. Several hills are named, from the Gaelic *Cnoc*, or *Knoc*, a *hill*; as *Knoc-breac*, the speckled hill, in Cork; *Cnoc-na-shi*, the fairy hill, in Sligo. The Gaelic *Cruach*, a high heap; *Carn*, a heap; *Mullach*, a summit; *Dun*, a hill; enter into the names of many hills, in Ireland. All those Gaelic compounds appear equally conspicuous, in the topography of Scotland; and equally evince, that a Gaelic people imposed those several names on remarkable places in both those countries.

The great body of the names of places, in the map of Ireland, is undoubtedly Gaelic (c). Many names, as we might expect, are derived from *Ach*, or *Acha*, which is frequently spelt *Agh*, by the English, and signifies a *field*. Many names are formed, from the Gaelic *Clon*, or *Cluain*, signifying a pasturage. Several names are derived from *Ard*, a height; and from *Drom*, or *Drum*, a ridge. A number of names are compounded with the Gaelic *Dun*, which originally signified a *hill*, and secondarily a *strength*, or fortress: it often appears in the form of *Dun*, *Don*, *Down*. Several names are derived from *Rath*, which also signifies, in the Gaelic, a *place of security*, a *strength*, a *village* (d).

Cahir,

(a) In the Cornish, the same term is *Ynys*, *Ennis*, and *Ince*. Pryce's Arch. In the Bas Breton, it is *Inis*; and in the ancient Gaulish, *Inis*, and *Ynys*.

(b) The Gaelic *Sliabh* is spelt *slew*, in Speed's maps, which is the spelling of Spenser; because it is the English pronunciation: but, in Beaufort's map of Ireland, and in several of the late county maps, the orthography of *Sliabh* is more analogically *Slieb*, and *Shev*.

(c) See Beaufort's map, which has best preserved the Gaelic names of the old Irish people.

(d) *Ráth*, in the Gaelic, and *Rhâth*, in the British, signified, originally, a plain, or *cleared spot*, such as the Celtic inhabitants of the British isles usually fixed their habitations on. *Ráth*, in

Cabir, and *Car*, form the prefixes of some names, in the topography of Ireland (*e*); as *Caer* and *Car* do, in Wales, in Cornwall, and also in Scotland: and, all these are derived from the British *Caer*, or the Gaelic *Cathair*, which is pronounced *Cair*; signifying a wall, or mound for defence, a fortified place; a *fortress*, a *fortified* town. There is a very numerous class of names, which is much more modern; because those names were generally imposed, both in Ireland, and in Scotland, after the epoch of Christianity; and which appears under the form of *Cil*, or *Kil*; signifying a cell, a chapel, a church.

Ireland, plainly, preserves, in her topography, a much greater proportion of *Celtic* names, than the map of any other country; and next to it, in this respect, may be placed North-Britain. The names of towns, villages, churches, parishes, mountains, lakes, rivers, and of other places, and objects, in Ireland, are nearly all *Gaelic*. A small proportion are English; or of a mixed nature, consisting of Gaelic and English. The names of places, which appear to be derived from the Scandinavian rovers, who made some settlements on the coasts of Ireland, during the ninth, and tenth centuries, are so very few, that they would scarcely merit notice, if they did not illustrate the obscurities of history: and the Scandian names are confined to the coast, as we know from Ware (*f*), the Eastmen were in their residence; and these appellations are chiefly conspicuous, from their giving names to some of the maritime towns. The mixed names are composed, by grafting English words on Irish roots; as *Lif-ford*, *Achil-head*, *Ban-foot*, *Baile-borough*, *Gil-ford*, *Abbey-feal*. The English appellations are such as *Abing-ton*, *Ac-ton*, *Hills-borough*, *Lanes-borough*, *Mary-borough*, *New-town*, *New-castle*, *Long-ford*, *Strat-ford*. The termination of *ford*, in those names, and in others, as it merely signifies the *passage* of several waters, must not be confounded, as Ware, and Harris, have mistakenly done, with the affix *ford*, in *Wex-ford*, *Water-ford*, *Carling-ford*, *Strang-ford*. The fact evinces that, in these names, the *ford* is affixed to some *bay*, *frith*, or *haven*; and consequently, must be the Scandinavian *fiord*, which denotes such collections of water. The names, which were applied to various objects, in

the Gaelic, also signified a *surety*: hence, the term was applied, by the old Irish, and by the Scoto-Irish, to the villages, in which they lived; to the seats of their *Flaiths*, or princes; and to a fortress, or *place of security*: *Ráth* is the common appellation, for the ancient Irish Forts, most of which were situated on eminences, the same as in Britain: yet, this well-known Celtic word, which was so frequently applied, by the *Gaelic* people of Ireland, and of North-Britain, to their villages, and strengths, has been deduced by speculation from the German *Rat*, which has quite a different meaning! Trans. of the Irish Academy, v. 8. Antiq. p. 5.

(e) See Beaufort's Map, and his Index.

(f) Antiq. Hibern. ch. 24.

Ireland, by the Eastmen, are so few, as to admit of being enumerated. The names of *Wex-ford*, *Water-ford*, *Carling-ford*, *Strang-ford*, which are all connected with *bays*, need not be repeated: it is of more importance to note, that the native Irish still use their own vernacular names, for these towns; as *Waterford* is by them called *Port-Lairge*, *Wexford* *Loch-garman*. The name of *Wicklow* is somewhat doubtful: *Wik*, in the Scandinavian, signifies a *bay*, or *creek*, and also a *fortress*, or *strength*; but, the term is also in the Anglo-Saxon, and in old English: And the affix *low*, in *Wick-low*, *Ark-low*, *Car-low*, may possibly be derived from the old English *low*, a *hill*, or rising ground, which was borrowed from the Anglo-Saxon *blæw* (g). *Smerwick*, a bay on the coast of Kerry, is probably the *Smerwick* of the Scandinavians, signifying the butter-haven. The *Olderfleete*-haven, in Speed's map of Antrim, seems also to be a Scandian name. The Scandinavian *ey*, signifying an *island*, appears to have furnished a few names of islands, with terminations: such as, the islets of *Dalk-ey* *Lamb-ay*, *Ireland's-eye*, on the coast of Dublin; the *Salt-ce* islands, on the coast of Donegal; *Om-ey* island, on the coast of Galway; *Durs-ey* island, on the coast of Cork; *Whidd-y* island, in Bantry-bay. *Holm-Patrick*, an islet on the coast of Dublin, is probably the Scandinavian *Holm*, an islet, though *holm* also signifies an islet, in the Anglo-Saxon speech. But, these form a very few of the numerous isles, lying around the shores of Ireland, the great body whereof is named from the Gaelic *Inis*: and a few, indeed, have English appellations. The names of *Limerick*, of *Leinster*, of *Munster*, and of *Ulster*, were plainly formed, from the vernacular names of Gaelic times, by the addition of Scandinavian terminations. The Irish name of *Luim-neach* was converted by the Scandinavian intruders into *Limerick*. To the Gaelic appellations of *Laighean*, *Mumbain*, and *Ulladh*, which are pronounced, like *Laiean*, *Muain*, and *Ulla*, the Scandinavians, who settled on their shores, added the Gothic term *Stadr*, or *Sier*; and thus formed *Leinster*, *Muanster*, and *Ulster*: and these compounded names, which were more familiar to the English of the twelfth century, were by them adopted, and continued; while the native Irish still use their own vernacular names, with the prefix *Coige*, signifying a province. Such are the few names, which the Scandinavians imposed on the places of Ireland: and the topography of Ireland, which exhibits

(f) See Gibson's *Sax. Chron. Regulæ Generales*, p. 6, 7. Yet, *Carlow* is merely a corruption of the vernacular Irish name *Cathair-lough*, signifying the fortress, or town, on the lake. See *Collect. Hibern.* v. 3. p. 340. This name is pronounced, in Irish, *Cairlough*, and by the English *Carlow*: so the terminations of *Arklow*, and *Wicklow*, may also be from the Irish *lough*, which is pronounced *low* by the English: the fact must decide many such doubtful positions.

none of those Gothic appellations, at any distance from the coast, to which they were confined, altogether corresponds with their history, as we read it in Ware's Antiquities: nor, is there to be seen one mountain, lake, river, town, village, or any other object, in the interior of this *Celtic* island, which bears a Scandinavian name.

The Index to Beaufort's map, which may be deemed the *villare* of Ireland, contains 3842 names of cities, towns, baronies, villages, parishes, churches, mountains, lakes, rivers, bays, promontories, and islands: of these, 3028 are Gaelic names; 171 are mixed names of Gaelic, and English; 623 appellations are English; and of the whole, only 20 names are Scythic, Scandinavian, or Gothic. The several proportions of those various names are exhibited, in the subjoined table, under the different letters of Beaufort's alphabet (*b*).

This table, then, furnishes a moral demonstration of the historic truths, that Ireland was originally colonized by Gaelic people, from Great Britain; and

(*b*) A TABLE, shewing the respective numbers of the several names of towns, villages, parishes, mountains, lakes, rivers, bays, promontories, and islands, in Beaufort's map of Ireland; and exhibiting the proportion of Gaelic, English, and Scandinavian designations, under each letter of the alphabet.

	Gaelic.	Mixt, Gaelic and English.	English.	Scandian.	The TOTAL.
Names in A - -	187	13	5	0	205
B - -	387	12	88	0	487
C - -	409	29	91	1	530
D - -	270	8	10	2	290
E - -	39	2	4	0	45
F - -	74	4	17	0	95
G - -	88	7	30	0	125
H - -	2	0	33	2	37
I - -	99	3	10	1	113
K - -	650	3	7	0	660
L - -	127	3	17	3	150
M - -	182	12	57	1	252
N - -	26	7	48	0	81
O - -	35	4	6	2	47
P - -	22	2	33	0	57
Q - -	0	0	3	0	3
R - -	143	4	26	0	173
S - -	117	8	84	3	212
T - -	158	47	18	0	223
U and V - -	13	3	6	1	23
W - -	0	0	26	4	30
Y - -	0	0	4	0	4
	3028	171	623	20	3842

that

that a Scandinavian race never settled beyond the shores of the sacred island. Such are the instructive helps, which the topography of Ireland supplies to the obscure history of her successive colonists, from the earliest to recent times. The *stone monuments* of the first settlers, which still remain, confirm the just representation, that has been given of their original country, and genuine lineage (i).

From those authentic facts, and satisfactory circumstances, it is reasonable to infer, that the British isles were all settled, by the same people, during the most early times. If Europe was originally peopled by the gradual progress of migrations by land; if the nearest continent colonized the adjacent islands; if the shores of South-Britain were thus peopled from Gaul, we may thence infer, that the northern districts of the same island were settled, by migrants from the South, who were incited by curiosity, or urged by interest, to search for new settlements, while the original impulse yet produced its early effects. This reasoning is confirmed by facts. It will be found, that the Celtic tribes of North-Britain practised the same worship, followed the same manners, and spoke the same language: and, these circumstances are proofs, which demonstrate the sameness of the people, with greater conviction, than the fanciful theories of philosophers, or the absurder intimations of ignorant chroniclers.

In every history, it is of the greatest importance to ascertain the origin of the people, whose rise, and progress, and fortune, it is proposed to investigate. But, in an account of North-Britain, that object becomes still more important, when it is considered, how often its aborigines have been traced to various sources, and how much its annals are involved in singular obscurity. Whether the aborigines of North-Britain were of a Gaelic, or a Gothic origin, has been disputed, with all the misinformation of ignorance, and debated with all the obstinacy of prejudice. The lineage, and the chronology, of the Caledonians, the Picts, and the Scots, have been investigated with the zeal of party, rather than the intelligence, and the candour, of rational inquirers, who examine, much more than dispute.

Under such circumstances, it becomes necessary to offer, with regard to such inquiries, proofs, which come near to demonstration. We have seen, that the British isles were peopled, by Celtic tribes, in the most early ages. These

(i) It is not the *Round Towers*, which are here referred to; and which are of much more recent erection; but the *Carns*, the *Circles of Stones*, the *Cromlechs*, which are of the first ages. See Wright's *Louthiana*, bk. iii. pl. 3, 4, 5, 6; Gough's *Camden*, v. 3, pl. xxxv. xlv. xlviii.; King's *Munimenta Antiqua*, v. i. p. 282—3; Grose's *Antiq. Ireland*, introd. p. xi; Smith's *Hist. Cork*, v. ii. pl. xii. xiii.

settlements were made, during distant times, while only one race of men inhabited Western Europe. The Gothic migrations, which are but recent, when compared with the colonization of Europe, had not, in those times, begun. And, from those intimations, we might easily infer, that the Gaulish tribes, who planted the southern parts of Britain, found a ready course throughout every division of Britain, and a final settlement, in the northern districts of the same island. In our subsequent progress, we shall see history recognize, and topography confirm that rational notion of the original colonization of North-Britain (*k*). This region, during the first century, is a small, but genuine mirror

(*k*) A comparison of the appellations of the tribes, and of the names of places in South, and North-Britain, as they are stated by Ptolomy, and Richard, will furnish a decisive proof, that the tribes in both were of the same lineage; and that the names of places, in both those countries, were imposed by the same Gaelic colonists. There are,

IN SOUTH-BRITAIN;

IN NORTH-BRITAIN;

(1) The Carnabii of Cornwall; the Carnabii of Cheshire, and Shropshire;

The Cantæ of Kent;

The Damnii of Devon; the Damnii of Ireland;

The Tri-novantes of Essex, and Middlesex;

(2) The Sylva Caledonia of Norfolk; and Suffolk;

Uxella, a town of the Hadui;

Uxella, a river of Sommerset;

Uxellum promontorium, at the mouth of the Humber;

Lindum, at Lincoln, a town of the Coitani;

Rerigonium, a town of the Sistuntii, in Lancashire;

Varis, in Wales;

(3) The Alauna, a river of the Belgæ;

The Esca, a river, in Devon;

The Isca, or Esca, in Wales;

The Abona, which falls into the Severn;

The Deva, a river in Wales; and in Ireland;

The Nidus, a river in Wales;

The Tina, a river of the Ottodini, in Northumberland;

(1) The Carnabii of Caithness.

The Cantæ of Rosshire.

The Danmii of Clydesdale, of Renfrew, and Ayr.

The Novantes of Galloway.

(2) The Sylva Caledonia of the interior highlands;

Uxellum, a town of the Selgovæ.

Uxellum montes of Galloway.

Pen-Uxellum promontorium, at the mouth of Dornoch frith.

Lindum, at Ardoch, a town of the Damnii.

Rerigonum, a town of the Novantes, in Galloway.

Varis, in Murray.

(3) The Alauna, whereon stood Alauna, a town of the Damnii.

The Esica, in Angus, and others of the same name, in North-Britain.

The Abona, which separates the Cantæ and Logi.

The Deva, a river in Galloway, and in Aberdeen.

The Nidus, a river in Galloway.

The Tina, a river of the Venricones, in Angus.

This comparative statement, then, exhibits not similarities, but samenesses; and thereby clearly shows, that the same people must have originally imposed all those names on the same persons, and places.

of Gaul, during the same age. North-Britain was inhabited by one and twenty clans of Gaelic people, whose polity, like that of their Gaelic progenitors, did not admit of very strong ties of political union. They professed the same religious tenets, as the Gauls, and performed the same sacred rites: their stone monuments were the same, as we know from remains. Their principles of action; their modes of life; their usages of burial, were equally Gaelic: and, above all, their expressive language, which still exists, for the examination of those, who delight in such lore, was the purest Celtic.

To leave no doubt, with regard to the *aborigines* of North-Britain, which is of such importance to the truth of history, there will be immediately subjoined proofs of that simple notion of their original settlement, which amount to a moral demonstration. These proofs will consist of an accurate comparison, between the names of places, in South-Britain, and the same names, in North-Britain, under the following heads: (1.) Promontories, hills, and harbours; (2.) Rivers, rivulets, and waters; (3.) Miscellaneous names of particular districts. Now, the identity of the names of places, in both the divisions of our island, being certain, as well the fact, as their meaning, no doubt can remain, but the same people must have imposed the same names on the same objects, in the north, and in the south of the British islands. In this topographical investigation, which is as new, as it is interesting, we at once proceed to inquire:

I. OF PROMONTORIES, HARBOURS, AND HILLS,

IN SOUTH-BRITAIN;

Alsa, (high cliff), }
Alston, (high cliff), } two villages in Cornwall.

IN NORTH-BRITAIN:

Ailsa, a high, rocky, island, in the Frith of Clyde.
Alsa, a rocky isle, in Loch-Crinan, Argyle-shire (1).

Arran

(1) *Als* (Corn.) a cliff, *Allt* (Brit.) a cliff, *All* (Ir.) a rock, or cliff; *Alt*, in ancient Gaulish, a height, a hill. The language which is made use of, in the whole of this enquiry, is taken from the following sources, and is supported by the subjoined authorities: the British, and Armoric, from the Dictionaries of Davies, and Rhydderich, of Richards, and Owen, and Lhuyd's *Archæologia*: the Cornish from Pryce's *Archæologia*, and Borlase's *History of Cornwall*: the Irish, or Gaelic, from the Irish Dictionaries of Lhuyd, and of O'Brien; from Shaw's *Gaelic Dictionary*, from the *Vocabularies* of Macdonald, and Macfarlane, and from Stewart's *Gaelic Grammar*. The Bas-Breton, the Basque, and the old Gaulish, or Celtic, from the Dictionaries of Rostrennen, and Pelletier, and from Bullet's *Mémoires sur la Langue Celtique*. This general intimation is here given, to save the frequent repetitions of those several authorities, which would occupy much room, and only embarrass the sense.

IN SOUTH-BRITAIN;

Arran island, in Wales: several mountains, in Merioneth: and two hills, near Bala, are called *Aran*.

Aber-ystwith, and *Aber-porth*, in Cardiganshire; *Aber-poult*, *Aber-ithy*, *Aber-melin*, *Aber-awrgog*, *Aber-howel*, and *Aber-kibor*, on the coast of Pembroke; *Aber-dovey*, in Merionethshire; *Aber-daron*, in Caernarvonshire; *Aber-fraw*, in Anglesey; and many places, at the confluence of waters, inland, as well as on the coast, are named *Aber*.

Cove is applied to a creek; as *Cove-hith*, in Blething-hundred, Suffolk; *Toplundy Cove*, and *Portkewin Cove*, in Trig-hundred; and *Nantgissel Cove*, at the lands-end, Cornwall: the *Cove* in St. Mary's isle, Scilly.

Calais, on the coast of France, was doubtless named from the narrow strait, which separates South-Britain from France.

IN NORTH-BRITAIN:

Arran island, in the Clyde, is so named, from a range of high mountains, which run through the middle of it (2).

Aber-deen, *Aber-don*, *Aber-dour*, in Aberdeenshire; *Aber-dour*, in Fifeshire; *Aberbrothock*, *Aber-lemno*, and *Aber-elliot*, in Forfarshire; *Aber-tay*, at the mouth of the Tay; *Aber-lady*, in Haddingtonshire; and many places, at the confluence of waters, inland, as well as on the coast, are named *Aber* (3).

Cove is applied to a creek; as old *Cove-harbour*, in Berwickshire; *Cove-haven*, in St. Vigean's parish, Forfarshire; the *Cove-harbour*, in Nig parish, Kincardineshire (4).

There are several straits, between the different islands, and the main-land, around the west coast of North-Britain, called *Caolas*, *Calais*, and *Kyles*, which, in Irish, signify a *frith*, or strait.

Heugh

(2) *Aran* (Brit.) a high place: it is the name of several of the highest mountains in Britain. There are also the *Arran* isles, in Galway-bay, and *Arran* island on the coast of Donegal, Ireland.

(3) *Aber* (Brit.) signifies a confluence of water, the junction of rivers, the fall of a lesser river into a greater, or into the sea; by metaphor, a port, or harbour. *Aber* has the same signification in Cornish, in Bas-Breton, and in the ancient Gaulish. The British *Aber* appears very frequently, in the topography, both of North, and South-Britain: it is uniformly applied to the influx of a river into the sea, or into some other stream, as the word signifies; and it is compounded with the Celtic names of the rivers in the Celtic form of construction, as *Aber-tay*, which, in the Scoto-Saxon, is called *Tay-mouth*. This ancient British word cannot, therefore, be referred to the Saxon, or German *Ober*, the root of the English *Over*, which is totally different, in its meaning, and mode of application. In the British speech of Wales, and Cornwall, the *Aber* is still in common use, both in its original signification, and the secondary application of it to a port, or harbour. The *Aber* of the British corresponds with the *Inver* of the Irish, and both are applied to similar objects, as they signify the same thing. It is a curious fact, which we learn from the charters of the twelfth century, that the Scoto-Irish people substituted their *Inver*, for the previous *Aber* of the Britons. David I. granted to the monastery of May "*Inver-in qui fuit Aber-in*." Chart. May. This remarkable place is at the influx of a small stream, named *In*, into the sea on the coast of Fife: both those names are now lost. It is an equally curious fact, that the influx of the Nethy into the Ern, which had been named *Aber-nethy*, by the Britons, was called *Inver-nethy* by the Scoto-Irish; and both these names still remain. The Gothic word, for the British *Aber*, is *Aros*; as *Nid-Aros*.

(4) *Cof* (Brit.) means a hollow trunk, a cavity, a belly: so *Cof*, *Coff*, and *Cov*, in the ancient Gaulish.

IN SOUTH-BRITAIN;

Heugh is a name applied to several heights, or high points, around the coast of Cornwall; as *Heugh Town*, on a high peninsula; *Heugh Passage*, in Beer Ferrers; *Lamerton Heugh*, in Lamerton parish; *Dunterton Heugh*, in Dunterton parish; the *Heugh*, or *Hew*, a high peninsula, in St. Mary's isle, Scilly; and several heights, on the shores of the Tamar, are called *Heughs*.

Kenarth, on a point, between two rivers, in Caermarthenshire; *Penarth-point*, near Cardiff; and *Penarth-point*, near Swansea, Glamorganshire.

Pentire is the name of a point of land, in Trigg-hundred, Cornwall.

Pen-lee point, near Plymouth, and several other names of *Pen*, which are applied to head-lands, on the coasts of Cornwall, and Wales.

Portsey, and *Portsmouth*, in *Portsdown-hundred*, Hampshire.

IN NORTH-BRITAIN:

Heugh is a name applied to several heights, along the sea coast of North-Britain; as the *Red-Heugh*, and *Hawks-Heugh*, in Berwickshire; *Craig-Heugh*, and *Heugh-end*, in Fifeshire; *Carlin-Heugh*, and *Breed-Heugh*, in Forfarshire; *Fowl's Heugh*, and the *Earn-Heugh*, in Kincardineshire; *Gar-Heugh*, in Mochrum parish, Wigton; and *Clachan-Heugh*, on Loch-Ryan, in Wigtonshire (5).

Kingarth, in the island of Bute; which was so named from a bold head-land, near it on the coast (6).

Kintyre is the name of a long narrow point of land, in the south of Argyleshire (7).

Pen-an, a head-land, on the north coast of Buchan, Aberdeenshire; and the *Pen* is applied to projecting heights in North-Britain (8).

Portsoy, a sea-port, in Banffshire; *Port-down*, a creek, in Wigtonshire.

Port-

(5) *Uch*, and *Uchel*, (Brit.), means high, a height, the top, &c.; and so *Uch*, in the Bas Breton, and ancient Gaulish. The aspirate *H* was probably prefixed to *Uch*, and thereby formed *Huch*: there are many instances, in the topography of North-Britain, where the *H* has been prefixed to Celtic words, beginning with a vowel: the *Hoch*, or *Hob*, of the German, *altus, excelsus*, is derived from the British *Uch*, *Uchel*. Wachter's Glossary.

(6) *Pen* (Brit.) signifies a head, or end, as in the ancient Gaulish, and Bas Breton; and *Garth*, a high cape, or ridge; in composition, *Penarth*: so *Garth*, in Bas Breton, and ancient Gaulish. *Cean*, and *Cin*, (Ir.), mean a head, or end; in the ancient Gaulish, *Cen*: so, *Pen-arth*, and *Kin-garth*, signify the same: the British *Pen* is a frequent prefix to the names of places, in North-Britain.

(7) From *Pen*, (Brit.), and *Cin*, (Ir.), a head, or end, as above, and *Tir*, land, (Brit. and Irish): so, *Pen-tire*, and *Kin-tyre*, are synonymous. "At the north-west end of all Cathness," said John Harding, in the fifteenth century, is *Kentyr*, and *Kentyr-ynough*." Gough's Top. v. 2. p. 582. This is the name, which had been given to the lands-end, by the Scoto-Irish inhabitants of Caithness. *Cean-tir-a-nochd*, in Irish, signifies the naked lands-end, or the naked head-land. In the British, and Cornish, languages, the point of Cathness is called *Penrhyn-Blathaon*. Llyud's Arch. p. 258, and Richard's Dict. *Penryhyn*, in both those languages, signifying a promontory, a cape, from *Pen*, a head, or end, and *Rhyn*, a point: it is easy to perceive the analogy of the application of this appropriate name to the farthest point of Cathness.

(8) The annex, *An*, is the diminutive: so that *Pennan* is the little point, in contradistinction, perhaps, to Troup-head, a large promontory, two miles westward of *Pen-an*, at the entrance into the Moray Frith.

IN SOUTH-BRITAIN;

Port-Mellin, (Mill-creek), in Cornwall.

Portezick-haven, in Trig-hundred, Cornwall.

Port-Garreg, on the coast of Glamorganshire: there are divers names, beginning with *Port*, which are compounded with British words, on the coast of Wales, and Cornwall; as *Port-Felyn*, *Porth-Orion*, *Porth-Colman*; *Porth-Ysgadan*, *Porth-Lechog*, *Porth-Melgon*, &c. in Wales; *Port-Leven*, *Port-Keurn*, *Port-Hillie*, *Port-Luny*, &c. in Cornwall.

Ram, and *Ram-Head*, near Plymouth, in Cornwall;

Ram-Head, a point, opposite to Portsmouth;

Ram-syde, on a point, in Lancashire;

Ramsey, on an arm of the sea, in Essex;

Ramsgate, in the face of a steep cliff, in the Isle Thanet;

Ramsway, and *Ramsey-haven*, in the Isle of Man; and divers other names, beginning with *Ram*.

Rin is, in many instances, applied to a point, as *Pen-ryn*, on a promontory, in Falmouth-haven, Cornwall; and the heights above the same town are called *the Rins*.

Penrhyn point,
Penrhyn Camlyn point, } in Anglesey.
Penrhynyr Wylan point;

IN NORRH-BRITAIN:

Port-Moulin, (Mill-creek), in Wigtonshire.

Port-Nessock, in Kirkcolm parish, Wigtonshire.

Port-Yarroch, on the coast of Wigtonshire: there are divers names, beginning with *Port*, which are compounded with Celtic words, on the coast of North-Britain; as *Port-Charran*, *Port-Cheillion*, *Port-Losset*, &c. in Argyle; *Port-Cunan*, *Port-Gill*, *Port Kale*, *Port-more*, &c. in Wigton; *Port-Camuil*, *Port-Leak*, &c. in Sutherland; *Port-Liech*, and *Port-Mohomack*, in Cromarty (9)

Carrick-Roa, a promontory, in Kirkmaiden parish, Wigtonshire;

Ram-asa isle, north of Lismore, Argyleshire;

Ram-saig, on a point, in Sky, Inverness-shire;

Ramfurlee, in Kilbarchan parish, Renfrewshire;

Rome, near Crail, in Fife;

Rome, in Scone parish, Perth; and divers other names, beginning with *Ram* (10).

Rin is, in many instances, applied to a point; as two large promontories are called *the Rins* of Galloway;

Rindow point, between Wigton and Fleet bay;
Rhinchewaig, a narrow point, in Loch-Ryan, Wigtonshire;

Penrhyn Blathaon, the British name of Cathness point;

East, and West, *Rynd*, on narrow points, in Perthshire;

Rhind, a point, in Clackmananshire.

Rin-

(9) *Porth*, (Brit. Cornish, Armoric, and ancient Gaulish), signifies a *haven*, a *harbour*: *Port*, (Ir.), a *port*, a *haven*. The *Forth*, the great haven of Edinburgh, is merely the British *Porth*; the *P* changing to *Ph*, and *F*: In the Irish, *P*, in the oblique case, becomes *Ph*.

(10) *Ram* is a very ancient word, which always signified, high, noble, great; as we may see in Calmet's Dict. of the Bible: so *Ram*, *Rama*, *Ramas*, signified something great, noble, or high. Holwell's Myth. Dict. *Ram*, *Rham*, in the British, signifies what projects, or is forward; *Rhamu*, to project, or go forward; and *Rhamanta*, from the same root, to predict. *Ram*, *robur*, *pars extrema rei*, *margo*, *terminus*. Wachter's Germ. Gloss. *Ram*, signifying a height, or elevation, is a primitive word. Geb. Gram. Univer. p. 182. And see the word *Rom*, having the same meaning.

IN SOUTH-BRITAIN;

Rin-more, on a point, in Armington-hundred, Devonshire.

Ross, on a point, formed by the junction of two waters, in Greytree-hundred, Herefordshire;

Ross, on a promontory, South of Holy-island, on the coast of Northumberland.

Trawyn-y-park, a promontory,
Trawyn Melin point,
Trawyn-da point, } in Anglesey;

Trawyn Penrhosy feilw point,

Trawyn-y-Balog point,

Trawyn-y-Bylan point, Caernarvonshire;

Trawyn-Gogarth point, Denbighshire;

An-Tron, (the point), in Kirrier-hundred, Cornwall.

IN NORTH-BRITAIN:

Rin-more, in Strathdon, Aberdeenshire;

Rin-more, in Cantire, Argyle (11.)

Ross, a point in Berwickshire;

Ross-duy, and *Ross-Finlay*, small promontories in Loch-Lomond;

Ros-neath, on a promontory, between Loch-Long, and Loch-Gare;

Ross-keen, on a promontory, in Ross-shire; and several other promontories are called *Ross* (12).

Truyn point, on the coast of Kyle, Ayrshire;

Dun-troon point, and castle, in Loch-Crinan, Argyleshire;

Dun-troon, in Dundee parish, Forfarshire;

Turnberry-head, (a corruption of *Truynberry*), on the coast of Carrick, Ayrshire, and many names, wherein *Stron* is applied to points, or projections (13).

II. OF RIVERS, RIVULETS, AND WATERS,

IN SOUTH-BRITAIN:

Adder, a river, in Wiltshire;

Adur, a river, in Sussex.

Allen, rises in Denbighshire, and joins the Dee in Flintshire;

IN NORTH-BRITAIN:

White *Adder*, and Black *Adder*, rivers in Berwickshire (1).

Allan joins the Teviot, in Roxburghshire;

Allen,

ing. Geb. Monde Prim. tom, 3. p. 64, 343. In fact, there is a *Ram-head* on the coast of Ireland; and one of the principal promontories, in the Euxine, was called the *Rams-head*. Clarke's *Connexion*, p. 53.

(11) The above, and many other *Rins*, have derived their names from *Rhyn*, (British, and Cornish), a *promontory*, a *hill*. *Rinn*, (Ir.) a *promontory*, a *peninsula*, the *point* of any thing. In fact, *Rin* is also applied to a *point*, in several names of places, in Ireland, as *Rien* parish, on a long *point*, in Clare county. Several *points* about Valentia island, in the county of Kerry, are called *Rins*.

(12) *Rbus* (Brit.) signifies a *start*, and is applied figuratively to a *promontory*, in the same manner, as the English *Start* point, on the coast of Devonshire. *Ross*, (Ir.), a *promontory*. *Ros*, in ancient Gaulish, signified a *promontory*, a *peninsula*. *Ross* appears frequently in the topography of Ireland, applied in this sense. See Beaufort's map of Ireland, and the Index.

(13) *Trawyn*, (Brit.), a *nose*, a *snout*. *Tron*, (Cornish), a *nose*, a *promontory*. *Sron*, (Ir.), a *nose*, a *snout*.

(1) *Aweddur* (Brit.) signifies running water; whence, also, the name of the *Adur* river in Ireland.

IN SOUTH-BRITAIN;

Allen, in Dorsetshire;
Alan, in Cornwall;
Alwen, in Merionethshire.
Aln falls into the sea at Aln-mouth, in Northumberland; *Aln*, in Warwickshire.
Ald, in Suffolk;
Alt falls into the sea, at Alt-mouth, in Lancashire;
Alet, in Denbighshire (4).
Ayr, in Cardiganshire;
Arc, or *Air*, in Yorkshire;
Arre joins the Tamar, in Cornwall.
Amon joins the Lougher, in Caermarthenshire:
Avon falls into the sea below Aberavon, in Glamorganshire;
Avon joins the Taff, in Glamorganshire;
Avon, in Gloucester, joins the Severn at Tewksbury;
Avon, in Wiltshire, falls into the Severn below Bristol;
Avon falls into the sea in Hampshire;

IN NORTH-BRITAIN:

Allan joins the Tweed, in Roxburghshire;
Allan joins the Forth, in Perthshire;
Elwin, formerly *Alwen*, in Lanerkshire (2).
Aln joins the Teviot, in Roxburghshire;
Aln, in Berwickshire (3).
Ald, and *Alt*, are prefixed to many names of rivulets; as *Ald-Bainac*, *Ald-Damph*, *Ald-Each*, in Aberdeenshire, &c. &c.
Ayr falls into the sea at Ayr, in Ayrshire;
Aray falls into Loch-Fine, at Inverary Argyleshire (5).
Amon divides West and Mid-Lothian;
Amon joins the Tay, in Perthshire (6).
Avon joins the Clyde, in Lanerkshire;
Avon falls into the Forth, between Stirlingshire and Linlithgowshire;
Avon joins the Spey at Inveravon, in Banffshire;
Avon joins the Feugh, in Kincardineshire;
Avon, in Logie-Easter, Rosshire;
Avon joins the Annan, in Dumfriesshire;

Avon

(2) All those rivers derive their names from *Alwen*, (Brit.), *Alain*, (Ir.), signifying a white, or bright stream. In a charter of William, the Lion, to the monastery of Melros, in the twelfth century, the *Allan*, which joins the Tweed, is called *Alwen*, in the British form. Chart. Antiq. in Bibl. Harl.

(3) These names of *Aln* are, no doubt, abbreviations of *Alwen*, or *Alen*, as before explained. The *Aln*, in Roxburghshire, and the *Aln* in Berwickshire, are still further abbreviated *Ale* in common speech, but these names in old charters are *Aln*; and hence, the name of Alnecrum, a village, on the banks of the Roxburghshire *Aln*, which is mentioned by the name of *Alna*, in a charter of David, to the monastery of Kelso, in 1128. The *Elan* in Radnorshire, *Alaw* water in Anglesey, the *Alows* in Northumberland; the rivers *Aile*, and *Allow*, and Loch-*Allen*, in Ireland, have probably derived their names from the same source.

(4) *Aled* (Brit.) signifies a moving, or fluid principle, a running stream, a rivulet: *Ald*, and *Alt*, in Gaelic, means a rivulet.

(5) *Air* (Brit.) signifies brightness, lucidity: and *Aer* means violence, tumult: whence also the name of the *Arun* in Sussex. *Arc* is the name of many rivers in Europe, says Gebelin; as indeed the maps evince; particularly the *Arc* in Switzerland. *Arw*, in the ancient Gaulish, signified rapid: so we have the *Arw* river in Herefordshire; and the *Arow* in Sligo, Ireland.

(6) *Amon* is merely a variation of *Avon*, as under, the *v* of the British changing to *m*; and in the sister dialect of the Irish, the form of the word is *Amhan*, and *Abhain*.

IN SOUTH-BRITAIN;

Avon joins the Uske, in Monmouthshire;
Avon, or *Avon-Vane*, falls into the sea, in Merionethshire. *Avon* is the common appellation, which is prefixed to the names of many rivers, in Wales, and Cornwall.

Bain joins the Witham in Lincolnshire;

Banney in Yorkshire;

Below joins the Eden, in Westmoreland;

Berwin joins the Tivy, in Cardiganshire;

Bran joins the Usk at Aber-braen, in Brecknockshire;

Braen joins the Towy, in Caermarthentire;

Brant, of which there are two in Anglesey.

Calder joins the Wire, in Lancashire;

Calder, joins the Ribble, in Lancashire;

Calder joins the Air, in the West-Riding of Yorkshire;

IN NORTH-BRITAIN:

Avon is also prefixed to the names of many rivers; as *Avon-Brouchag*, *Avon-Coll*, and *Avon-Loung*, in Rosshire; *Avon-Adail*, *Avon-Araig*, and *Avon-Laggan*, in Argyleshire, &c. (7).

Bainac, a small stream, falls into the Dee in Aberdeenshire.

Bannoc burn, in Stirlingshire (8).

Bello joins the Lugar, in Ayrshire (9).

Bervie falls into the sea at Inver-bervie, in Kincardineshire (10).

Bran joins the Tay, in Perthshire;

Braan joins the Connon, in Ross-shire;

Loch-Braon, in Ross-shire (11).

Calder joins the Clyde, in Lanerkshire;

Calder in the south-west of Edinburghshire;

Calder joins the Nairn, in Nairnshire;

Calder, South, and *Calder*, North, in the north-east of Lanerkshire;

Calder,

(7) *Avon*, in the British, the Cornish, and Armoric, as well as in ancient Gaulish, signifies a river, a stream. *Abhain*, and *Amban*, have the same meaning, in the Irish; and the word appears in the name of many rivers, in Ireland. The Saxons took this general appellation, for the proper name of particular rivers: hence so many waters are simply called *Avon*. In the same manner, the Saxons adopted, as the proper name of many rivers, the British terms denoting their qualities, without the general appellative, which was coupled with these terms by the Britons; and is still used by their descendants. This renders the sense of many of the Celtic names, as pronounced, in English, incomplete, unless where they are coupled; as is generally done, with the English appellative, *river*, or *water*: so the *Du*, or *Dow*, is equally indefinite as the *black*; but if it is called *Du-river*, or *Dow-water*, this comes up to the sense of the real Celtic names, *Avon-Du*, and *Uisge-Dow*. These general intimations are here given, to save the unnecessary repetition of them with the explanations, which are offered in these notes.

(8) These streams, as well as the *Bain* in Hertfordshire, the *Banon* in Pembrokeshire, and the several rivers named *Ban*, in Ireland, derive their names from the Gaelic *Ban*, *Bain*, denoting the white colour of their water. *Bainac*, and *Bannoc*, are diminutives, being applied to small streams.

(9) *Bel-aw* (Brit.) signifies a tumultuous, or raging stream: *Bal-aw* (Brit.) means an efflux of water.

(10) Those waters derive their names from the British *Beru*, to flow; *Berw*, *Berwy*, a boiling, or ebullition; whence also the name of *Bervie*-burn, a small stream in Aberdeenshire.

(11) There is also the *Branic*, in Denbighshire; and *Bran* appears in the names of several other streams. *Bran* (Brit.) signifies what rises over. *Bran*, in the old Gaelic, means a stream. *Bran*, says Macpherson, denotes in Gaelic, a mountain stream. *Carrie-thura*.

IN SOUTH-BRITAIN;

Calder falls into the sea in the south-west of Cumberland.
Caln joins the Avon, in Wiltshire.
Cathie, in Caermarthenshire.
Char falls into the sea at Char-mouth, in Dorsetshire;
Char-well, in Northamptonshire;
Car, a winding rivulet, falls into the Tarf in Brecknockshire;
Carran joins the Severn in Gloucestershire.
Carno falls into the Severn, Montgomeryshire;
Cerne falls into the Frome, in Dorsetshire.
Churn falls into the Isis, in Wiltshire.
Cluyd runs through *Strath-Cluyd*, in Denbigh, and Flintshires, and falls into the Irish sea;
Clydan, and *Clydach*, are the names of several streams, in Wales.
Cluyn, in Flintshire.
Clun, rises in Clun Forest, Shropshire.

IN NORTH-BRITAIN:

Calder, in Badenoch, Inverness-shire:
Calder, in the south of Renfrewshire (12).
Calner joins the Avon, in Lanerkshire (13).
Cathie falls into the Don, near *Aber-catie*, in Aberdeenshire (14).
Char joins the Dye, in Kincardineshire;
Carron, in Stirlingshire;
Carron, in Kincardineshire;
Carron, in the north, and *Carron*, in the south-west of Rosshire;
Carron, in Nithsdale, Dumfriesshire (15).
Cairn joins the Nith, in Dumfriesshire;
Cairn, a rivulet, in Carrick, Ayrshire (16).
Churn, a rivulet, in Perthshire (17).
Clyde runs through *Strath-Clyde*, in Lanerkshire, and falls into the Frith of Clyde;
Cludan joins the Solway Frith, in the east of Galloway (18).
Clune, a rivulet, in Moulin parish, Perthshire (19).
Clan

(12) *Caleddur* (Brit.), signifies the hard water: and so does *Calb-dur*, in ancient Gaulish. *Cell-dur* (Brit.), and *Coill-dur* (Ir.), means the woody water. The banks of all the Calders, in North-Britain, are still covered with natural wood. Loch Lomond of the present times was anciently called by the British name of *Lyn-Caledur*, as we learn from Richard.

(13) There is also *Callen* river in Kilkenny, Ireland.

(14) Another small stream, named *Catie*, falls into the Dee, at *Inver-Catie*, in Aberdeenshire. Here, we see the Irish *Inver* applied to the influx of one *Catie* into the Dee, and the British *Aber* applied to the influx of the other *Catie*, into the neighbouring river Don.

(15) The Celtie *Car*, of which *Char* is the oblique case, signifies a bending, a winding: and *Car-an* means the *winding water*, which is highly characteristic of all those *Carrons*, as well as of *Carron* river, in the county of Tyrone, Ireland. *Car-on* (Brit.), signifies a strong, or rough stream, which is also applicable to the current of those rivers.

(16) *Carn* (Brit.), signifies a stoney, or rough stream. These waters may, however, have derived their names from some *Carns*, or funeral monuments of the ancient people, on their banks. There was a rivulet *Carn*, near Bodmin, in Cornwall; as we may see in William of Worcester, 108.

(17) *Churn*, or *Chuirn*, is the oblique case of *Carn*.

(18) There is also a stream named *Clyde*, in Ireland. *Clyd* (Brit.), signifies warm, sheltered: so, these rivers derive their names from the warm sheltered nature of their vales or straths: the *Ystrad-Cluyd*, in Wales, and *Strath-Clyde*, in North-Britain, are both remarkably warm valleys. The names of *Clydan* and *Clydach* are diminutives, and are applied to several streams, that run through sheltered vales.

(19) *Cluain*, *Cluan* (Ir.), signifies a *sheltered place*. *Clon*, *Cluain* (Cornish), means a *den*.

IN SOUTH BRITAIN;

IN NORTH BRITAIN:

Corne, a rivulet, near Manchester, in Lancashire.
Corre, in Shropshire.
Cowen joins the Towa, at Abercowen, Caermarthenshire.
Cray joins the Usk, in Brecknockshire; *Cray* falls into the Derent, in Kent.
Cunnon joins the Tave, in Glamorganshire;
Cunnon, in Merionethshire.
Dairan, in Caernarvonshire.
Derbeck joins the Trent, in Nottinghamshire.
Dour, or *Doir*, joins the Minnow, in Herefordshire.
Dean joins the Snite, in Nottinghamshire (26).
Don runs by Doncaster, and joins the Ayr, in Yorkshire.

Cornie, a rivulet, falls into the Forth, at Abercorn, Linlithgowshire.
Corry joins the S. Esk, in Forfarshire (20).
Cowie falls into Stonehaven Bay, in Kincardineshire.
Cree, or *Cray*, falls into the Solway, in Galloway (21).
Connon runs through Strathconnon into Cromarty Frith, Ross-shire (22).
Dair joins the Clyde, in Lanerkshire (23).
Durback joins the Nethy, in Elginshire (24).
Dour falls into the Forth at Aberdour in Fife-shire (25).
Dean joins the Isla, in Forfarshire.
Don falls into the sea at Aberdeen.

Dun,

(20) *Cory* (Brit.) signifies what makes turns, or rounds. *Cor* (Ir.) means a twist, a turn. The names of these streams may, however, have been taken from the glens, or vallies, through which they run. *Coiré*, in the Gaelic, means a deep hollow, or small valley.

(21) *Crai* (Brit.) signifies what is fresh, or brisk: whence the name of the *Crut*, perhaps, which joins the Tave at Aber-crue, in Glamorganshire.

(22) *Con-an* (Brit. and Ir.) signifies the narrow, or contracted stream. *Cwn-an* (Brit.) means the water, which is apt to rise; a quality, that is remarkable, in the Rosshire Connon, from the number of mountain streams, that fall into it. The *Conwy*, in Caernarvon, derives its name from the same source; the final *wy*, and *an*, both signifying water, a river.

(23) There is also the *Dery*, a small stream in Merionethshire. *Dar*, *Daran*, (Brit.) mean the sonorous, or noisy stream. *Dear*, in Bas-Breton, and *Der*, in ancient Gaulish, signify rapid. The *Dair*, and the *Dairan*, are both rapid, and noisy. *Dyr*, in ancient Gaulish, means a water, a river, being a variation of *Dur*.

(24) *Dur*, or *Dour*, in all the dialects of the Celtic, signifies water; and it is compounded in the names of rivers, in Britain, in Ireland, and on the continent. *Dur-back*, (Brit.), *Dur beag*, (Ir.), signify the small water. The names of these two streams may, however, have been formed by adding, pleonastically, the Saxon *bec*, signifying a torrent, a rivulet, to the previous Celtic appellation of *Dur*: so *Avon-river*, *Esk-water*, *Pow-burn*, *Ald-burn*, are pleonasms of the same nature, which were formed, by adding synonymous Gothic, or English words, to the original Celtic terms.

(25) There is also the *Dour*, which falls into the sea at Aber-dour, in Aberdeenshire. These, and various other streams, derive their names from the Celtic *Dour*; *Dur*, signifying water.

(26) *Dane* is the name of a stream, which joins the Weever, in Cheshire.

IN SOUTH BRITAIN;

IN NORTH BRITAIN:

Dun, in Lincolnshire.

Devon joins the Trent, in Leicestershire;

Davon falls into the Weever, in Cheshire;

Davon joins the Severn, at Aberdavan, Glamorganshire.

Dee runs through Merioneth, and Flint, and falls into the Irish sea;

Dee, in Louth county, Ireland.

Dwy-vzur, and *Dwy-vach*, (the great *Dwy*, and little *Dwy*) in Arvon, Wales.

Dow falls into the Rye, in Yorkshire;

Dore falls into the Trent, in Derbyshire.

There is *Duve* river in Kildare county, and several other streams of the same name in Ireland.

Doun, or *Dun*, runs from Loch-Doun into the Irish sea, in Ayrshire (26).

Devon runs through Glen Devon in Perthshire;

South-*Devon* falls into the Forth, in Clackmannanshire; Black-*Davon*, in Fifeshire (27).

Dee falls into the sea at Aberdeen;

Dee falls into the Solway, at Kirkcudbright, in Galloway (28).

Dye, in Kincardineshire;

Dye, in Berwickshire.

Dow-uisk in Cunningham, Ayrshire;

Dow-uisk, in Carrick, Ayrshire.

Duff, or *Duv-rivulet*, in Forfarshire.

Dovic

(26) *Dawn* (Brit.), *Don* (Ir.), signify a dark, or dusky colour, such as these rivers exhibit, from the mossy tinge of their waters. *Dawyn* (Brit.) *Dombuin*, or *Douin* (Ir.) mean deep; a quality, for which the Aberdeenshire *Don*, and the Ayrshire *Doun*, are remarkable. There is a river named *Don*, in the county of Antrim, Ireland; and there are rivers of the same name on the continent.

(27) The name of both the *Devons* was formerly *Dovan*, as appears from a charter of Robert III. to the burgh of Inverkeithing. *Dobhan*, or *Dovan*, (Ir.) signifies the boisterous, or swelling water; which is highly characteristic of the Scottish *Devons*. This quality of the larger *Devon* struck Lord Stirling, who cries out:

“But, dangerous *Doven*, rumbling through the rockes,

“Would scorne the rainebowe with a new deluge.”

(28) *De* (Brit.) signifies impulse, action; and so denotes the rapid flow of those streams. *Dee*, in the name of those rivers, may, however, be a variation of *Dwy*, or *Dye*, which is the pronunciation of the British *Du*, signifying a black, or dark colour; whence the rivers *Dwy*, and *Dye*, derived their names, owing to the dark colour of their waters. The British *Du* corresponds with the Irish *Dubb*, which is pronounced *Duv* and *Dow*; and hence *Dow*, and *Dow-uisk*, the names of several streams in South, and North-Britain, signify the black water. The *Dee*, in Wales, issues from Lyn-Tegid, and a stream, which falls into the top of this lake, is called *Du*. It is equally remarkable, that the upper part of the Galloway *Dee* is called now the *Black water* of *Dee*: this, then, is a pretty plain intimation, that the present names of *Dee* are merely variations of *Du*, *Dwy*, and denote the dark colour of the waters.

IN SOUTH BRITAIN ;

Dovie, or *Dyvi*, falls into the sea at Aberdovy, in Merionethshire.

Dulas joins the Wye, in Brecknockshire ;

Dulas joins the Towy, and falls into the sea, in Caermarthenshire ;

Dulas, two of this name fall into the Severn, in Montgomeryshire ;

Dulas joins the Dovey, in Montgomeryshire ;

Dulas joins the Neath, in Glamorganshire ;

Dulas joins the Stour, in Dorsetshire ;

Douglas falls into the mouth of the Riddle, in Lancashire ;

Doulas joins the Ython, in Radnorshire.

Eden falls into the Solway Frith, in Cumberland ;

Eden falls into the Medway, in Kent.

Esk, in Devonshire ;

Esk falls into the sea, at Whitby, in Yorkshire ;

Esk falls into the sea, at Ravenglas, in Cumberland ; *Eskir* joins the Usk, in Brecknockshire.

Ewes, a rivulet, joins the Tyne, below Newcastle.

IN NORTH BRITAIN :

Duvie, or *Divie*, joins the Eri, or Findhorn, in Elginshire (29).

Douglas runs through Douglasdale, and joins the Clyde, in Lanerkshire ;

Douglas falls into Loch Fine, in Argyleshire ;

Duglas falls into Loch Lomond, at Inver-Uglas, Dunbartonshire ;

Duglas, another stream of this name, falls into Loch Lomond at Inver-Uglas, eight miles above the former ;

Duglas falls into the Yarrow, in Selkirkshire (30).

Eden falls into the sea, in Fifeshire ;

Eden joins the Tweed, in Roxburghshire (31).

Esk, South, and *Esk*, North, falls into the sea, in Forfarshire.

Esk, South, and *Esk*, North, falls into the Forth, near Inver-esk, in Edinburghshire ;

Esk falls into the Solway, in Dumfries-shire (32).

Ewis, a rivulet joins the Esk, in Dumfries-shire (33).

Ey

(29) Those streams may have derived their names from the British *Du*, Irish *Dubb*, a black, or dark colour ; so *Duv-ui*, the black water ; or from the British *Dwvui*, signifying the deep, or full stream. The *Duvie*, in Elginshire, is remarkable, both for its dark colour, and for its depth.

(30) *Dulas*, and *Du-glas*, (Brit. and Ir.) signify the dark blue, stream. The difference, in the form of the name, arose from the *g* being frequently dropped in composition by the British ; whence *Du-glas* becomes *Du-las*. Near to the lower *Duglas*, which falls into Loch Lomond, another stream of lighter coloured water, falls into the same lake, and is called *Fin-las* ; signifying the light-blue water, in contradistinction to the *Du-glas*. This curious fact shows the acute discrimination of the Celtic people, who imposed all those significant names.

(31) *Eddain* (Brit.) signifies a *gliding* stream. This is, in fact, the characteristic of all those rivers.

(32) The above rivers, and many other streams, named *Esk*, and *Uisk*, derive their appellations from *Esc*, *Wysc*, in ancient Gaulish, *Wysg*, in British, *Easc*, *Uisg*, in Irish ; signifying *water*, a stream, a river. This ancient word, also, forms the names of several streams in Ireland.

(33) *Ewis* is merely a varied form of *Uisg*, or *Wysg* : hence, perhaps, the names of the several rivers *Ouse*, in Britain.

IN SOUTH BRITAIN;

Ey falls into the Stour, in Leicestershire;
Eye (Little) falls into the Weilan, in Leicestershire;
Yea joins the Parrot, in Sommersetshire.
Ewenny, in Glamorganshire.
Fiddy joins the Tamar, in Cornwall;
Fidin, in Monmouthshire.
Gade falls into the Coln, in Hertfordshire.
Garway, in Caermarthenshire;
Garra, or *Garran*, in Herefordshire.
Gelt joins the Irthing, in Cumberland.
Glen water, in Leicestershire.
Grant falls into the Cam, in Cambridgeshire.

IN NORTH BRITAIN:

Ey falls into the sea, at Eymouth, Berwickshire;
Ey joins the Dee, at Inver-ey, in Aberdeenshire;
Loch-Ey, in Ross-shire;
Ea joins the Annan, in Dumfriesshire (34).
Eveny, in Forfarshire (35).
Fiddich runs through Glen-Fiddich, into the Spey, in Banff-shire (36).
Gadie joins the Urie, in Aberdeenshire.
Garry joins the Tay, in Perthshire;
Garry, in Glen-garry, Inverness-shire (37).
Gelt joins the Lugar, in Ayrshire (38).
Glen water, in Kirkcudbright Stewartry (39).
Grant falls into Cromarty Frith, in Ross-shire (40).

Irton

(34) *Aw*, *Ew*, *Ea*, *Ey*, in the old Celtic, signify *water*, a *river*. *Aw*, in the British, means a *fluid*, a *flowing*, water; and is the root of a number of words, denoting fluidity. *Aw*, *Ew*, and *Ey*, says Gebelin, are primitive words, that signify *water*, every where in Europe. This ancient radical is still preserved, in its simple form, in the names of several other waters, in Britain, and Ireland; as, the *Aw* river, and *Loch-Aw*, in Argyleshire; the *Aw-beg*, or little *Aw*, in Cork, Ireland; the *Ew* river, and *Loch-Ew*, in Ross-shire; the *Ea* river, and *Loch-Ea*, in Ireland: it also forms a compound, in the names of a number of British, and Irish waters.

(35) These are merely the diminutives of *Aven*, a river, a stream. Vulgar pronunciation has, in other instances, converted the *Avon* into *Evan*, as *Evan-dale*, for *Avon-dale*, in Lanerkshire; *Evan-dale*, for *Avon-dale*, in Gloucestershire.

(36) *Fwd-uy*, *Fwd-au*, and *Fwd-ach*, (Brit.) signify a *rapid water*. This is characteristic of the *Fiddich*, in Banffshire; but, as the glen through which it runs, is full of wood, the name may be derived from *Fiodhach*, (Ir.), signifying *woody*.

(37) *Garw* (Brit.), *Garbh* (Ir.), signify what is rough, a torrent: whence, also, the characteristic names of *Garve* river, in Ross-shire; *Gara* river, and *Loch-Gara*, in the county of Sligo, Ireland; and a number of smaller torrents, named *Garv-ald*, and *Ald-Garve*.

(38) The above streams may have derived their names from the British *Gel*, signifying *aptness to flow*.

(39) Those waters, like many other, have taken their names from the valleys, through which they run: *Glyn* (Brit.), *Gleann* (Ir.), signify a *valley*, more deep, and narrow, than the dale to which the Irish *Strath* is applied.

(40) *Grant* (Ir.) signifies *grey*: *Gran* (Brit.) means precipitous, shelvy.

IN SOUTH-BRITAIN ;

Irwon falls into the Wye, in Brecknockshire.
Ken runs by Kendal, and falls into the sea, in Westmoreland ;
Ken joins the *Ex*, in Devonshire.
Lavern falls into Lyn-Tegid, in Merionethshire.
Leith, in Westmoreland, joins the Eden ;
Laith, which is now called *Dyfi*, in Merionethshire.
Leder joins the Conway, in Caernarvonshire.
Leven falls into the sea, at Port-Leven, in Cornwall ; *Leven*, composed of the White *Leven* and Black *Leven*, falls into the Solway Frith, in Cumberland ; *Leven* falls into Morecambe-bay, in Lancashire.
Liver falls into the Lemer, in Cornwall.

IN NORTH BRITAIN :

Irvine falls into the sea, in Ayrshire (41).
Ken, in Galloway, after receiving smaller streams, forms Loch-*Ken*, and then takes the name of the inferior Dee, which joins it (42).
Laveran joins the White Cart, in Renfrewshire (43).
Leith falls into the Forth, in Edinburghshire ;
Leith-an joins the Tweed, in Peeblesshire (44).
Leader joins the Tweed, in Berwickshire (45).
Leven runs from Loch-Lomond, which was anciently called Loch-*Leven*, into the Frith of Clyde, at Dunbarton ; *Leven* runs from Loch-*Leven* into the Frith of Forth, at Leven ; Loch-*Leven*, in Argyleshire (46).
Liver falls into Loch-Aw, at Inver-*Liver*, in Argyleshire (47).

Lyn

(41) The above streams probably derived their names from the verdure of their banks : *Ir-wi-n* (Brit.) signifies a *green margin*.

(42) *Cain* (Brit.) signifies *white, clear, or beautiful* : whence, also, the names of the *Cain*, in Merionethshire ; the *Ken*, a rivulet in Somersetshire ; the *Kennet*, that joins the Thames, in Berkshire ; and *Kennen*, in Caermarthenshire ; which are merely diminutives of *Ken* : there are also several rivers, in Wales, named *Can-dur*, that is, the *white, or bright water*.

(43) *Llavar*, (Brit.) *Labhar*, (Ir.) means *sonorous, sounding, or noisy* : *Lavar-an*, the noisy stream.

(44) The general characteristic of these streams is their swelling suddenly into a flood ; and from this circumstance, they appear to have got their names from the British *Llith*, signifying a *flood, or inundation* : *Leith-an* is the diminutive.

(45) *Lai-dur* (Brit.) signifies the *muddy, or discoloured water*. The *Leader* is frequently discoloured by a mixture of reddish mud, which is washed down by the stream. The name may also be derived from the British *Lai-dur*, signifying the *lesser water*, as both these streams are small compared to the rivers, which they join. *Laidur* was, no doubt, the old name of these waters, as the vale of the *Leader* is still called *Lauder-dale*, and the town on its banks *Lauder* : Camden, indeed, calls it the riveret of *Lader*.

(46) There are also other rivers of this name ; as the *Leven*, in Gloucestershire, and the *Leven*, in Yorkshire : the names of the whole are derived from *Eleven* (Brit.) *Levn* (Corn.) signifying *smooth*, which is characteristic of all those riverets.

(47) *Lliv-er* (Brit.) signifies the *floody water* : whence also the rivers *Liffar*, and *Liffy*, in Ireland, derived their names, being apt to flood.

IN SOUTH-BRITAIN ;

IN NORTH-BRITAIN :

Lyn joins the Ouse at Lynn-Regis, in Norfolk ;*Line* falls into the sea, in Northumberland ;*Line* falls into the Trent, in Nottinghamshire ;*Line*, in Cumberland.*Lain*, or *Layn*, a rivulet, joins the *Allain*, near Bodmyn, in Cornwall.*Lue* falls into *Lyn-Tegid*, in Merionethshire ;*Luyan*, in Caernarvonshire.*Lougher* falls into the sea, in Caermarthenshire.*Lune*, or *Luone*, falls into the sea, in Yorkshire ;*Lune* falls into the Tees, in Yorkshire ;*Luny* falls into the sea, in Cornwall.*Lyd* joins the Tamar, in Cornwall ;*Lyd* joins the Thrushel, in Devonshire ;*Lidden* joins the Stour, in Dorsetshire.*Lyne* joins the Tweed, in Peeblesshire ;*Lyne* falls into the Frith of Forth in Fifeshire ;*Lyon* rises from Loch-*Lyon*, and joins the Tay in Perthshire ;*Loin*, or *Lyon*, runs through Loch-*Lyon*, and joins Moriston river, in Inverness-shire ;*Loin* joins the Avon, in Banffshire.Various rivulets, in Galloway, are called *Lane* (48).*Luy* joins the Dee, in Braemar, Aberdeenshire ;*Lewie*, a rivulet, joins the Proson, in Forfarshire (49).*Lugar* joins the Ayr, in Ayrshire ;*Locher*, in Dumfriesshire ;*Locher* joins the Gryfe, in Renfrewshire (50).*Lunan* falls into the sea, in Lunan parish, Forfarshire ;*Lunan*, a rivulet, joins the Airdle, in Perthshire (51).*Lid*, which is now called *Lid-dal*, runs through*Lid*'sdale, in Roxburghshire, and joins the*Esk*, in Dumfriesshire (52).

May

(48) *Llyn* (Brit.) signifies what proceeds, or is in motion, what flows, water, a lake, a pool. The word appears in the names of a number of running waters, as well as lakes. *Llion* (Brit.) is the plural of *Lli*, a flood, a stream. *Loin*, in the Gaelic, signifies a rivulet : whence several small streams, in Galloway, are termed *Lane*, which is merely a modern corruption of the Gaelic word.

(49) *Lua* (Ir.) signifies water ; and *Lua'* means swift ; *Llw* (Brit.) denotes what has aptitude of motion ; and *Llu* signifies what is all in motion : the *Luy*, in Braemar, is a rapid mountain stream.

(50) There is also a stream named *Locher*, in Lanerkshire. *Llwchur* (Brit.) *Lochur* (Ir.) mean a stream, that forms pools : and this is descriptive of all those waters. *Lugyr*, or *Loegyr*, (Brit.) signifies what breaks out : this is applicable to the Ayrshire *Lugar*, which bursts out into floods.

(51) There is also the *Lure* in Durham, and the *Lune*, or *Loyne*, that falls into the Irish sea, in Lancashire. *Lun*, *Lon*, *Lyn*, and *Linn*, are merely varied forms, in different dialects, of the same Celtic word, signifying what is in motion, or what flows ; water, a lake, a pool. It appears, somewhat differently formed, in the names of a number of lakes, and waters, particularly, such as form pools, in their course, like the riverets above mentioned : the *Lunan*, in Angus, from its tranquil flow, settles into a number of small pools ; and it runs through three considerable lakes : *Lunan*, and *Luny*, are diminutive forms of the word. *Llen* (Brit.) signifies tranquil ; and *Llon-an*, or *Llen-ny*, the tranquil water ; a characteristic which is applicable to the still flow of those several streams.

(52) *Llid* (Brit.) signifies a violent effusion, a gush, a gushing. *Lid*, in ancient Gaulish, signified

IN SOUTH-BRITAIN;

May, falls into the sea, in Caernarvonshire.

Milk, a rivulet, joins the Tyne, in Durham.

Medlock, a rivulet, at Manchester, in Lancashire; there are, in Lancashire, the *Medlock*, the *Calder*, and the *Douglas*.

Never, or *NeVERN*, falls into the sea, in Pembrokeshire.

Nid, or *Nith*, joins the Ouse in Yorkshire;

Neth, or *Neath*, and *Neath-Vachan*, (Little *Neath*), both fall into the sea, in Glamorganshire.

IN NORTH-BRITAIN:

May joins the Earn, at Inver-may, in Perthshire (52).

Milk joins the Annan, in Dumfriesshire (53).

Medlock, a rivulet, joins the Clyde, in Lanerkshire (54); there are, in Lanerkshire, the *Medlock*, the *Calder*, and the *Douglas*.

Naver, or *Navern*, runs from Loch-Naver, through Strath-Naver, into the sea, in Sutherland (55).

Nith, formerly *Nid*, falls into the Solway Frith, in Dumfriesshire;

Nethy, in Perth, *Nethy*, in Elgin, and *Nethan*, in Lanerkshire (56).

Ore

signified hasty, *rapid*: this description is characteristic of the *Lid*, in Roxburghshire; as indeed we learn from Armstrong, who was born on this mountain stream:

“ ——— the crystal rivulet, that o’er

“ A stoney channel, rolls its *rapid* maze,

“ Swarms with the silver fry.”

Drummond, in his *Forth Feasting*, mentions the “*Lid*, with curled streams:” whence we learn, that the secondary name of *Lid-dal* is a modern corruption, by confounding the Saxon term, for the valley, with the British name of the river. In the same manner, *Tweed* is corruptly called *Twed-dal*, in the poem of Peebles to the Play: and a stream, in Gloucestershire, is now called *Aven-dale*, or *Evan-dale*. The *Lyd*, in Devonshire, forms a remarkable cataract, at Lyd-ford.

(52) *Mai*, *My-ai*, (Brit.) signify the agitated, or troubled water; and is, in fact, highly descriptive of those streams.

(53) *Milk* is the modernized form of *Melc*, the ancient name of those streams. In a number of charters, during the twelfth century, the *Milk*, in Dumfriesshire, is uniformly written *Melc*; and the place, at its influx into the Annan, is called *Aber-melc*, in the *Inquisitio* of David, anno 1116. These coincidences prove, that the name, *Melc*, is as old as British times, and must have been applied, by the first people. As the word has been long obsolete, in the language of their descendants, its proper meaning cannot easily be traced.

(54) *Med-loc*, or *Med-luc*, says Whitaker, is a compound of two British words, which signify water, or a quantity of water. Hist. Manchester, v. 1. p. 290. *Maewd-luch* (Brit.) signifies a slow flowing water, that settles into pools: and this applies to the qualities of both these streams: whence also the name of the *Maewdd-ach*, (slow stream), in Merionethshire.

(55) *Never* (Brit.) signifies the gentle stream. *Var*, *Par*, signifies water; and hence the names of many rivers, lochs, and streams. Geb. Monde Prim. v. 7. p. 12.83. So, *Na-var* may mean, simply, the water; the river *Var-ar* was the ancient boundary of the Roman dominions, in North-Britain; and is now called Bealey river; but the valley, through which it runs, is still called Strath-farar. There is a *Varus* river, in Ptolomy’s map of Gaul.

(56) *Nedd*, or *Neth*, (Brit.) denotes a stream, that forms whirls, or turns. This etymon applies well to the whirling roll of the Nith, and Nethys: *Nethy*, and *Nethan*, are diminutives of the word.

IN SOUTH-BRITAIN;

Ore falls into Orford haven; and
Or-well falls into Orwell haven, in Suffolk.
Pever falls into the Weever, in Cheshire.
Poole, on an inlet of the sea, in Dorsetshire;
Liver-Pool, at the mouth of the Mersey, in Lancashire.
Rye joins the Darwin, in Yorkshire;
Rey joins the Isis, in Wiltshire.
Shele falls into the Tyne, in Northumberland.
Taw falls into the Bristol Channel, in Devon.

IN NORTH-BRITAIN:

Ore joins the Lochty, in Fifeshire;
Orr, or *Urr*, runs from Loch-*Urr* into the Solway Frith, in Galloway (57).
Peffer (East), and *Peffer* (West), unite and fall into the sea, in Haddingtonshire (58).
 There are divers creeks, or inlets of the sea, around the west coast of North-Britain, which are called *Pool*: as *Ulla-pool*, *Pool-Ew*, *Pool-iculen*, in Ross-shire (59).
Rye joins the Garnock, in Dal-ry parish, Ayrshire (60).
Sheil Water, and Loch-*Sheil*, in the north-west of Inverness-shire.
Tay, in Perthshire, falls into the sea at *Aber-Tay* (61).

Tame,

(57) *Oer* (Brit.) cold, of a cold nature: but these streams probably derived their names from the British *Wyr*, denoting their brisk flow: *Ur*, *Or*, in Bas-Breton, signify *embouchure*: *Ura*, in Basque, is applied to a water, a river. See *Ure*, *Ury*, after.

(58) There is also a stream named *Peffer*, which runs through Strath-*Peffer* into the Cromarty Frith, in Ross-shire; and a rivulet of the same name falls into the sea at Inver-*Peffer*, in Forfarshire.

(59) *Pwll* (Brit.) *Poull* (Armoric) *Poll* (Gaelic) signify a ditch, a standing water, a pool. *Pwll*, and *Poull*, in the ancient language of Gaul, had the same meaning. Bullet. The Anglo-Saxon *Pol*, and the English *Pool*, are from the British *Pwl*: this word is in all the dialects of the Celtic; but not in any of the pure Gothic dialects.

(60) There is also a stream named *Rei*, or *Rea*, in Oxfordshire; a *Rea* in Shropshire; and a *Rhiw* in Montgomeryshire. *Rhe* (Brit.) *Rea*, *Rica* (Ir.) signify swift, rapid; a rapid course. The *Rye*, in Ayrshire, is a rapid stream. *Ri*, and *Rhiu*, in ancient Gaulish, signified a stream; and the term is still retained, in Auvergne. Bullet. *Rhiu* is, doubtless, the root of the modern French *Ruisseau*.

(61) There is also the *Taw*, in Glamorganshire; the *Ta-Loch* in Wexford, and *Tay* river in Waterford, Ireland. *Ta*, *Taw* (Brit.) signify what spreads, or expands; also tranquil, quiet. *Tay* is the English pronunciation of the British *Taw*. Both these fine rivers are remarkable for their noble expansions. The *Tay*, in the latter part of its course, expands into a frith 20 miles long, and from one to three miles broad; and, in the same manner, the Devonshire *Tau* spreads out into a frith eight miles long, and one mile broad. The Solway Frith, from its expanse, was actually called *Tau*, by the Britons, at the epoch of Agricola's invasion; as we learn from Tacitus, who has the same word under the form of *Tau*: the antiquaries were deluded, by their own inattention, to apply the *Tau* of Tacitus to the *Tay*, in Perthshire.

IN SOUTH-BRITAIN ;

Tame, in Buckinghamshire; *Tame*, in Staffordshire.
Teivi, or *Tivy*, rises at Llyn *Teivi*, and falls into the sea, in Cardiganshire; *Tavy*, or *Theve*, falls into the Tamar, in Devonshire.

Turch joins the Tawye, in Brecknockshire; *Turch*, in Montgomeryshire.

Tweed, in Cheshire. [Carey.]

Tyne South, and *Tyne* North, falls into the sea, at Tynmouth, in Northumberland; *Tyne* joins the Trent, in Staffordshire; *Teyn* or *Teign*, falls into the sea, at Teignmouth.

Uske rises in Brecknock, and falls into the sea, in Monmouthshire;

Wick joins the Swale, in Yorkshire;

IN NORTH-BRITAIN :

Tema joins the Etterick, in Selkirkshire (62).

Teviot, or *Tiviot*, runs through Teviotdale, and joins the Tweed, in Roxburghshire (63).

Turk runs through Glen-Turk, in Perthshire; }

Turky, a rivulet, in Forfar (64).

Tweed, in Berwickshire (65).

Tyne runs by Tynningham into the sea, in Haddingtonshire; *Tynet*, a rivulet, falls into the sea, in Banffshire; *Tian* falls into the sea, in Jura Island, Argyleshire (66).

Uisge-duv joins the Ern, in Elginshire;

Du-uisk, (Black-Uisk) in Cunningham; and

Du-uisk, in Carrick, Ayrshire;

Uske-vachan,

(62) The above riverets, as well as the *Tame* in Devonshire, and the *Tame* in Cheshire, derive their names from the British *Tam*, *Tem*, expanding, or spreading; which are derivatives of *Ta*, *Taw*: *Tam*, in the ancient Gaulish, was applied to a river, a running water: Bullet connects it with the Greek *Potamos*. Gebelin exhibits the same word differently: ΠΟΤ-ΑΜΟς, fleuve: mot-à-mot, eau grande.

(63) *Teivi*, or *Tavi* (Brit.), signifies what expands, or spreads; what has a tendency to expand, or spread: *Tevig*, expanding, spreading over. The characteristic of these several streams is a tendency to spread. The root of all these names is *Ta*, *Taw*, what spreads, or expands; whence the names of the *Tave* in Glamorganshire, the *Tave*, in Pembrokeshire, and others. *Tav*, in ancient Gaulish, was applied to a water, a river, the same as in Britain.

(64) There are also the *Turch*, that falls into Lyn Tegid, in Merionethshire; and another streamlet named *Turch*, which joins the Cothy in Caermarthenshire. *Turch* (Brit.), signifies what burrows, or goes into the ground; and hence it is the appellative for a swine: *Turc*, in Armoric, and *Torc*, *Torc*, in Irish, have the same meaning. On the Turk, in Perthshire, there are several hideous dens, one of which, tradition says, was the haunt of a wild boar, who infested the country.

(65) *Tuedd* (Brit.), signifies what is on a side, or border; the border, or limit of a country.

(66) A small stream, named *Teyn*, joins the Dove, in Derbyshire. *Tain*, in the British, anciently signified a river, a running water, the same as *Avon*. *Tain* signified the same, in the ancient Gaulish. And in the kindred dialect of the Irish, it still means water. It appears in somewhat varied forms, in the name of a number of streams. In the country of the Vecturiones, in North-Britain, there is a river named *Tina*. Ptolomy.

IN SOUTH-BRITAIN;

IN NORTH-BRITAIN:

Uske-vachan, (Little *Uske*), joins the *Uske*, in Brecknockshire.

Ure, in the North Riding of Yorkshire.

Willy joins the *Avon*, at Salisbury, in Wiltshire.

Yarro joins the *Douglas*, in Lancashire.

Yare falls into the sea, at Yarmouth, in Norfolk;

Yare joins the *Ex*, in Devonshire.

Ython falls into the *Wye*, in Radnorshire.

Uisque-vagh-Loch, in Benbecula-Island, Inverness-shire (67).

Urie joins the *Don*, at Inverurie, Aberdeen (68).

Avon-Uille, the old name of the river Helmsdale, in Sutherlandshire (69).

Yarrow joins the *Etterick*, in Selkirkshire (70).

Yair, a rivulet, falls into the *Tweed*, in Selkirkshire;

Ythan falls into the sea, in Aberdeenshire (71).

III. OF MISCELLANEOUS DISTRICTS,

IN SOUTH-BRITAIN;

IN NORTH-BRITAIN:

Bala, at the issue of the *Dee*, from *Llyn Tegid*, in Merionethshire;

Balloch, the old name of *Taymouth*, where the river issues from *Loch Tay*, in Perthshire;

Bala,

(67) *Wysg* (Brit.), *Uisge*, and *Easc* (Ir.), *Wyse*, and *Esc*, in ancient Gaulish, signify a current, a course, a stream, a water. This word, in a slightly varied form, is common to all the dialects of the Celtic; and is still retained, in the names of many waters.

(68) A small stream, named *Owrie*, joins the *Avon*, at *Inver-Owrie*, in Banffshire; and there is the *Avon Ure* in Roscommon, and *Urrin* river in Wexford, Ireland; the names of all these are from the same source, as the *Ore*, and *Ur*, before mentioned. *Gwyr*, in composition, *Wyr* (Brit.) *Ur* (Ir.) signify what is pure, lively, or brisk. So *Avon-Wyr*, the pure stream, or the brisk flowing stream. This characteristic is applicable to the *Urie*, in Aberdeenshire, the *Owrie* in Banffshire, the *Ur*, in Gallaway, and the *Ora*, in Fife: *Or*, *Owr*, in ancient Celtic, are applied to streams of water; and so is *Ura*, in the Basque.

(69) The *Avon Uile*, or *Iligh*, in Sutherland, is the *Ila* of Richard's map; and has its name, like the other *Ilas*, in North-Britain, from their rising rapidly, after rains. *Y-llif*, or *Y-lliv* (Brit.) signifies the flood: and *Avon-Uile* (Ir.) means the floody river. The *Ila*, in Forfarshire, is called *Hylef*, by Giraldus Cambrensis, in the twelfth century: this shows, that the British name was then unchanged, except by prefixing the aspirate *b*, as in pronunciation.

(70) The *Yarrow*, in Selkirkshire, is a rough, rapid stream; as the name denotes: *Gare*, in Bas-Breton, signified rapid: *Garw* (Brit.) *Garbh* (Ir.) denotes what is rough, or rugged, a torrent: these, by inflection, become *Gharw*, which, in composition, is pronounced *Yarw*: so *Yarro*, and *Yarrow*, are merely variations of *Garra*, *Garway*, *Garry*, before explained. In the Scottish, as well as the old English, *g* is frequently changed to *y*; as *Yod*, for *God*; *yate*, for *gate*; *yewe*, for *give*, &c.

(71) The *Ythan*, in Aberdeenshire, is the *Ituna* of Richard, and has the same origin with the *Ituna*, or *Eden*, which falls into the Solway. They all derive their descriptive names from the British *Eddain*, or *Ethain*, which signifies gliding. The *Ithan*, in Aberdeenshire, is a slow running stream. The *Ithan*, in Hampshire, derives its name from the same source.

IN SOUTH-BRITAIN ;

Bala, the issue from a lake, near Snowdon, in Caernarvonshire.

Bangor, a town, and Bishop's See, in Caernarvonshire ; *Bangor*, a parish in Cardigan-shire ; *Bangor*, in Mailers-Hundred, Flintshire.

Barry, a village, and a church ; and *Barry Isle*, in Denis, Powis-Hundred, Glamorganshire.

Brody, in Dewysland-Hundred, Pembrokeshire.

Cil is the prefix to many names every where in South-Britain ; as *Kil-cwm*, *Kil-sant*, *Kil-y-con*, in Caermarthen ; *Kil-garran*, *Kil-redin*, &c. in Pembroke ; *Kil-kenin*, *Kil-uellon*, *Kil-wyn*, in Cardigan ; *Kil-owen*, in Flintshire ; *Kil-gwri*, in Cheshire ; *Kil-stock* parish, in Somerset ; *Kil-dale* and *Kil-low* parish, in Yorkshire ; *Kil-mersdon* parish, in Somerset ; *Kil-pisham* parish, in Rutland ; and many others.

Carn is a compound, in many names of places, in Wales, and Cornwall ; as *Carn-dydel*, *Carn-Llendul*, *Carn-wen*, *Carn-vadrine*, *Carn-Headwll*, *Carn-lloyd*, in Wales ; *Carn-Bin*, *Carn-Eglos*, *Carn-glas*, *Carn-hell*, *Carn-kie*, *Carn-sew*, in Cornwall.

IN NORTH-BRITAIN :

Balloch, near the issue of Leven river, from Loch Lomond (1).

Bangor, in the middle of Linlithgowshire ; *Bangor-Mount*, in the north of Haddingtonshire ; *Banchory-Tarnan*, and *Banchory-Devinick*, two parishes, in Kincardineshire (2).

Barry Parish, in Forfarshire ; *Barry Castle*, and *Hill*, in Alyth parish, Perthshire ; *Barry*, in the Boyne, Banffshire (3).

Brodie, in the parish of Dyke, Elginshire (4).

Cil is the prefix to many names every where in Scotland ; as *Kilbride*, of which there are eighteen ; *Kil-chattan*, of which there are six ; *Kil-columkil*, of which there are eight ; *Kil-donan*, of which there are ten ; *Kil-michael*, of which there are six ; *Kil-mory*, of which there are eleven ; *Kil-patrick*, and *Kil-phe-dir*, of which there are eight ; and many others (5).

Carn, or *Cairn*, is a compound, in many names of places, in North-Britain ; as *Carn-bee*, *Carn-gour*, *Carn-ock*, in Fife ; *Carn-muck*, *Cairn-banno*, *Cairn-bulg*, *Cairn-glass*, in Aberdeen ; *Carn-both*, *Carn-brue*, *Carn-wath*, &c. in Lanerk (6).

Craig

(1) *Bala*, (Brit.) signifies a discharge, or issue, the issue of a river from a lake.

(2) *Bangor*, (Brit.) *Ban-cor*, means the principal row, or circle, the upper, and thickest row, in a wattle-fence ; metaphorically, it signifies a *defence*, or *security*, and was the name of some noted monasteries ; one in Flintshire, one in Caernarvonshire, one in Ireland, and one in Belleisle, on the coast of Britany. In compounding *Ban* and *cor*, the British turn it into *Bangor*, and the Irish into *Ban-chor* : the adjuncts *Tarnan*, and *Devinick*, are the names of the two patron saints.

(3) *Barry* is from *Bar* (Brit.) *Barr* (Ir.) signifying the top, the summit, or end : *Bar* (Brit.) means a bush ; it signified formerly, in Welsh, a *Bush* of sprigs, branches, or hair, saith Ed. Lhuyd : the plural is *Barau* ; so there is *Barra-Bush*, in Barra parish, Haddingtonshire.

(4) *Bro-ty*, or *Bro-dy* (Brit.) means the house, in the lowland, or plain country. This applies strongly to *Brodie*, in Elginshire.

(5) *Cil* (Brit.) signifies a recess, a retreat, *Ceall*, *Ceil*, *Cill* (Ir.) means a retreat ; a *Cell*, a chapel, a burial place : and hence the *Cil*, or *Kill*, became the prefix to the names of so many parishes. A number of names all over Ireland have the prefix *Kil*. See the Index to Beaufort's Map, and Archdal's Monast. Hiber.

(6) *Carn*, in the British, and Irish, as well as in ancient Gaulish, signifies a prominence, a heap, a pile :

IN SOUTH-BRITAIN;

Craig is a compound in many names of places in Wales; as *Craig-du*, in Denbigh, *Craig-du-gannol*, and *Craig-du-uchaf*, and *Craig-y-Pistyll*, in Merioneth, *Pen-craig* in Anglesey, *Pen-craig-vach* in Glamorgan, &c.

Curry, a parish, in Kirrier-hundred, in Cornwall; *Curry* parish, in Abdick-hundred; *Curry*, in North Curry-hundred; and *Curry*, in Balston-hundred, Somersetshire.

Caer, or *Car*, signifying a fort, is a compound, in the names of several places; as *Caer-narvon*, *Caer-marthen*, *Caer-hean*, *Caer-soose* castle, *Caer-went*, *Caer-philly* castle, *Caer-giby*, *Caer-wis*, &c. in Wales; *Car-goal*, *Car-hallock*, *Car-lisle*, *Car-minnow*, *Car-hayes*, &c. in Cornwall; *Cair-nerven* castle in Cumberland.

Derri, in Anglesey; *Derry*, in Caerphilly-hundred, Glamorganshire; *Dery* water, in Merionethshire.

IN NORTH-BRITAIN:

Craig is a compound, in many names of places, in North-Britain; as *Craig-lieth*, and *Craig-millar*, in Edinburghshire; *Craig-darroch*, and *Craig-dow*, in Ayr; *Craig-nethan*, and *Craig-nith*, in Lanerk; *Craig-beath*, and *Craig-kelly*, in Fife; *Craig-an-gour*, and *Craig-na-cat*, in Aberdeen (7).

Curry parish, and *Curry*, in Borthwick parish, Edinburgh; *Curry-duff*, in Forfar; *Curry-dow*, *Curry-hill*, in Kirkcudbright, and a number of *Corrys* (8).

Caer, or *Car*, signifying a fort, is a compound, in the names of several places; as *Caer-laverock*, and *Wester Ker*, in Dumfries; *Car-riden*, in Linlithgow; *Gar-luke*, *Car-stairs*, *Car-munnoch*, and *Car-michael* parishes, in Lanerk; *Carminnow*, in Kirkcudbright; *Ker-chesters*, in Roxburgh; at which places are the remains of fortifications (9).

Derry, several in Wigton; *Derry*, in Perth; *Derry*, in Forfar; *Derry-du*, in Elgin; *Derry-meanoch*, and *Derry-more* forests, in Sutherland, &c. (10).

Dol,

a pile: and hence *Carn* was the term for the tumuli, or funeral monuments, which the Celtic people raised to commemorate their fallen warriors: *Carn*, in the Cornish, means a high rock, a collection of rocks, a rocky place. The word *Carn* is applied in the names of hills; to some, from having *Carns* on their tops; to others, metaphorically, from their resemblance to a *Carn*, or heap.

(7) *Craig*, in the British, and Irish, as well as in ancient Gaulish, signifies a rock, a rocky height. The word is still used, in the Scoto-Saxon language of North-Britain, as well as in the common speech of South Britain.

(8) *Coiré*, and *Cuiré*, in Gaelic, signifies a deep hollow, a ravine; and is frequently applied, in the topography, to deep narrow glens: *Currie*, and *Corrie*, are the forms, which the word has acquired, in English pronunciation.

(9) *Caer*, in the British, and Cornish, as well as in the ancient Gaulish, and *Ca'ir*, in Irish, signify a wall, or mound, a fortress. The remains of many British forts, along the Forth, which had opposed the Roman progress into North-Britain, still bear the ancient appellation of *Caer*, in the corrupted form of *Keir*.

(10) *Dar*, in the British, and ancient Gaulish, signifies oak, oakwood; plur. *Deri*: so *Dag*, in the Cornish; plur. *Deru*: *Dair* (Ir.) means oak; and *Doiré*, a thicket, a grove, a wood, properly of oaks; in several parts, the word is pronounced *Derrie* and *Dirrie*.

IN SOUTH-BRITAIN;

IN NORTH-BRITAIN;

Dol, signifying a flat field, or meadow, is applied in the names of many places; as *Dole*, and *Dol-gelli*, in Merioneth; *Dol-anag*, *Dol-arthan*, *Dol-gadvan*, *Dol-obran*, *Dol-y-corslwyn*, *Dol y-fondy*, in Montgomeryshire—

Dol, and *Dal*, signifying a flat field, or meadow, are applied, in the names of many places; as *Doll*, and *Dollar*, in Clackmannan; *Doll*, in Forfar; *Doll*, in Fife; *Dol-danid*, and *Dollhead*, in Perth; *Doll-as* parish, in Elgin, &c.; and a number of names beginning with *Dal* (11).

Dysart church in Radnor; *Dyserth* castle, in Flint; *Dyserth*, in Montgomery; *Dysart*, in Brecknock; and *Dysard*, in Cornwall.

Dysart town and parish, in Fifeshire; *Dysart*, in Maryton, Forfarshire; *Clachan-Dysart* was formerly the name of Glenorchy parish, Argyleshire (12).

Egles-thorn parish, Yorkshire; *Egles-ton*, several in Dorset, Durham, and Lancaster; *Eglos-hale*, and *Eglos-kerry*, parishes, in Cornwall; *Eglwys-brewis*, and *Eglwys-yban*, parishes, in Glamorgan; *Eglwys-kemen* parish, in Caermarthen; *Eglwys-vach* parish, in Denbigh; *Eglwys-aley* parish, in Anglesey; *Eccles* hall, in Stafford; *Eccles*, two parishes of this name, in Norfolk.

Eagles-ham parish, in Renfrewshire; *Eagles-carnie*, in Haddington; *Eccles-john*, in Forfarshire; *Eccles-fechan* parish, in Dumfries; *Eccles-greig* (now St. Cyrus) parish, in Kincardineshire; *Eccles-machan* parish, in Linlithgow; *Eccles-magirdle*, in Perthshire; *Eccles* parish, in Berwickshire (13).

Forden chapel and parish, in Montgomeryshire; *Fordon*, in Dickering-hundred, Yorkshire; *Fordon*, in Shropshire.

Fordon parish, in Kincardineshire; *Forden*, in Auchterarder parish, Perthshire (14).

Glas is a compound in the names of divers places; as *Glas-comb* parish, in Radnor; *Glas-coed*, in Denbigh; *Glas-ter*, in Pembroke; *Penglass*, in Cardigan; *Glas-an*, in Cumberland;

Glass is a compound in the names of divers places; as *Glas-gow* town, and *Glas-bin*, in Lanerk; *Glas-boys*, in Aberdeen; *Glas-cloon*, *Glas-corry*, and *Glas-choil*, in Perth; *Glas-dur*,

(11) *Dol*, in the British, and ancient Gaulish, and *Dal*, in Irish, signifies a low, plain field; a fruitful, or pleasant mead, on a river side.

(12) There are divers churches, in Ireland, called by this name; as *Dysart* church, in Louth; *Dysert* church, in Roscommon; *Dysart* church, in Kerry; *Dysart* church, in Queen's county; *Dysart* ruins, and *Kil-dysart*, in Clare; *Desart* church, in Cork; *Desart-creat* church, in Tyrone; *Dysart* lodge, in Meath, &c.; *Dyserth* castle, in Flint, is said to be so named from its high situation. Lew. Morris's Celtic Remains. *Serth* (Brit.) steep.

(13) *Eglwys* (Brit.), *Egles*, and *Eglos*, (Cornish), *Eaglais* (Ir.), signify a church. In a charter of King William, and in a Bull of Pope Celestine III. in 1195, the church of St. Ninian, near Stirling, is called *Eggilis*; which name was changed, in the thirteenth century, to the Scoto-Saxon *Kirk-town*: hence, also, the French *Eglise*.

(14) *Ford*, (Brit. and Corn.) signifies a passage, a road, a way.

IN SOUTH-BRITAIN ;

land ; *Glas*-brook, in Lancashire ; *Glas*-cote, in Warwick ; *Glas*-neth, and *Glas*-on, in Cornwall, &c.

Kelly, *Kellio*, *Killi*-gorick, *Kille*-helan, *Killy*-verth, *Kille*-vose, *Killy*-worgy ; and several other villages in Cornwall ; *Kelli*-gate, *Kele*-kenyn, *Kelle*-ayron, &c. in Wales ; *Kelley*, in Devonshire, &c.

Ken, or *Kin*, is a compound, in the names of divers places ; as *Kenart* in Radnor ; *Ken*-narth parish, in Caermarthen ; *Ken*-cot, in Oxford ; *Kendal*, in Westmoreland ; *Kenn*, in Somerset ; *Ken*-net parish, in Cambridge ; *Kin*-der, in Derby ; *Kin*-ley parish, Gloucester ; and many others.

Lan-cant parish, in Gloucester ; *Lan*-beach parish, in Cambridge ; *Lan*-garr, in Nottingham ; *Lan* is prefixed to the names of many churches, and parishes, in Wales, and in Cornwall.

Lanerch, a market town in Anglesey ; *Lanerch*, on Dovy river, Merionethshire ; *Lanerch* park, on the river Clwyd, in Denbighshire ; *Lanerch*-ciron, in Cardiganshire ; *Lanrack*, in Cornwall.

IN NORTH-BRITAIN :

dur, in Ayr ; *Glas*-tir, in Inverness, in Arran, and in Galloway ; *Glass*-lochy, in Kinross, &c. (15).

Kelly, in Aberdeenshire ; *Kelly*, several in Fife-shire ; *Kelly*, several in Forfar ; *Kelly*, in Renfrew ; *Kelly*-more, in Arran island ; *Kelli*-ness, in Wigton ; *Kelloe*, in Berwick ; &c. (16).

Ken, or *Kin*, is a compound, in the names of divers places ; as *Ken*-ard, in Perth ; *Kin*-garth parish, in Bute ; *Kin*-caid, in Stirling ; *Ken*-dal, in Aberdeen ; *Ken*-ny, in Forfar ; *Ken*-net, in Clackmannan ; *Kin*-der, in Kirkcudbright ; *Kin*-ley, in Fife ; and many others (17).

Lan-bride parish, in Elginshire, a church, dedicated to St. Brigid ; *Lan*-morgan, in Elginshire, where there was a chapel, dedicated to St. Morgan (18).

Lanerk, the county town of Lanerkshire ; *Lan*-rick, in Fossaway parish ; *Lanrick*, in Kilmadock parish ; *Lanrick*, in Dumblane parish ; and *Lanrick*, in Callander parish, Perthshire (19).

Lin,

(15) *Glas* (Brit.) as an adjective, signifies blue, pale grey, verdant, green ; and as a substantive, a blue colour, a green, a green plat : *Glas* (Corn.) green : *Glas* (Ir.) means grey, green, verdant.

(16) *Celli* (Brit.) and *Kelli* (Cornish) signify a grove, a shady place, a copse-wood : *Coillé* (Ir.) means a wood.

(17) *Cyn* (Brit.) substantive, signifies the first, or foremost part : as an adjective, first, chief, foremost : *Ceann*, *Cin*, (Ir.), means the chief, the head ; also an *end*, or limit : and so *Cen*, *Cyn*, in ancient Gaulish : so in Egypt, and among the Hebrews, *Ken* was applied to a prince, a priest, &c. Geb. Monde Prim. tom. 8. p. 140—1.

(18) *Llan*, or *Lan*, (Brit. and Corn.), a church : it signified, originally, a place of meeting, or gathering together, an inclosure, a church-yard, in which the church was built : *Lann* (Ir.) also signifies a church.

(19) *Llanerch* (Brit.) signifies a green, a bare place, in a wood ; a little yard. *Lanherch* (Corn.) means a forest, a grove, a lawn, a bare place, in a wood. *Lanerk* is vulgarly pronounced *Lanrick*, which has occasioned the corruption of several of those names.

IN SOUTH-BRITAIN;

Lin, and *Lyn*, are compounds, in several names of places; as *Lynn*, and *Lynn-Regis*, in Norfolk; *Lyn-del*, in Lancaster; *Lin-ton* parish, in Hereford; *Lin-ton* parish, in York; *Lyn-yerew*, *Lyn-hoghlen*, *Lyn-Tegid*; and many others.

Manachty, in Llanylar-hundred, Cardiganshire.

Park is the name of several places, and a compound, in the names of others; as *Park*, in Brecknock, in Cornwall, in Southampton, in Stafford, in the Isle of Wight; *Park-hall*, in Essex; *Park-pill*, in Monmouth, *Park-ream*, in Caermarthen; *Park-erissie*, *Park-hale*, in Cornwall, &c.

Pen is a compound, in the names of many places; as *Pen* parish, and *Pen-ard*, in Somerset; *Pen-craig*, in Anglesey, in Montgomery, in Denbigh, in Glamorgan, &c.; and *Pen-pont*, in Cornwall, and in Brecknock; *Pen-kuick*, in Cornwall; *Pen-keth*, in Lancaster; *Pen-coid*, in Hereford; *Pen-rith*, in Cumberland; and many others.

Pill is the name of several places, and is a compound, in the name of others; as *Pile*, in Glamorgan: *Pile* of Foudray, in Lancashire; *Pill*, in Devon; *Pill*, in Somerset; *Pill*, in Pembroke; and *Pill*, in Cornwall; *Pil-leth*, in Radnor; *Pil-lesdow* parish, in Dorset; *Pil-lick* parish, in Cornwall, &c.

IN NORTH-BRITAIN:

Lin, and *Lyn*, are compounds, in several names of places; as *Linn*, in Fife, Forfar, and Dunbarton; *Lyne*, in Peebles; *Lin-dale* loch, in Ayr; *Lin-ton* parish, in Peebles; and *Lin-ton* parish, in Roxburgh; *Lin-dores* loch, and abbey, in Fife; *Lin-lithgow* (20).

Monachty, in the parish of Alves, Elginshire (21).

Park is the name of divers places, and a compound, in the names of others; as *Park* in Banff, Nairn, Kirkcudbright, Perth, Ayr, &c.; *Park-hall*, in Lanerk; *Park-more*, and *Park-beg*, (Great Park, and Little Park), in Banff; *Park-hay*, in Wigton, and many others (22).

Pen is a compound, in the names of many places; as *Pen* of Eskdalmuir; *Pen-nagaul* hills, in Dumfries; *Pen-craig*, a hill in Haddington; *Pen-pont* parish, in Dumfries; *Pen-yeuick* parish, in Edinburgh; *Pen-caithlan* parish, in Haddington; *Pen-valla*, in Peebles; *Pen-wally*, in Ayr; *Pen-drich*, in Perth, &c. (23).

Pill is a compound, in the names of many places; as *Pile-ily*, *Pil-mar*, *Pil-tarf*, and *Pil-vealain*, in Perth; *Pil-kivie*, in Fife; *Pill-walls*, in Berwick; *Pil-rig*, in Edinburgh; *Pil-whirry*, in Wigton; *Pil-whirn*, and *Pil-nour*, rivulets, in Kirkcudbright, &c. (24.)

Rayne

(20) *Llynn* (Brit.) signifies what is in motion, or flows; water; a lake; a pool. *Lyn* (Corn.) means a pond, a pool, a standing water. *Linn*, (Ir.), a pond, a pool; any standing, or lodged water: hence, *Dub-lin*, and many other names of places in Ireland.

(21) *Manach-ty*, in the British, Cornish, and Irish, signifies the *monks-house*.

(22) *Parc*, *Park*, in British, and Cornish, as well as in ancient Gaulish, and Bas-Breton, signify a field, an inclosure: and so *Pairc*, in Irish.

(23) *Pen*, in the British, and Armoric, as well as in the ancient Gaulish, signifies a head, a chief, the beginning, the top, or summit, the end, a cape, a promontory. *Pen*, or *Pedn*, (Cornish), means the head, a hill, &c. The analagous word, in the Gaelic, is *Cean*, of which *Cin* is an inflection: so the names of *Pen-ard*, and *Kin-ard*, *Pen-craig*, and *Kin-craig*, &c. are synonymous, as hath already been observed of *Pen-arth*, and *Kin-garth*.

(24) *Pill*, in the British, and Cornish, as well as in ancient Gaulish, signifies a strong hold, a fortress,

IN SOUTH-BRITAIN;

Rayne parish, in Essex.

Rescob forest, in North-hundred, Cardigan.

Roselyn, in Cornwall; and several other names, names compounded of *Ros*, and *Rose* (26).

Sorn, a village, in Cornwall.

Tre is a prefix in many names; as *Tre-evan*, *Tre-tire*, *Tre-vill*, *Tre-wen*, in Hereford; *Tre-ton* parish, in Yorkshire; *Tre-borough* parish, in Somerset; *Tre-garon* town, and parish, and *Tre-villy* parish, in Cardigan; *Tre-maine*, *Tre-neglos*, and *Tre-wen* parishes, in Cornwall; and many others.

Tre, or *Tref*, is also an affix to several names; as *Uchil-tref*, in Anglesey; *Uchel-tref*, a gentleman's seat, in Merionethshire, &c.

Varis, on Cluyn river, in Flintshire.

IN NORTH-BRITAIN:

Rayne parish, in Aberdeenshire (25).

Rescobie parish, in Forfarshire.

Roselin, in Edinburghshire; and several other names, compounded of *Ros*, and *Rose* (26).

Sorn parish, in Ayrshire (27).

Tre is a prefix in divers names; as *Tre-broun*, in Lauder parish, Berwick; *Tre-horn*, in Cunningham, Ayrshire; *Tre-town*, in Kennoway, Fifeshire; *Tre-gallon*, in Troqueer parish, Kirkcudbright; *Tre-long*, in Dunnotter parish, Kincardineshire; *Tre-uchan* in Port parish, Perthshire, &c. (28.)

Tre is also an affix to several names; as *Uchil-tre* parish, and castle, and Ayrshire; *Uchil-tre*, in Penningham parish, Wigton; *Ochil-tre*, in Linlithgowshire, &c. (29).

Varis, the Roman name of Forres, on a small water, in Elginshire.

fortress, a secure place; *Pill* also means a sea-ditch, or trench, filled at high-water, in South-Wales, and in Cornwall. There are a number of old forts, in North-Britain, which are called by this name; as the *Peel* of Gargunno, and the *Peel* of Garden, on the river Forth, in Stirling; the *Peel* of Linlithgow; the *Peel* of Kirkintulloch, a fort, on the Roman wall; the *Peel* castle, in East Kilbride, Lanerkshire; the *Peel* fort, at Lumphanan, Aberdeenshire; the *Peel* fort, in Castletown parish, Roxburgh; and the old fortified castle of Livingston, in Linlithgowshire, is, in ancient writings, and in Pont's map of Lothian, called the *Peel*. The term *Pill* was also applied to a number of the border strengths. The *Pill*, or *Peel*, is unknown to the Irish language, or Scoto-Irish, as well as to the Teutonic.

(25) The name of this parish is probably derived from the British, and Armoric, *Rhann*, which seems to be the same as the Irish *Rann*, and *Rain*, a portion, a division, a division of lands among brothers.

(26) *Rhos* (Brit.) signifies a mountain, meadow, a moist plain. *Ros* (Corn.) means a mountain, a meadow, a valley, or dale, between hills, or attended with a promontory. *Rhus* (Brit.) signifies a *start*, and is hence applied to a promontory. *Ros*, in the old Celtic, and *Ros*, in the Gaelic, signifies a promontory; in fact, Roslin castle stands on the point of a rocky promontory, around which winds the river Esk.

(27) *Sarn* (Brit.) signifies a caufey, stepping stones. *Sorn* (Cornish) means a corner. Sorn castle stands, in a corner, formed by the junction of a rivulet, with the river Ayr, in Ayrshire.

(28) *Tre*, and *Tref*, (Brit. and Arm.), signifies a resort, a dwelling-place, a home-stead, a hamlet, a town. *Tre* (Corn.) means a town, a village, a dwelling, a gentleman's seat. It forms a part of the name of a number of mansions, and hamlets, in South-Britain, and also in North-Britain.

(29) *Uchiltre* is the orthography in Pont's maps of Kyle, and Wigton, in Blaeu's Atlas; but, it has since been changed to *Ochiltree*. *Uchel* (Brit.) *Uhel* (Corn.) mean high, lofty, stately: so, *Uchel-tre*, the *high-dwelling*, or hamlet. The *Ochil* hills, in Perthshire, are so named, from the British *Uchel*.

C H A P. II.

Of the North-British Tribes; their Topographical Positions; and singular Antiquities.

IN every treatise, whether didactic, or narrative, what has been demonstrated must be taken for truth. It seems, indeed, impossible to resist the proofs, that have been offered, in accurate detail, for establishing the simple proposition, which was more than probable in itself, that the Aborigines of North-Britain were undoubtedly the same Gaelic Clans, who, in the most early ages, settled South-Britain (*a*). Theories, then, must bow down to facts, and conjectures must ever give place to certainty.

At the epoch of Agricola's invasion, North-Britain may be viewed as a mirror, that reflects back the condition, in which was South-Britain, at the more distant era, when Julius Cæsar first invaded the shores of our island. This faithful mirror shows also the state of Gaul, when the Roman ambition enterprized the conquest of the common parent of the British nations. Those kindred countries were each cantonized into many tribes, who were only connected together, by the slight ties of a common origin, similar customs, and the same speech. Caledonia, in its largest extent, from the Tweed and the

(*a*) See before, Chap. I. Every scholar knows how many conjectures Tacitus has made, concerning the origin of the *Caledonians*, who opposed Agricola, in arms. Agric. xi. But, such a body of *facts*, as are established, in the preceding chapter, would explode conjectures of more solidity, if it were allowable to regard speculations, in opposition to *fact*: but, he cannot be admitted to reason against demonstration. If any additional proofs were wanting to support this historical demonstration, they might be found in an accurate comparison of the stone monuments, which are the undoubted remains of the earliest inhabitants of South, and North, Britain; the *Cromlechs*; the *rocking stones*; the *circles of stones*; all which abound, as much in the North, as in the South, of our island, with the same form; and, therefore, appear to have been the work of the same people. Compare Borlase's Cornwall, Book iii.; Rowland's Mona, § ix.; Munimenta Antiqua, ch. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.; Cordiner's Antiquities, p. 44.; Ure's Hist. Ruglen, p. 85-6.; the Statistical Accounts of Scotland, 15th Vol. 280. 517.; 4th Vol. 262. 456.; 9th Vol. 483.; 16th Vol. 481.; 5th Vol. 71.; and Martin's West Isles, p. 71. Add to all these, the many hill-forts, that formed, when Agricola invaded North Britain, the defences of the British tribes, in the North, as well as in the South, which are all of the same construction, and in similar situations.

Eden, on the south, to Cathness point on the north, was possessed by one-and-twenty tribes of Aboriginal Britons, who were populous, in proportion to the greater, or less fertility of the districts, which they severally occupied: the tribes, on the west coast, must have been fewer in numbers, than the more potent clans, on the eastern shore. Every tribe enjoyed the ancient privilege of being each independent of the whole; and who only united under a Pen-dragon, when danger pressed, and necessity demanded the authority of a single person, for the safety of the whole people, according to the Celtic principle of disunited independence.

1. Let us now cast a curious eye on that speculum, wherein we may see the topographic position of the Caledonian clans, in their respective series. In it, we may perceive, at the south-east boundary of North-Britain, the tribe of the *Ottadini*; who occupied the whole extent of coast, from the southern Tine to the Frith of Forth; inhabiting the half of Northumberland; the east part of Roxburghshire; the whole of Berwick, and of East-Lothian; having their chief town at *Bremenium*, which is undoubtedly *Roechester*, on Reed-water, in Northumberland (*b*). The British name of the *Ottadini* is supposed to be derived from the site of their country, which stretches out from the great river *Tine* northward, along the coast of the German Sea, and the Frith of Forth (*c*). A British Poet of the sixth century, Aneurin, a chief of the *Ottadini*, has

(*b*) Ptolomy; Richard, and his map. The rivers, in the country of the *Ottadini*, were the *Tina*, the *Alauna*, and the *Tueda*, as we learn from Richard. The *Tina*, and *Tueda*, are omitted by Ptolomy. The *Tine* is merely the British *Tain*, signifying a river of the same import as *Avon*: The Lothian *Tine*, and the *Tina*, in the country of the *Venrícones*, derived their kindred names from the same source. The *Alauna* of the *Ottadini*, as well as the *Alauna*, in the country of the *Damnii*, drew their descriptive names, from the *Al-wen* of the British speech; signifying the *clear*, or *bright*, stream. There are several other waters, in North-Britain, which are named *Alen*, or *Allan*; and which owe their appellations to similar qualities. The *Tueda* of Richard is merely the British *Tued*, the ancient name of this *dividing* water, with the Latin termination [*a*] annexed to it. Lluyd's *Archaiol*, p. 239.

(*c*) Camden supposes, that they were named *Ottadini* from living beyond the *Tine*. Following up this idea, he endeavours to derive the name from the British *Uch-tin*; supposing, mistakenly, that *Uch* signifies *beyond*, as the Welsh apply *Uch-Conway*, for the country of Wales *beyond* the *Conway*. *Uch-coed*, *beyond* the wood. The British *Uch* properly signifies *upper*, *higher*, *above*; and may be sometimes put for the English *beyond*, when there is the coincidence of acclivity in the situation. But, the name of the *Ottadini* may be derived from the British language, in a more analogous form, thus: *Odd*, or *Oth*, in the British, signifies *what tends out from*: So *Odd-y-tin*, implies the region, *tending out from the Tine*, which is, in fact, descriptive of the *Ottadinian* country; stretching out from the river *Tine*, along the east coast to the Frith of Forth. From *Oddytin*, the people, inhabiting the country, would properly be called *Odditini*, and *Odditiniad*; and by the Romans, *Othadini*, or *Ottadini*; the *dd* of the British being pronounced like the *th* of the Latin, and the English.

left

left a poem, which deploras, in animated strains, the defeat of his countrymen, by the intruding Saxons, in the battle of Cattraith:

Gwyr a aeth *Ododin*, chwerthin wnar.

Heroes travers'd *Otodinia*, a joyous course (*d*).

2. The neighbouring tribe of the *Gadeni* inhabited the interior country, on the west of the *Ottadini*, from the Tine, on the south, to the Forth, on the north; comprehending the west part of Northumberland; the small part of Cumberland, lying on the north of Irthing river; the west part of Roxburgh; the whole of Selkirk, Tweeddale; much of Mid-Lothian, and nearly all West-Lothian; having *Curia*, on the Gore water, for their capital (*e*). Their British name is supposed to be derived from the many groves, which, in those days, added both strength, and ornament, to their various country.

3. The western clan of the *Selgovæ* inhabited Annandale, Nithsdale, and Eskdale, in Dumfriesshire; the east part of Galloway, as far as the river Deva,

(*d*) Cambrian Register, v. 2. p. 15, 16; Welsh Archæol. v. 1. p. 1.

(*e*) Richard's text, and his map. Ptolomy differs from both, in his position of the *Gadeni*, on the north of the *Damnii*, beyond the Clyde, in the country of the *Aattacotti*, whom he has annihilated. The discovery of inscriptions has, however, proved, that Ptolomy, and his interpreter, are completely wrong, and that Richard is perfectly right, as to the country, which he has given to the *Gadeni*, near the wall of Severus. At Risingham, where the Roman station of *Habitancum* was situated, there was found in the river Reed, which passes this place, two stone altars, the inscription upon one of which bears, that it was erected to Mogon, a god of the *Gadeni*; and to the deity of our Lord Augustus at *Habitancum*: the other bore an inscription, "Deo Mouno *Cadenorum* "Inventus Do. V. S." Camden's Brit. p. 1075—6; Horsley's Brit. Rom. Northumberland, No. lxxx.; Warburton's Vallum Romanum, p. 137—8. As Ptolomy displaced the *Gadeni* country; so he gave *Curia*, their metropolis, to the neighbouring tribe of the *Ottadini*; but Richard has properly restored it to the right owners. This *Gadeni* town probably derived its significant name from the British *Cwr*, signifying a *limit*, a *border*, or *extremity*; a corner: *Cwr* would be latinized *Curia* by the Romans. In an endeavour to settle Ptolomy's erroneous position of the *Gadeni*, a late enquirer has observed, "that Richard, compared with Ptolomy, is no authority at all, and that it is sufficient to say, that Ptolomy must be right, and Richard must be wrong:" yet, have we seen, that the demonstration of inscriptions supports Richard, and confutes Ptolomy. This is by no means the only improvement, which Richard has made upon Ptolomy, in the topography of North-Britain: he has added several tribes, which were wholly omitted by Ptolomy; he has corrected many of his erroneous positions; he has given many additional intimations of the ancient British names of rivers, of mountains, and of stations, that are not in Ptolomy: and, in all these additions, corrections, and improvements, Richard is, in general, supported by modern discoveries, and by undoubted facts. It thus appears, that Richard wrote from better documents, and more copious information, than Ptolomy; and, that Richard's authority, and notices, ought to be preferred to the inaccuracy, and barrenness of Ptolomy, when they differ, as flippant remark must yield to solid sense.

or Dee, which was their western boundary ; and they had the Solway Frith for their southern limit (*f*). The British name of the *Selgovæ* is supposed to be descriptive of their country ; which lay on a *dividing* water, and which, by the new settlers, who were introduced, during the middle ages, was denominated the Solway.

4. The remarkable tribe of the *Novantes* inhabited the middle, and west, parts of Galloway, from the Dee, on the east, to the Irish sea, on the west ; they had the Solway Frith, and the Irish sea, on the south, and the chain of hills, the *Uxellum-montes* of Richard, which separate Galloway from Carrick, on the north : and they possessed *Lucopibia*, on the site of the present Whithern, for their principal town ; with another town, which was named *Rerigonium*, on

(*f*) Ptolomy ; Richard, and his map. The *Ituna* of Ptolomy, and Richard, is the Solway, which received its name from the *Ituna*, the ancient *Eden* of the modern maps ; and which loses itself in the wide expanse of the same frith. This river, as well as several of the same name, in North-Britain, and the Eden, in Kent, derive their descriptive names from the British *Eddain*, which signifies a *gliding* stream. In the country of the *Selgovæ*, there are two other rivers, on Richard's map ; the *Nidus*, or Nith ; and the *Deva*, or Dee. The Nid, or Nith, like the Nidus, or Neth, in Wales, derives its appropriate name, from the British *Nedd*, which is pronounced *Neth*, and which signifies, in the Cambro-British speech, *circling*, or *revolving*, as the fact evinces. The Dee derives its significant name, from the same British source, as the Dee, in Aberdeenshire, and the Dee, in Wales : *De*, as a substantive, signifies *impulse*, *action*, a *separation*, and was obviously applied to those rivers from their quality of *rapidity* : both the Dees, in North-Britain, as mountain streams, are rapid : the name may, however, be derived from the British *Du*, which is pronounced like *Dee*, and which denotes the dark colour of their waters. One of the *Selgovæ* towns is called by Ptolomy, and Richard, *Trimontium* : it plainly derived its prefix *Tre*, from the British *Tre*, a town : the *Trimontium* was certainly at Burrenswark-hill, in Annandale, on the summit of which, there are the remains of a large British strength, and two Roman camps, on its declivity. See chap. iv. *Uxellum*, another town of the *Selgovæ*, draws its descriptive name, from the British *Uchel*, which signifies *high*, *lofty* ; and which has been merely disguised, by a Latin termination. It was situated, at Wardlaw hill, near Caerlaverock. *Caerbantorigum*, another town of the *Selgovæ*, was situated at Drummore, where there are still the remains of a British strength, and a Roman camp, on the east side of the Dee, below Kirkcudbright : the name is obviously British, with a Latin termination : the Cambro-British *Caer* signifies a fortress, a fortified place : *Ban*, in the British, means conspicuous ; and *Bant*, a high place : We thus perceive, that the *Selgovæ* were a British people ; since their rivers, and towns, had their significant names, from the Cambro-British speech. Ptolomy (Bertius's edition) also gives to the *Selgovæ* a fourth town, which he named *Corda*, and which is not recognized by Richard, nor is it in some of the prior editions of Ptolomy. It is placed, by the Egyptian geographer, in the high part of their country, and was probably at Castle Over, in Upper Eskdale, where are the remains of a remarkable British strength, and also of a Roman station ; and there are several smaller British strengths, on the heights, in the surrounding country.

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the *Rerigonius Sinus*, the Loch-Ryan of modern maps (g). They are supposed to have derived their British name from the nature of their region, which abounded with streams. The *Novantes* were remembered by *Aneurin*, in the sixth century, when he was describing the warriors, who hastened to the defence of their country, at Cattraeth :

“ Tri llwry Novant :

“ Three from Novant.” (h).

5. The *Damnii* inhabited the whole extent of country from the *Uxellum montes* of Richard, the ridge of hills between Galloway and Ayrshire, on the south, to the river Ern on the north, comprehending all Strathclyd, the shires of Air, Renfrew, and Stirling, with a small part of the shires of Dunbarton, and Perth. Their towns were *Vanduaria*, at Paisley ; *Colania*, in the south-eastern extremity of Strathclyde ; *Coria*, at Caerstairs, in Eastern Clydesdale ; *Alauna*, on the river Allan ; *Lindum*, near the present Ardoch ; and *Victoria*, at Dealginross, on the Ruchil water (i). Such were the five tribes, who occupied, during the first century,

(g) Ptolomy ; Richard, and his map. The most prominent object among the *Novantes*, which is delineated by Richard, though not by Ptolomy, is the *Uxellum montes*, a ridge of high hills, running from east, to west, along the northern side of their country. The *Uxellum* is plainly the British *Uchel*, signifying high, lofty. Richard is confirmed, by what we find in the vicinity of those mountains, in Wigton, a place which, in Pont's map of Galloway, is called *Ucheltre*, the high town : this, as well as the *Ucheltres* in Ayr, and Linlithgow, are now perverted to *Ochiltree*. The Ochil hills, on the northern side of the Forth, are also named, from the same British word. The *Abravanus* of Ptolomy, and Richard, is obviously the *Aber-avon* of the British topography ; the *Aber*, signifying merely a confluence, and *Avon*, a river.

(h) Cambrian Reg. v. 2, p. 17 ; Welsh Archæol. v. 1, p. 4.

(i) Ptolomy ; and Richard, with his map. Such were the extensive territories, and the towns, of this powerful tribe, at the period of Agricola's invasion ; and such they continued, till the erection of the wall of Antonine, which, running from the Forth to the Clyde, through the northern part of their country, comprehended the greatest part of it, within the conquered province of Valentia. At that epoch, as we learn from Richard, the *Horestii* acquired the towns of *Alauna*, *Lindum*, and *Victoria*, with the surrounding country. The *Vidogara* river, which runs through the country of the *Damnii*, as laid down by Richard, plainly represents the *Ayr*. This stream, that has conferred its British name on the modern shire, formed, no doubt, the annex to the *Vidogara* of Ptolomy, and Richard : now, *Gwddawg*, in the British, signifies *woody* : and dropping the (g) in composition, *wyddawg-ara* would signify the *woody-ar* : this epithet was formerly very descriptive of this river ; and is still so, in a great degree. The *Clota-fluvius*, and *Clota-Æstuarium*, are obviously the latinized names of *Cluyd*, which, like the sister *Cluyd*, in Wales, derives its name from the British *Clyd*, signifying *warm*, or *sheltered*. These agreeable qualities apply, in a remarkable manner, to the *Straths*, or vales, through which those well known rivers run, even in the present times. The *Alauna* derived its name, as we have seen, from the river *Allan*, on which it stood ;

century, that ample region, from the Tine and the Solway, on the south, to the Forth and the Clyde, on the north, varying their limits, no doubt, as ambition pressed, or weakness gave way, during the succession of many ages.

6. The *Horestii* inhabited the country between the *Bodotria*, or Forth, on the South, and the *Tavus*, or Tay, on the north; a district, which comprehended the shires of Clackmanan, Kinross, and Fife, with the east part of Strathern, and the country, lying westward of the Tay, as far as the river Brand (*k*). From the natural strength of their country, the *Horestii* are supposed to have derived their British name.

7. The *Venricones* possessed the country, between the river Tay, on the south, and the river Carron, on the north; comprehending Gowrie, Strathmore, Stormont, and Strathardle, in Perthshire; the whole of Angus, with the larger part of Kincardineshire; having their chief town *Orrea*, on the north-east margin of the *Tavus*, or Tay (*l*.)

stood; and the *Allan* obtained its name, from the British *Al-awen*; signifying the *clear*, or *white* stream. The *Lindum*, which stood on the bank of Knaig water, is equally a *Celtic* name, though it be somewhat corrupted: it is merely the *Llyn* of the British, signifying a pool, and *Din*, or *Dun*, a strength. *Victoria* is plainly a name of Roman application, during the age of their victories.

(*k*) Richard, and his map. Such was the territory of the *Horestii*, at the epoch of Agricola's invasion, when they were subdued, and even until the wall of Antonine was built, when they obtained a considerable accession of country, from the Damnian territories, with the towns of Alauna, Lindum, and Victoria. Richard. The *Horestii* are wholly omitted by Ptolomy: but Tacitus, who expressly mentions them, supports the authority of Richard against Ptolomy. The *Bodotria* of Ptolomy, and Richard, which bounded the *Horestii*, on the south, was merely the *Portb*, of the British, the *Forth* of modern maps; signifying a *haven*, or *Estuary*, in the Cambro-British tongue.

(*l*) Ptolomy; Richard, and his map. In the edition of Ptolomy, 1486, this tribe are called *Vernicones*; in Bertius' edition *Venicones*; Richard calls them *Venricones*: this tribe, as well as the *Horestii*, obtained afterwards the classical designation of *Veturiones*. The name of their capital *Or*, which the Romans latinized into *Orrea*, was descriptive of its situation, on the border of their country, and on the margin of the Tay; *Or*, in the British, signifying what is *outward*, or *bordering*, a *limit*, a *margin*. The rivers, in the country of the *Venricones*, as we learn from Richard, were the *Tavus*, the *Esica*, and *Tina*: Ptolomy has only recollected the *Tavus*, and *Tina*; and he has misplaced both. The name of the *Tavus* is obviously the British *Tau*, signifying what spreads. The Tay, like the *Tau* of Devonshire, forms a grand expanse in the latter part of its course. Several rivers, in South-Britain, are equally named from the British *Tau*, owing to their qualities of expansion: the Solway was called the *Tau*, by Tacitus. The *Æsica* of Richard is merely the South *Esk*, of the recent maps; and derived its name, as well as other *Esks*, in North, and South-Britain, from the Celtic *Easc*, and *Uisg*, signifying water. The *Tina*, which was placed on the northward of the *Æsica*, by Richard, is probably the North water of the late maps; and, no doubt, derived its appellation, like the *Tine*, in Lothian, and the *Tine*, in Northumberland, from the British *Tain*, signifying a *river*, the same in import, as *Avon*.

8. The *Taixali* inhabited the northern part of the Mearns, and the whole of Aberdeenshire, to the Doveran; a district, which included the promontory of Kinaird's-head, to which the Romans gave the name of *Taixalorum promontorium*: and, they had for their chief town *Devana*, on the north side of the river Dee, six miles above its influx into the sea; being the *Normandykes* of the present times. They, probably, derived their British appellation, from the *fair head-land*, which is the most prominent feature of their open, and pointed region (*m.*)

9. The *Vacomagi* possessed the country, on the south side of the Murray Frith, from the Doveran, on the east, to the Ness, the *Longus* of Richard, on the west; an extent, which comprehended the shires of Banff, Elgin, Nairn, the east part of Inverness, with Braemar, in Aberdeenshire (*n*). Their towns were the *Ptoroton* of Richard, the *Alata Castra* of Ptolomy, at the mouth of the

(*m*) Ptolomy; Richard, and his map; Cambrian Reg. 2d vol. p. 18. The remarkable names, in the map of Richard, and the tables of Ptolomy, within the country of the *Taixali*, are the *Deva*, the station of the *Devana* upon the same river, and the *Ituna*: *Deva*, or *Dee*, derives its name, from the same *British* source, as the *Dee*, of the *Selgovæ*, and the *Wizard Dee*, in Wales. The *Ituna*, or *Ithan*, of the modern maps, obtained its name from the same British origin, and from the same qualities, as the *Ituna* of the *Selgovæ*, which has been already noticed.

(*n*) Ptolomy; Richard, and his map. In the country of the *Vacomagi*, on the shores of the Moray Frith, were the *Celnii* of Ptolomy, or *Celnius* of Richard, and the *Tuesis* of Ptolomy, and the *Tuessis* of Richard. The first was probably the Culen water, at the influx of which into the Moray Frith, there is a town, which was named Inver-culen by the Scoto-Irish, and is now abbreviated into Cullen: the *Celnius* has generally been applied, by modern antiquaries, to the river *Dovern*, without much analogy of language, or propriety of local position. The *Tuessis* was plainly the Spey, the *Espeye* of the British language, signifying what bursts out, and ravages; an epithet, which remarkably applies to that outrageous river: in the Scoto-Irish, indeed, the *Tua-ease* would signify the north water. The Varar, that separated the *Vacomagi*, and *Cantæ*, was properly the western extremity of the Moray Frith, into which falls, at this day, the river *Farar*; whence the Estuary of Richard drew its Celtic name. On Ptolomy's maps the town of *Tuesis* is misplaced, on the west, instead of the east side of the river Spey, where it is accurately placed by Richard, who is confirmed, by the recent discovery of a Roman station, on the east bank of the Spey, a little below the Kirk of Bellie. The *Alata Castra* of Ptolomy is also much misplaced, being removed a great way from the coast; but Richard has properly placed his *Ptoroton* on the promontory, which is now called Burghead, on the Moray frith; and which has been established as its real site. *Banatia* is also misplaced in Ptolomy's maps, a great distance southward of the Tamea; while Richard has more correctly placed it on the east side of the Ness, where there have been discovered the remains of a Roman post, at a place named Bona, Bana, and Boness. The British *Bon-nes*, which is descriptive of its situation, at the foot, or lower end of Loch-Nes, was no doubt by the Romans, latinized into *Bonnesia*, that formed the *Banatia* of Ptolomy, and Richard. The site of *Tamea*, which formed a stage, in the tenth Iter of Richard, from *Ptoroton*, southward, "*per mediam insula*," is supposed to have been on the river Dee, in Braemar.

Varar,

Varar, where the present Burghead runs out into the Frith ; the *Tuessis*, on the east bank of the Spey ; with *Tamea*, and *Banatia*, in the interior country.

10. The *Albani*, who were, subsequently, called *Damnii-Albani*, from their having been subjected to the *Damnii*, inhabited the interior districts, between the lower ridge of the Grampians, which skirt the southern side of the loch, and river Tay, on the south ; and the chain of mountains, that forms the southern limit of Inverness-shire, on the north ; comprehending Braidalban, Athol, a small part of Lochaber, with Appin, and Glenorchy, in Upper-Lorn ; a country, as Richard intimates, surrounded with mountains, and replenished with lakes (*o*). The British word, *Alban*, means greatest, utmost, or superior height (*p*) ; as *Gwyr Albanau*, consequently, signifies the men of the upper mountains : the Welsh denominate *Scotland*, by the appropriate word, *Alban*, even to the present times.

11. The *Attacotti* inhabited the whole country, from Loch-Fine, the *Lelanionius Sinus* of Richard, on the west, to the eastward of the river Leven, and Loch-Lomond ; comprehending the whole of Cowal, in Argyleshire, and the greater part of Dunbartonshire (*q*). They are supposed to have been called, in the British speech, the *Eithacoeti*, or the men dwelling along the extremity of the wood.

12. The proper *Caledonii* inhabited the whole of the interior country, from the ridge of mountains, which separates Inverness and Perth, on the south, to

(*o*) Richard, and his map. This tribe is wholly omitted by Ptolomy : but, Richard has, as in many other instances, supplied this defect ; and Richard has described the prominent features of their secluded country, with such correctness, as to leave no doubt of the genuine source of his information. The significant name of their mountainous country, *Alban*, from which they got the appellation of *Albani*, was afterwards extended to the whole of the middle country, between the Forth, and the *Varar* ; and has been preserved, through successive ages, to the present times. The Scoto-Irish people gave to the southern part of the *Albani* country the appellatain of *Braid-Alban*, signifying the upper part of *Alban* ; and, a ridge of mountains, in the northern part, was, by the same people, named *Drum-Alban*, signifying the ridge of *Alban*.

(*p*) In fact, this region contains some of the highest mountains, in Britain. Ben-Nevis, on its northern limit, is 4,370 feet above the level of the sea ; Ben-Lawers, in the southern part, is 4,015 above the same level ; and there are several others, which are very little inferior, in height.

(*q*) The *Lelamonius* of Ptolomy : the same water is called *Lælamnonius Sinus*, in Bertius's edition of Ptolomy. Richard, and his map. Ptolomy has wholly omitted the *Attacoti* ; and his interpreters have erroneously placed the *Gadeni*, in their country. Richard has, however, restored this tribe, who were once formidable, to their real territories, which included, as he informs us, the *Lincaledur* Lacus. The much admired Loch-Lomond of the present age is the *Lincaledur* Lacus of Richard, which appellation was plainly derived from the *Lyn-caled-dwr* of the British speech.

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the range of hills, that forms the forest of Balnagowan, in Ross, on the north; comprehending all the middle parts of Inverness, and of Ross (*r*). This territory formed a considerable part of the extensive forest, which, in early ages, spread over the interior, and western parts of the country, on the northern side of the Forth, and Clyde, and to which the British colonists gave the descriptive appellation of *Celyddon*; signifying literally the *coverts*, and generally denoting a *woody* region (*s*). The large tribe, who thus inhabited a great portion of the forest, *Celyddon*, were consequently called *Celyddoni*, and *Celyddoniaid*, the people of the *coverts*. This descriptive term, *Celyddon*, was also applied, by the British people, to an extensive forest, which, in the same early ages, covered a large tract of country, on the south of the Humber (*t*). The northern forest of *Celyddon* is frequently mentioned by the Caledonian Merddin, a native poet of the sixth century (*u*). The name of *Celyddon* also occurs, frequently, in ancient Welsh manuscripts, having in some instances the prefix *coed*, which signifies merely a wood (*v*). From the great extent of country, to which the descriptive term *Celyddon* was applied, this name, in its Romanized form of *Caledonia*, was, in after times, extended to the whole peninsula, on the northern side of the Forth, and Clyde.

13. The *Cantæ* inhabited the east of Ross-shire, from the *Æstuary* of Varar, on the south, to the Abona, or Dornoch Frith, on the north; having *Loxa*, or Cromarty Frith, which indented their country, in the centre, and a ridge of

(*r*) Ptolomy; Richard, and his map. Ptolomy erroneously carries the territories of the Caledonii, throughout the country, southward to the Lelanonius sinus, or Loch Fine. This error arose, from his omitting the Albani, who inhabited the intermediate district, between the Caledonii, and the Lelanonius Sinus.

(*s*) The British people applied the descriptive terms *Celt*, *Celyddon*, *Gwyddyl*, and *Ysgoed*, to *wooded*, and wild regions; and to the open, and plain countries, they gave the characteristic terms *Gâl*, *Peithw*, *Gwent*. Owen. Thus, they distinguished the country, on the northern side of the Forth, and Clyde, by two characteristic appellations: the interior, and western part, which was clothed with woods, they termed *Celyddon*, and the inhabitants *Celyddoni*; and to the open country, along the east coast, they applied the term *Peithw*; and the inhabitants were called *Peithi*. These general appellations of *Celyddoni*, and *Peithi*, were, by the Romans, latinized *Caledonii*, and *Picti*. *Cal*, *Cel*, and *Coil*, are primitive words, which, in all the dialects of the Celtic, signify woods; as *Calon*, in the Greek, also signifies woods: hence, *Calydon*, a town, and kingdom of Etolia, which derived their descriptive names, from the forest of *Calydon*. Gebelin's *Monde Prim.* tom. ix. p. 108.

(*t*) Richard, and his map. He calls it by the latinized name of *Caledonia Sylva*, the same, in import, as the Caledonian forest, in the north. In p. 26, speaking of the Coitani, he says, "Coitani, in tractu Sylvis obsito, qui ut alie Brittonnum Sylva Caledonia fuit appellata."

(*u*) Welch Archaeology, v. 1. p. 150, 152, 153.

(*v*) Cambrian Register, v. 2. p. 19.

hills, the *Uxellum montes*, on the west (v). Their country ran out eastward into the narrow point, or *Pen Uxellum* of Richard, the Tarbet-ness of Ainslie. The country of the *Cantæ* plainly derived its significant name, from the British *Caint*, which, as it means an *open* country, has at all times been a very appropriate epithet, for the eastern part of Ross, compared with the mountainous interior, and the western districts (w).

14. The south-eastern coast of Sutherland was inhabited by the *Logi*, whose country extended, from the *Abona*, or Dornoch Frith, on the south-west, to the river *Ila*, on the east (x). This is obviously the Helmsdale river of the Scandinavian intruders, which the Celtic inhabitants have always called *Avon-Uile*, or *Avon-Iligh*, the floody water; an appellation, which is strongly characteristic of this *Iligh*, and of the other *Ilas*, in North-Britain. The *Logi*, probably, drew their name, from the British word, *Lygi*, which was, naturally, applied to a people, living on the shore (y).

15. The *Carnabii* inhabited the south, the east, and north-east of Cathness, from the *Ila* river; comprehending the three great promontories of *Virubium*, or Noss-Head, of *Virvedrum*, or Duncansby-Head, and of *Tarvedrum*, or the

(v) Ptolomy; Richard, with his map. The *Loxa* of Ptolomy, and Richard is, from its position, plainly the Cromarty Frith of the modern maps: and it obviously derived its name of *Loxa*, from the British *Lluch*, with a foreign termination, signifying an *inlet* of the sea, or collection of water. Several arms of the sea, on the west coast of North-Britain, are called *Lochs* to this day, probably from the Scoto-Irish *Loch*, signifying the same, as the Cambro-British *Lluch*. The country of the *Cantæ* was divided from that of the *Caledonii*, by a ridge of mountains, which is called, in Richard's map, *Uxellum montes*, and which, like the *Uxellum montes*, in the land of the *Novantes*, derived their name, as we have seen, from the British *Uchel*, high, or lofty. This ridge, of which Ben-uivas is the prominent summit, gradually declines towards the north-east, and terminates in a promontory, which is called *Pen Uxellum*; and which is the Tarbet-ness of modern maps. The prefix *Pen* is merely the British word, that signifies a *head*, or end, or promontory. Ptolomy has omitted to notice these remarkable objects, the *Uxellum montes*, and the *Pen Uxellum promontorium*, in the country of the *Cantæ*. Upon the coast of the *Cantæ*, on the south of the *Loxa*, or Cromarty Frith, Richard has placed the *Ara finium Imperii Romani*.

(w) Ptolomy; Richard, with his map. The original blunder of Ptolomy, in the position of North-Britain, has introduced a correspondent embarrassment into the map of Richard, particularly, on the north of the Varar. This æstuary is plainly the western extremity of the Murray Frith. Richard's *Abona* must be the Frith of Dornoch, which runs far into the country, between Ross, and Sutherland; and which receives into its ample channel *Avon-Oigeal*, *Avon-Shin*, *Avon-Carron*, and other waters: the name of *Abona* is obviously formed, from the British appellation, *Avon*, a river, with a foreign termination.

(x) Ptolomy; Richard, with his map.

(y) Whitaker's Manchester, 8vo Edit. V. ii. p. 204.

Orcas promontorium, the Dunnet-Head of the present times. The *Carnabii* derived their appropriate appellation, like the kindred *Carnabii* of Cornwall, from their residence on remarkable promontories.

16. The small tribe of the *Catini* inhabited the north-west corner of Cathness, and the eastern half of Strath-Naver, in Sutherlandshire; having the river *Naver*, the *Navari-fluvius* of Ptolomy, the *Nabæus-fluvius* of Richard, for their western boundary (z): they probably derived their appellation, from the British name of the weapon, the *Cat*, or *Catai*, wherewith they fought; whence, by an easy variation, they may have been called, in an age, when every word had its meaning, the *Catini*, or *Club-men* (a). The Gaelic people of Cathness, and Sutherland, are ambitious, even at this day, of deriving their distant origin, from those *Catini*, or *Catai*, of British times.

17. The *Mertæ* occupied the interior of Sutherland (b); and probably derived their name, from the British *Meredw*, or *Merydd*, signifying flatt, or sluggish; and conveying, perhaps, some analogous quality of the people (c).

18. The *Carnonacæ* inhabited the north, and west coast of Sutherland, and a small part of the western shore of Ross, from the Naver river, on the east, round to the *Volsas*-bay, on the south-west. In this district, a river, called *Straba*, falls into the sea, on the west of the river Naver; and the head-land, at the turn, is named *Ebudium promontorium* (d). The *Carnonacæ*, probably, derived an appropriate name, from the British *Cerneinog*; signifying the country of points.

(z) Ptolomy; Richard, and his map. This river is called *Navari-fluvius*, in the edition of Ptolomy, 1486, *Nauei-fluvius*, in Bertius's edition; Richard calls it *Nabæus-fluvius*: in Ptolomy's maps, the *Catini* are erroneously placed on the *west*, in place of the *east*, of the Naver river. Ptolomy calls this tribe *Carini*; they are called *Catini*, by Richard, and his name may be recognized, in the appellation of their descendants, the *Catti*, who inhabited this country, in after ages, and from whom, the extremity of North-Britain got the name of *Catti-ness*, the Cathness of the present times.

(a) Cambrian Reg. 2 Vol. p. 20.

(b) Ptolomy; Richard, and his map.

(c) Owen's Dict.

(d) Ptolomy; Richard, and his map. The *Navari*, or *Navai-fluvius* of Ptolomy, the *Nabæus-fluvius* of Richard, were certainly *Naver* river, which gives a name to the country of Strath-Naver; and the *Straba-fluvius* of Richard was probably the Strath-more river, which runs through Loch Hope, and falls into Loch Eribol, an inlet of the sea. The *Ebudium promontorium* of Richard is no doubt the Cape Wrath of Ainslie, as this map-maker, indeed, supposes. The *Volsas Sinus* of Richard is probably the great arm of the sea, on the west coast, of Ross, which is denominated, by Ainslie, Loch Braon, or Broom. In Ptolomy's maps, the *Carnonacæ* are misplaced, on the *south*, in place of the *north* of *Volsas Sinus*.

19. The west coast of Ross, from *Volsas-sinus*, on the north, to the *Itys*, on the south, was inhabited by the *Creones* (*e*), who derived their British name, from their *fierceness*; *Crewon*, or *Creunawys*, signifying the men of blood.

20. The *Cerones* inhabited the whole west coast of Inverness, and the countries of Ardnamurchan, Morven, Sunart, and Ardgowar, in Argyleshire; having the *Itys* of Richard, which is now called Loch Duich, on the north, and the *Longus*, or the Linne-Loch, on the south (*f*).

21. The *Epidii* inhabited the south-west of Argyleshire, from Linne-Loch, on the north, to the Frith of Clyde, and the Irish sea, on the south; including Ceantyr, the point whereof was called the Epidian promontory, which is now the Mull of Ceantyr(*g*); and were bounded, on the east, by the country of the Albani, and the *Lelanonius Sinus*, or the Loch-Fine of the present day. The *Epidii*, no doubt, derived their descriptive appellation, from the British *Ebyd*, a peninsula; as they inhabited chiefly the remarkable neck of land, which has since been called, by the Scoto-Irish colonists, *Ceantire* (*h*).

Such, then, were the one-and-twenty tribes of Aboriginal Britons, who possessed, during the first century, the whole range of North-Britain, extending from south to north, two hundred and sixty statute miles, and from east to west, one hundred and fifty. A general view of North-Britain would represent the whole, at that epoch, as consisting either of mountains, or valleys, which were covered with woods, and embarrassed with bogs; or of surrounding

(*e*) Ptolomy; Richard, and his map. In Ptolomy's maps, the *Creones* are also misplaced, on the *south*, in place of the *north*, of *Itys-fluvius*. The *Itys* applies to the long inlet of the sea, named Loch-Duich, between Ross, and Inverness, into which several riverets empty their kindred waters.

(*f*) Richard, and his map. The *Longus-Fluvius* of Richard is called by Ptolomy *λογγον*, which corresponds, nearly, with the Lochy-Loch, and Lochy river of the present day. This Loch, and river, together with Loch Linne, form the western part of that remarkable chain of Lochs, and rivers, which stretch from the west sea, through the middle of the island, to the head of the Moray-Frith, at Inverness; and which formed, plainly the *Longus* of Richard, and is the remarkable track of the *Caledonian Canal*.

(*g*) Ptolomy; Richard, and his map.

(*h*) Cambrian Reg. 2 Vol. p. 21. The topography of North-Britain, in that age, as it is represented by Ptolomy, and Richard, affords a new proof of the proposition, with regard to the sameness of the people, which is demonstrated, in the first Chapter. The appellations of the several tribes, the names of their towns, of the headlands, and mountains, of æstuaries, and of rivers, are all significant, in the Cambro-British language; and are merely disguised, by Greek forms, and Latin terminations. But, of Scandinavian names, there appears not either in Ptolomy's geography, or in Richard's map, the smallest trace, for Gothic zeal to mistake, or for theoretic subtilty to misrepresent. For the topographic position of all those tribes, with their rivers, and towns, see the Roman-British map, prefixed to this work.

coasts,

coasts, which were indented with numerous bays, and amplified by successive promontories (i).

The Caledonian tribes, at the arrival of Agricola among them, seem to have resembled their kindred Britons of South-Britain, as they were described by Julius Cæsar, in a prior age. From his account, they all appear to have been little raised, in their social connections, above the natural state of rude savages, who live on the milk of their flocks, or the supplies of their sport. In this condition, they probably remained for ages. The prejudice of Dio represents them, indeed, as a people, who reared their children in common, as they had wives in common; and who lived in huts, rather than inhabited houses; that they were almost naked from choice; and were remarkable, for bearing fatigue, cold, and famine: they were said to be addicted, like the heroes of more ancient times, to robbery, which was analogous to their warfare. Their infantry were equally famous, for their speed in attack, and for their firmness in the field; being armed, like their Gaelic posterity, in more recent times, with slight shields, short spears, and handy daggers: they, however, sometimes fought in cars, that were drawn by horses, which were said to be small, swift, and spirited. As the Caledonian tribes appear thus to have been little advanced beyond the first stage of society; so they seem to have had scarcely any political union: their governments are said by Dio, in the same strain of doubtful intimation, to have been democratic; yet, they were, perhaps, like the American tribes, governed under the aristocratic sway of the old men, rather than the coercion of legal authority, which all were bound to obey. Herodian concurs with Dio, in his disadvantageous representation of the civilization, manners, and the arts of social life, among the Caledonian clans, even during the recent period of the third century. And yet, the stone monuments of vast labour, which still remain; the hill-forts of the ingenious construction of many hands, that could not even now be taken by storm; and the gallant stand, which they systematically opposed to the disciplined valour of the Roman armies; clearly show the Caledonian people, in a better light of civilization, and polity, than the classic authors uniformly represent.

The Aborigines of North-Britain, like other rude people, in the most early stages of society, were probably less governed by law, than by religion. In all the colonies of the Celts, in Europe, *Druidism* was the mode of their religious faith, which may have been corrupted by innovation, and may have ap-

(i) See the *Mappa Antiqua*; and Roy's *Milit. Antiq.* p. 57., for his short description of the face of the country.

peared under different aspects, in various climes. It was the intelligent opinion of Diogenes Laertius, that the tenets of the Druids might be comprehended under four heads: (1.) To worship God; (2.) To abstain from evil; (3.) To exert courage; (4.) And to believe in the immortality of the soul, for enforcing all those virtues. We may easily suppose, from the less favourable representation of subsequent writers, that the tenets of Druidism degenerated into mere grossness, and that the practice of Druidism became degraded by practices of less refinement.

The Celtic people, undoubtedly, brought their Druids, and Druidism, with them, from the east into Europe; and the Gauls conveyed both into Britain. The Druids probably derived their appropriate name, from the Celtic *Derwyz*, the *Dar-gwyz* of the British speech, which signifies one, who has knowledge; a *theologian*, a Druid (*k*). As the Druids had undoubtedly an appropriate veneration for the oak, they imagined there was a supernatural virtue in the wood, in the leaves, in the fruit, and above all, in the *misseltoe*. Among the priests of *Druidism*, there appear to have been three orders; the Druids; the *Vates*; and the Bards; who severally performed very different functions: the *Bards* sung, in heroic verse, the brave actions of eminent men; the *Vates* studied continually, and explained nature, the productions of nature and the laws; and the Druids, who were of a higher order, and were disciplined, in the forms of an established order, directed the education of youth, officiated in the affairs of religion, and presided in the administration of justice. In consideration of those several duties, which, in every age, and country, are of great importance, the Druids were exempted from serving in war, from the paying of taxes, and from contributing to the burdens of the state.

Whatever may have been the speculative tenets of Druidism, the Druids taught the duties of moral virtue, and enforced the precepts of natural religion. They inculcated a strong desire of liberty, with an ardent love of their country, which strikingly appeared, in the struggle for both, which was made against the Roman legions, by the Gauls, by the Britons, and, above all, by the Caledonians. It was a peculiar principle of the Druids, which enjoined, that no temple, or covered building, should be erected for public worship: for, the sun being the great medium, rather than the object, of their adoration, to have shut out that luminary, during their religious services, would have been inconsistent with their objects. Neither did the Druids ever erect any image of the

(*k*) See Owen's Dict, in Vo. *Derwyz*. This word, he ingeniously traces back to *Dár*, an oak, a male oak. From the *oak*, as it was held in religious veneration, it had this name, which implies *the tree of presence*.

Deity : nor, did they communicate with the Greeks, or Romans, in the multiplicity of their local gods, or in the grossness of their general idolatry.

In religious worship, the individual may perform his devotions, when, and where, he finds it most convenient : but, the worship of societies requires a determinate time, and place. In the first ages, there was an agreement, in religion, both in faith, and in practice, among the nations of the earth, in the same manner as there was a similarity in their language, from a common origin. The earliest temples were uncovered. The places of the Druid worship continued uncovered, till the dark epoch of Druid dissolution.

The most early places of worship, as might naturally be expected, were groves (*l*) : the oak woods were the first places of the Druid devotion. Long after the Caledonian forests had fallen before the waste of design, and the destruction of accident, the *sacred tree* still remained, within the Caledonian regions, the inviolable object of vulgar veneration (*m*).

Oratories existed among the earliest people (*n*). These ancient places of worship consisted of plots of ground, which, as they were inclosed, and were open above, were appropriated to the public worship of families, and villages. One of the earliest of those Oratories was distinguished by a *Pillar of Stone*, which was set up under an oak (*o*). The Druid sacrifices were only performed at the altar, which stood within the circles, and under an oak ; and when no sacrifices were to be made, we may easily suppose, that the people assembled in those inclosures, either for the acquirement of knowledge, or the performance of devotion. For those important ends, and for the instruction of youth, were groves appropriated by the Druids, and altars erected. Many of those altars still remain in North-Britain. And such a superstitious regard is even now paid to those *sacred stones*, by the country people, that though some of those *stones*

(*l*) Gen. 12, 7.

(*m*) See Ure's Rutherglen, p. 85. ; and Stat. Acco. V. xv. p. 280. : the sequestered spot, on which stands the large *Cromlech*, called the *Auld Wives-list*, appears to have been surrounded by a grove of oaks ; as several of the stumps of those trees are still visible. In the Isle of Skye, there is a consecrated *well*, which is called Loch *Seant* Well, and which is celebrated for many virtues ; and near it, there is a small coppice, or clump of wood, that is, to this day, held *sacred* by the surrounding inhabitants, who are careful not to cut a branch of it, from the belief, that some misfortune would be the result of the act. Martin's West. Isles, p. 140-1. From the *sacred* groves of the Druids, arose the term *Cel*, or *Cil*, which, in the Celtic language, originally signified a covert, a recess, a retreat, such as were the sacred groves of the Druids. On the introduction of Christianity, the term *Cil* was applied to the cells, and chapels, of the first Christian missionaries, and saints, and secondarily, to the consecrated cemeteries, which were usually attached to them.

(*n*) Mede, 65.

(*o*) Joshua, 24, 26.

of worship stand in the middle of corn fields, few persons have ventured to remove the objects, which were once universally venerated (*f*). Near the village of Kilbarchan, on an elevated plain, stands a huge stone, called *Clochodrick*, which is merely a corruption of *Clochadruid*; signifying, in the Celtic language, the Druid's stone. At some distance around it, there are a few large grey stones; but, whether they once formed a Druid inclosure cannot now be ascertained (*g*). There is scarcely a district in North-Britain, where a *Clochadruid* may not be found, whence an illiterate people were taught to offer their usual adorations.

The number, and variety of the Druid remains, in North-Britain, are almost endless. The principal seat of Druidism seems to have been the recesses of Perthshire, near the Grampian range. Accurate inquiry might perhaps discover, that the circles, and ovals of erect stones, with stone pillars, and small carns, within them, are the *Oratories* of ancient times; and that the circles of stones, having an altar, or a cromlech, within the area, or on the outside of them, have been used, for the different purposes of making sacrifices. Those inclosures are sometimes formed of a single circle, and often of double, and treble, concentric circles of upright stones. In general, only one, or two, of those inclosures are seen in one place: But, in many districts of North-Britain, there are found three, four, and even more, in the same vicinity; and sometimes there may be perceived Druid carns, which are closely connected with them, both in neighbourhood, and in use (*h*).

There

(*f*) Stat. Account of Kirkmichael, v. 15. p. 520:

(*g*) Stat. Acco. v. 15. p. 487. In Trescow, one of the Scilly Isles, there is a similar stone of an oval form, about nineteen feet long, and shelving at the top; round which there was a row of rude unequal stones, and a sort of trench. Borlase, p. 200. pl. xii.; King's Munimenta Antiq. p. 230. pl. x.

(*h*) Within the parish of Kirkmichael, in Perthshire, there is a vast body of Druid remains. Upon an extensive, and elevated moor, on the east side of Strath-Ardle, there is a large Carn of stones, ninety yards in circumference, and about twenty-five feet high. From the east side of this Carn, two parallel rows of stones extend to the southward, in a straight line, upwards of one hundred yards, having a small Carn at the extremity of each: these rows form an avenue thirty-two feet broad, leading to the great Carn. Around this large Carn, there is a number of smaller Carns, scattered, at different distances, generally in groupes of eight, or ten together. They are all covered, more or less, with moss, or heath. About a furlong west, from the great Carn, there are the remains of two concentric circles of upright stones; the outer circle is about fifty feet, and the inner thirty-two feet, in diameter. There are also in the neighbourhood of the great Carn, at different distances, the remains of six, or more single circles of standing stones, from thirty-two to thirty-six feet in diameter. About a mile north-east, from this great Carn, on a flat-topped eminence,

There appear, from a thousand remains, both in South, and North Britain, to have been two kinds of Druid altars: The first sort consists of flat stones, which are either incumbent, or upright (*i*); the second sort is the Cromlechs, consisting

nence, stands an immense rocking stone. In the vicinity of this stone, there are a number of other Druidical remains. About sixty yards north of it, on a small eminence, there are two concentric circles of stone, similar to those already described; and adjoining to them, on the east side, there is a single circle of stones. Beyond these, at the distance of thirty-seven yards, on another small eminence, there is another pair of concentric circles of stones, with a single circle, adjoining them on the east side. From these, at the distance of forty-five yards, there is yet another pair of concentric circles of stones, with a single circle, adjoining them, on the east side. North-east from these concentric circles, about ninety yards, there is a single circle of stones; and beside it, on the west, two rectangular inclosures of thirty-seven feet by twelve, also a Carn twenty-three or twenty-four yards in circumference, and about twelve feet high in the center. There are several Carns scattered about in the neighbourhood. About one hundred and twenty yards west, from the rocking stone, there is a pair of concentric circles of stones, having beside them a small single circle seven feet in diameter. All these pairs of concentric circles are of the same dimensions, the inner one being about thirty-two feet, and the outer about forty-five feet in diameter; and all of them have an entrance four or five feet wide on the south side. The single circles are, in general, from thirty-two, to thirty-six feet, in diameter. There are several Carns, and circles of stones, similar to those above described, in other parts of the same parish, particularly between Strath-Ardle and Glenderby. There are also several tall, upright stones, called by the Gaelic inhabitants *Crom-leaca*, or *Clach-sleachda*, the stones of worship. Some of these are five, and six feet above ground, and must be sunk a considerable space under the surface, from their remaining so long in the same upright position. Stat. Acco. V. xv. p. 516—20.

(*i*) The altar stones are generally connected with Druid circles; and have sometimes artificial cavities in them. In Kincardineshire, at *Achen-corthie*, which signifies the *field of the circles*, there are two concentric circles; the exterior one is composed of fifteen standing stones, three yards high above ground, and seven or eight paces distant from one another, the diameter being twenty-four paces: the interior circle is three paces from the other, and the stones of it are three feet high above the ground. On the south, there was a large broad stone lying flat; and on the east of the circle, at the distance of twenty-six paces, there is another large broad stone, which was fast in the ground, having a cavity, that may contain a Scots gallon. Near these two concentric circles, there are other three concentric circles, the stones of the largest being about three yards, and those of the two smaller circles about three feet above the ground: on the top of one of the stones of the largest circle, on the east side, there is a hollow about three inches deep, along the bottom of which there is a channel cut one inch deep, and two inches broad, which leads some way down the side of the stone, for the purpose of carrying off the liquid, that had been poured in at the top; in another stone, within the same circle, and upon the same side, there is also a cavity, with a channel, for the purpose of conveying down the side of it the liquid, that may have been poured into it. Archæol. V. i. p. 315. There are several artificial cavities in the top of an altar stone, at a Druid circle, in Caputh parish, Perthshire. Stat. Acco. V. 9. p. 504. There are flat altar stones, at many other Druid circles in North-Britain; such as, at Coupar Grange, in Perthshire, Kiltearn, in Ross-shire, and other places. View of the Agriculture of Perthshire, p. 571; Stat. Acco.

consisting of a large broad stone, which is supported by several stones, that are usually placed upon their respective edges. Of the first kind, there are numerous examples, in every district of North-Britain, as we have seen. The Cromlechs are equally numerous, and still more remarkable (*k*). And both these sorts of altars are generally connected with Druid circles, or other Druid works, though the Cromlechs sometimes appear alone, in some sequestered place, which may have been sheltered, by the sacred grove, while the Caledonian forest yet covered the Caledonian regions (*l*).

The

V. i. p. 292. Many of the Druid circles, in England, and Wales, have similar altar stones, and upright stones, with artificial cavities in them. *Archæol.* V. ii. p. 207. *Borlase's Cornwall*, p. 117—241, &c.

(*k*) Many Cromlechs are connected with Druid circles; and several appear without circles. In the parish of Old Deer, in Aberdeenshire, there is a number of Druidical circles: the most entire of these is on the hill of Park-house, and has a large Cromlech, the top stone of which is fourteen feet long, contains about two hundred and fifty solid feet, and rests upon other two large stones, placed on their edges. *Cordiner's Antiquities*, p. 44; *Stat. Acco.* V. 16. p. 481. In the inclosures of Kipp's-house, in Linlithgowshire, there is a Druidical circle, having one or two erect stones, in the centre, and a large Cromlech, near it. *Gough's Camden*, V. iii. p. 318. In the middle of one of the Druidical circles, in the isle of Arran, there is a Cromlech, consisting of a large broad stone, which is supported by three lesser ones. *Martin's Western Islands*, p. 220. In the parish of Castleton, in Roxburghshire, there is a Cromlech, at the south end of a large oblong Carn, near the north end of which there is a Druid circle. *Stat. Acco.* V. xvi. p. 85. On a high ground, near a mile north, from the church of Baldernock, in Stirlingshire, there is a circular plain, or area, of about a hundred paces diameter, and surrounded by an ascent of a few yards in height, in the form of an amphitheatre: within this area, or inclosure, there is a remarkable Cromlech, which is called *the auld wives lift*: and this area appears, from the remains, to have once been covered by a grove of oaks. *Stat. Acco.* V. 15. p. 280; *Ure's Rutherglen*, p. 85. There are many such Druid works, with similar Cromlechs, in England, and Wales. *Gough's Camden*, V. i. p. 285—294. *Pl. xv.*—*Ib.* V. iii. p. 174—90; *Antiq. Repert.* V. vi. p. 239; *Stukeley's Abury*; *Borlase's Cornw.* 119; *Pennant's Tour in Wales*, V. ii. p. 203; *King's Muniment. Antiq.* V. i. p. 210—260. And, there are, also, in England, Wales, and Cornwall, a number of Cromlechs, at which there do not, at present, appear any Druid circles. Such as the famous Cromlech, called *Kitt's Cotty-house*, in Kent. *Munimenta Antiq.* V. i. p. 215. *Pl. viii.* and *ix.* That at Plas-Newydd, in Anglesey, and several others in the same island. *Pennant's Tour in Wales*, V. ii. p. 237; *Gough's Camden*, V. ii. p. 569; *Rowland's Mona Antiqua*, p. 92—3; *King's Munimenta Antiq.* V. i. p. 231—237. *Pl. x.* and *xi.* See *King's Munimenta*, from 210 to 263; and *Borlase's Cornwall*, p. 223 to 233, for a number of other Cromlechs, in different parts of South-Britain.

(*l*) The term *Cromlech* is brought, by Rowland, from Babel, in the form of *Cæram-lech*, or *Cærem-luach*, a devoted stone, or altar. *Mon. Antiq.* p. 47, which is quoted by the learned author of the *Munimenta Antiq.* V. i. p. 230—58—9. This elaborate antiquary also quotes an Etymon of the Cromlech, which is supposed to have been given by a Scots highlander, in the *Gent. Mag.*

The Carns, which the superstition of the earliest ages dedicated to Druid rites, must be carefully distinguished, from the sepulchral Carns, that are every where found, in North-Britain (*m*). The Druid Carns may be easily ascertained, by attending to the following circumstances: The Druid Carns are always connected, either by vicinity, or use, with some Druid circle, or Druid work, of which we have seen several examples. The Druid Carns are generally fenced round the bottom, by a circle of stones: these Carns had always on their summits, a large flat stone, on which the Druid fires were lighted: and, lastly, these monuments may be distinguished, by the avenue of upright stones, which conducted the devotees to the base of so many Druid Carns (*n*).

Among

1792, p. 695; and which consists of *Crom*, bent, or crooked, and *lech*, that is supposed, by the highlander, to be a corruption of *Clach*, a stone: thus, *Cromlech* was conjectured to be the stone, which was to be bowed towards, or the stone of adoration. Borlase, p. 225, says the general name, for this stone, among the learned, is *Cromlech*, or crooked stone; the upper stone being generally of a convex, or swelling surface, and resting, in a crooked position: Borlase adds, in a note, that *Crom*, in the Cornish, signifies crooked, and *Crymmy*, bending, bowing; whence Toland, and others, have conjectured, that these singular erections were called *Cromlech*, from the reverence, which persons, bowing in the act of adoration, paid to them. None of these, however, have given the true, and proper, interpretation of the term *Cromlech*. *Crom*, both in the British, and Irish, undoubtedly signifies *bent*, *inclined*; and *Cromadh*, bending, inclining; and *Llech* (Brit.) and *Leac* (Ir.) mean a flat stone, as we learn from Davies, and O'Brien: whence, *Crom-lech* literally signifies the *inclined flat stone*; and certainly is, like most other Celtic names, descriptive of the thing, to which it is applied; the top stone of all the *Cromlechs* being a flat stone, that had been designedly placed in an inclined position. The conjecture of the Scots highlander, of Toland, and of others, as above mentioned, of the *Cromlech* being the stone of adoration does not agree with the fact; as the *Cromlechs* were not constructed, for objects of adoration, but for the analogous purpose of sacrificing altars. It must, however, be observed, that *Crom* is not the proper epithet, either in the British, or in the Irish, for inclining, or sloping, unless the stone was also *concave*: *Crom* literally signifies, in both those languages, *bending*, *bowed*, *bent*, *concave*; and might be applied to the attitude of the body, in bowing. For drawings of *Cromlechs*, see Pennant's Tour in Wales, V. ii. p. 246; King's Munimenta Antiqua, Pl. viii. ix. x. and xi. p. 222; Borlase's Cornwall, p. 223. Pl. xxi: Ure's Rutherglen, p. 85.

(*m*) *Carn* is an original word in the British, and Irish, dialects of the Celtic; and signifies literally a *heap*, a *prominence*.

(*n*) In Kirkmichael parish, in Perthshire, the distinguished site of Druid remains, in North-Britain, there are a number of Druid Carns, in the vicinity of Druidical circles, and other remains, as we have seen. In Blair of Athol parish, there is a large Carn, sixty paces in circumference, which stands near a Druid circle, and which has several flat stones, on its lofty summit. Stat. Acco. V. ii. p. 474. In the parish of Leochel, in Aberdeenshire, there are several large Carns, some of which are fenced round with large stones; and near these Carns, are several double, and triple, concentric circles. Ib. V. vi. p. 221. In the parish of East Kilbride, in Lanerkshire, on the summit of the Cathkin hills, there is a large Carn, which is surrounded with a narrow ditch,

Among the vast variety of Druid monuments in North-Britain, one of the most interesting is the *rocking stone*, which seems to have existed, in every country, and in every period (*o*). That those singular stones are Druid remains cannot easily be doubted, by the scepticism, which denies the evidence of Druid remains, in North-Britain. It was, after the sublime truths of Druidism had fallen into the grossness of superstition, and the pure adoration of the Deity had degenerated into delusive imposition, that the *rocking stones*, whether natural, or artificial, were brought in, either to induce belief, or to heighten devotion. And these rocking stones are still to be seen, the objects of learned curiosity, but of ignorant wonder, in every district of North-Britain, as well as in Cornwall, and in Wales (*p*).

It

and a small dike of earth, and is surmounted with a very large flat stone. Ure's Hist. p. 216.—In Iona, which has always been sacred to religious observances, there is a Carn, or a mount, which is called *Claodh-nan-Druidhneach*, the burial place of the Druids; and which is surrounded with a stone fence, and had once a *Cromlech*. Stat. Acco. V. xiv. p. 199; Smith's Gale. Antiq.; Pennant's Tour, V. iii. p. 258.—In the isle of Arran, there is a Carn, or mound, within two concentric circles; and near this, there is a huge Carn of great pebbles, having a circle of stones round its base. Pennant's Tour, V. iii. p. 180.—In Castleton parish, in Roxburghshire, there is a large *oblong* Carn: having at the north end of it a Druid circle, and at its south end a *Cromlech*. Stat. Acco. V. xvi. p. 85.

(*o*) Borlase's Cornwall, p. 179—182. See Pennant's Tour in Wales, V. ii. p. 246. for an account of Druid remains, in every part of Europe.

(*p*) In the parish of Kirkmichael, in Perthshire, there is an immense rocking-stone, which stands on a flat-topped eminence, in the vicinity of a large body of Druid remains, that have been already noticed. This stone is placed on the plain surface of a rock, level with the ground. It is a very hard solid whinstone, of a quadrangular shape, approaching to the figure of a rhombus, of which the greater diagonal is seven feet, and the less five feet: its mean thickness is about two and a half feet; and its solid contents must, therefore, be about 51:075 cubical feet: its weight must be about three tons and half a hundred; for a stone of the same quality was found to weigh eight stone three pounds the cubic foot. By pressing down either of the extreme corners, a rocking motion is produced, which may be increased, so as to make the distance between their lowest depression, and highest elevation, a full foot. This stone makes twenty-six, or more, vibrations, from one side to the other, after the pressure is wholly withdrawn. Stat. Acco. V. xv. p. 517. On the south descent of the hill, which is opposite to the Manse of Dron, in Perthshire, there is a large rocking stone: it is a block of whinstone, ten feet long, and seven feet broad; and it is placed in a somewhat sloping position, and rests its central prominence upon a great flat stone, which is fixed in the earth: on gently pressing the upper end, it begins a rocking motion, vibrating in an arch of from one to two inches; and continues to vibrate, for some time, after the pressure is withdrawn. Ib. V. ix. p. 483.—In the parish of Abernethy, in the same shire, upon Fargwater, near Bal-vaird, the town of the bard, there is a rocking stone, which attracted the notice of Buchanan. Ib. p. 484. On the hill, called Mealyca, in the parish of Kells, in the stewartry of Kirkcudbright, there is a vast rocking stone, which, from its size, must be eight or ten tons weight:

It were easy to show, that the remains of Druidism are more numerous in North, than in South Britain. They do not equal, though they certainly emulate, the stupendous works of the same kind, on Salisbury-Plain, and at Abury. They were all undoubtedly the works of a people, who were actuated by great activity of religious principle, and possessed amazing ingenuity of invention, and power of execution. Those monuments also evince, that the Druids enjoyed, and exerted, all the knowledge, and influence, which have been attributed to them by history, in ancient, and in modern, times. From the foregoing investigations, we may perceive, that the stone monuments in North, and South Britain, as they are exactly the same, must necessarily have been erected, by the same people, and nearly in the same age (*q*). It is in

weight: it is so nicely balanced upon two or three protuberances, that the pressure of the finger produces a rocking motion, from one side to the other. *Ib.* V. iv. p. 262.; and Grose's *Antiq.* V. ii. p. 190. Pl. i. ii.. This rocking stone is called in the country, the *Logan-stone*. There are a variety of rocking stones, in Cornwall, which are there called *Logan-stones*. Borlase, p. 143. 179. 181. There are also rocking stones, in Wales, in Derbyshire, and in Yorkshire, and also in Ireland. *Ib.* p. 182.; Camden *Brit.* 762.; Gough's *Camden*, V. iii. p. 36-7.

(*q*) Several of the Druidical works, which remain in North-Britain, are of an elliptical, and several of an oval form. On the farm of Graitney Mains, in Dumfriesshire, there are the remains of a Druidical temple, of an oval form, inclosing about half an acre of ground. It is composed of large rough whin, or moor-stone, which must have been brought from a considerable distance; there being no stones of this kind, within ten or twelve miles of this place. One of the largest of these stones, measures one hundred and eighteen cubical feet. *Stat. Acco.* V. ix. p. 528. On an eminence, about half a mile west of the house of Clyne, in the parish of Kiltarn, in Ross-shire, there are the remains of a Druidical temple, consisting of two *ovals*, joined to each other, and formed of large upright stones. The areas of both these ovals are equal, being thirteen feet, from east to west, and ten feet, in the middle, from north to south. At the west end of one of them, there is a stone, which rises eight feet above the surface of the earth: the other stones are from four to six feet long. Within the same oval, there is a large flat altar stone, which seems to have stood formerly, at the east end. There are three concentric circles, marked out round the eminence, on the top of which, these ovals are situated: The lowest one, at the bottom of it, is eighty paces, in circumference: The second, twenty-eight paces above this, is about fifty paces in circumference: And the third, twelve paces above the second, is about thirty-five paces, in circumference. *Ib.* V. i. p. 292. Several other Druid temples, in North-Britain, are of an oval, or an elliptical form; and many of those in South-Britain, are of the same form. The grand temple of Stonehenge, and the principal circle at Stan-ton-Drew, in Somersetshire, are of an elliptical form: the Druid temple, near Town-Malling, in Kent, is of an oval form, and has at the east end of it, a great altar stone, and near it, a stone pillar. *Archæol.* v. 2. p. 107. The Druid temple, near Keswick, in Cumberland, is oval. Pennant's *Tour*, in Scotland, v. 3. p. 38, pl. 1. fig. 1; and *Antiq. Repertory*, v. 1. p. 239. The Druid temples, at Boskednaw, at Kerris, and at Boscawen-un, in Cornwall, and that at Trescaw, in the Scilly isles, are all oval. Borlase *Antiq. of Cornwall*, p. 198, 200, 205, pl. xv. and xvii. There are the remains of six different Druidical temples, within a mile of the present church of Kiltarlity, in Inverness-shire: one of them

in vain, then, for sceptics to talk vaguely of there never having been Druids, in North-Britain, where so many stone monuments attest their existence, and exhibit their labours.

them is in the present church-yard. Such of these temples, as are entire, consist of two concentric circles, the external one from sixty-four to seventy-four yards in circumference, formed of nine large stones. Four of these stones, which are placed to the west-south-west, and north-west, are considerably larger, than the other five; being from five to six and a half feet high, and broad in proportion, and are three or four feet farther distant, from each other, than the other five, which are only about four feet high. The inner circles are about ten, or eleven feet distant, from the outer one, and consist of a number of smaller stones, placed near each other, about two feet high. There is sometimes a carn of small stones, in the area of the inner circle; several places, in the same parish, are named from these circles. As *Bal-na-carrachan*, the *Town* of the *Circles*, *Blar-na-carrachan*, the *Field* of the *Circles*, and a farm hamlet, near the church, is called *Ard-druidbnoch*, the *height* of the *Druids*. Stat. Account, v. 13, p. 524. Druidism seems not only to have spread over North-Britain, to the extremity of Cathness, but also to have penetrated into the western islands, and even into the Orkney islands. In the main island of Orkney, called Pomona, there are considerable Druidical remains, at a place called Stenness. At the south end of a causeway, which crosses a narrow, and shallow part of the loch of Stenness, there is a circle formed of smooth flag stones, set upright. The stones are about twenty feet high above the ground, six feet broad, and a foot or two thick. Between this circle, and the end of the causeway, there are two upright stones of the same size, with the others, in one of which, there is a hole of an oval form, large enough to admit a man's head. About half a mile from the other, or north-west end of the causeway, which crosses the narrow part of the loch, there is another large circle of stones, about a hundred and ten paces, in diameter. Both this, and the former circles, are surrounded with fosses. On the east, and west of this large circle, there are two artificial tumuli, or mounts of a conical form, and somewhat hollow upon the top. About half a mile from the first mentioned circle, at the south end of the causeway, there is a tumulus larger than the others, which has been surrounded with a fosse. It is called the *Mes-how*. Wallace's Orkney, p. 53; Stat. Account, v. 14, p. 134-5. *Mes-how* means *Mes-knoll*; *How*, in Orkney, denotes a *Knoll*, or eminence: it is from the Scandinavian *Holl*, vulgarly pronounced *How*, which is different from the Scotch-Saxon *how*, a *hollow*. Some parts of these grand remains appear to have been demolished, since Wallace's time. The hole, in one of the upright stones, at this place, is similar to the *Maen-tol's*, or hole stones in Cornwall. See Borlase, p. 177. pl. xiv. Yet, the foregoing intimations must only be regarded, as a few specimens of Druid remains, which have been selected, from an infinite number, that may be seen, by the curious eye, in every parish of North-Britain. The inquisitive reader may expect a fuller detail of Druid remains, in the several county histories, under the head of *Antiquities*, in this work. Nevertheless scepticism has doubted, and absurdity denied, that there ever were Druids, in any part of Scotland! Much has been written, since the revival of learning, in Europe, on the interesting subject of the Druids, their tenets, and their worship. In the foregoing sketch, I have derived some help from a MS. *Enquiry into Druidism*, which is in my library. Among the Gaelic Antiquities of Dr. John Smith, is "A history of the Druids." But, Frickius, the learned, and industrious Frickius, has collected, in his curious work, "*De Druidis*," every thing, which had been written before him, in any language, on the Druids: and, he has added to his elaborate treatise, "*Catalogus Scriptorum de Druidis et Rebus ad Antiquitates illorum pertinentibus.*"

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The same Gaelic people undoubtedly erected all those singular monuments, in Britain, and in Ireland: this position might be further illustrated by an investigation of the sepulchral remains, in North-Britain, which are so intimately connected with the religious sentiment of the ancient inhabitants. During the first ages, the modes of sepulture were various. In the most early times, however, during the existence of paganism, the burning of the dead settled into a general practice. But, the Pagans relinquished this mode, as the light of Christianity dawned upon them; and as traits of civility approached from the illumination of their minds. Our present inquiry, however, relates chiefly to the modes of sepulture among the Pagan people of North-Britain. They seem all to have burned their dead, though they appear to have somewhat differed, in the manner of inhumation, according to the rank of the deceased. In every part of North-Britain, in the Hebrides, and in the Orkneys, there is still to be traced a great number of the sepulchral remains of the first colonists, or their immediate descendants. There were formerly many more. But, in the progress of improvements, during the last century, those sacred remains have supplied the cultivators of the soil with stones, for their fences, and mould for their compost. These sepulchral remains of the earliest people, in North-Britain, may be considered under the several distinctions of Barrows, Carns, Cistvaens, and Urns.

The greatest numbers of these *tumuli* are circular heaps, resembling a flat cone. A great many are oblong ridges, like the hulk of a ship, with its bottom upwards. Some of them are composed of earth; the most of them of stones; many of them of a mixture of earth, and stones; and a few of them of sand: the great distinction, however, between the Barrow, and the Carn, consists in this, that the first is composed, only of earth, and the second of stones: in South-Britain, the Barrows chiefly prevail; in North-Britain, the Carns abound the most (*r*): and both these, when they are of a round shape, and are covered with green sward, are called, in the last country, by the vulgar, *hillocks*, and by the learned, *tumuli*.

Barrows

(*r*) Borlase, p. 211, will have the *Barrows* to be rather *Burrows*; as the barrow, according to him, signifies a place of defence, but the burrow is from *Byrig*, a burial place. Bailey derives the barrow, from the Saxon *Beorg*, *Collis*: Skinner equally derives the same word, from the Anglo-Saxon *Beorg*, *tunulus*: and, Ash supposes the barrow to be derived from the Saxon *Barwe*, a grove, or woody place. None of them seem to have hit upon the true derivation of the well-known term, barrow. *Beorg*, and *Beorb*, in the Anglo-Saxon, signify *collis*, *agger*, *acervus*, *tumulus*: so, *aefter-beorgum* means *munimentum sepulchrum*. Lye. But, as the barrows were the works of a Celtic people; so the name is probably derived from the Celtic language: *Bar*, in the British, *Barau*, in its plural, signify the top, or summit, an excrecence. Davies, and Owen. *Bar*, in the Irish, equally means a head,

Barrows of a greater, or a less size, may be found, in every district of North-Britain, in the most southern, as well as the most northern. Near the abbey of New-Battle, there was once a remarkable Barrow, composed of earth, and of a conic figure, in height thirty feet, and in circumference, at the base, ninety feet; it was surrounded by a circle of stones, and, on its top, there grew a fir tree: when this Barrow was removed, there was found in it a stone coffin, near seven feet long, and proportionably broad, and deep; and from it was taken a human skull (*s*). Several other Barrows, both in South, and North-Britain, have been also surrounded with circles of stones (*t*). There is a Barrow, in the parish of Kirkmabreck, in Wigtonshire, which is called Cairny-wanie, and which is merely the Carn-*uaine* of the Scoto-Irish, or Green-Carn of the Scoto-Saxon: when Cairny-*wanie* was opened, there was found in it a stone coffin, comprehending a human skeleton, that was greatly above the ordinary size, together with an urn, containing some ashes, and an earthen pitcher (*u*). There was a sepulchral tumulus, at Elie, in Fife, which, when opened, some years ago, was found to contain several human bones of a remarkably large size (*x*). In the parish of Logie, in Forfarshire, there are several *tumuli*, two of which have been opened: in one of these, there was found a coffin, formed of flag-stones, and containing a human skeleton, the bones whereof were of an extraordinary size, were mostly entire, of a deep yellow colour, and were very brittle, when touched: in the other tumulus, there were found, about a foot from the surface, four human skeletons, the bones whereof were exceedingly large; and near these was discovered a beautiful black ring, like ebony, of a fine polish, and in perfect preservation; and this ring is twelve inches in circumference, and four inches in diameter; it is flat in the inside, and rounded without; and it would fit a large wrist. In the same tumulus, there was found an urn, which was full of ashes (*y*). In the parish of Girvan,

a head, a top, a heap. O'Brien, and Shaw. *Bera*, in the British, signifies a pyramid, a heap, a stack, as of corn, or hay. Davies, and Owen. *Borra*, in the Irish, means a swelling, a protuberance. O'Brien, and Shaw. And, in the Scoto-Irish, it signifies a *pile*. Stat. Account, v. 14, p. 257. *Carn*, in the British, and Irish, means merely a *heap*, as we have seen.

(*s*) Antiq. Trans. Edinb. p. 95.

(*t*) Gough's Camden, V. i. p. 3.: several Barrows, in the Scilly Isles, are edged round with large stones. Borlase's Cornwall, p. 219.

(*u*) Stat. Acco. V. xv. p. 552.

(*x*) Ib. V. xvii. p. 542.

(*y*) Stat. Acco. V. ix. p. 51-2.: in a large oblong Carn, about a mile west from Ardoch, in Perthshire, there was found a stone coffin, containing a human skeleton, seven feet long. Ib. V. viii. p. 495. From those facts, with regard to the large size of the skeletons, the tradition, on this subject, should seem not to be quite groundless, as indeed Tacitus, when describing the Caledonians, appears to intimate.

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in Ayrshire, there were several *tumuli* : in one of these, there was found a *stone chest*, which inclosed a clay urn, unglazed, and rudely ornamented : and the chest was open at the top, and contained some ashes (*z*). In two sepulchral tumuli, near the manse of Dun, in Forfarshire, there were found several clay urns, with sculptures, and containing ashes, and pieces of bones (*a*). There is in Hamilton parish, a large *tumulus*, which, when opened, was found to contain a good many urns ; they were all of baked earth, some of them were plain, and others of them were decorated, with mouldings, without any inscriptions ; and they contained ashes, and human bones, and some of these bones were accompanied with *the tooth of a horse* (*b*). On the west of the village of Edenhams, in Roxburghshire, there is a sepulchral tumulus, called the *Picts-know* ; out of which, there were dug, some years ago, three stone coffins, one whereof contained an urn with ashes (*c*). On the banks of the Cree, in Galloway, there were several *tumuli* : in some of these, when they were opened, in 1754, there were found the remains of weapons of *brass*, which were very much corroded ; one of these was formed much like a halbert ; another was shaped like a hatchet, having in the back part, an instrument resembling a paviour's hammer ; a third was formed, like a spade, but of a much smaller size ; and each of these weapons had a proper aperture for a handle (*d*). In the parish of Kirkpatrick-Fleming, in Dumfries-shire, there were several sepulchral tumuli, one of the largest whereof is called *Belton-hill*, from the *Baal-tein*, probably, or fire of Baal, which, in ancient times, was lighted on May-day (*e*). In the parish of Glenholm,

(*z*) Ib. v. xii. p. 342. : in every part of North-Britain, *stone chests* have been found in Barrows, and Carns, as the *coffins* of elder times. Ib. v. xiii. p. 272-3. Ib. v. x. p. 186. Ib. v. iii. p. 57.

(*a*) Ib. v. iii. p. 362.

(*b*) Ib. v. ii. p. 208.

(*c*) Ib. v. xi. p. 307.

(*d*) Stat. Acco. v. vii. p. 60. : in a Carn, on the King's Moor, near Peebles, there was found an urn inverted, containing the ashes of some ancient warrior, with the *blade of his dagger*. Ib. V. xii. p. 15. In a Barrow, in Kirkurd parish, Peebles-shire, there were found the remnants of weapons, which were formed of flint-stones ; one of the weapons resembled the head of a halbert, another was of a circular form, and the third of a cylindrical shape. From those intimations, we may not only perceive the manner of the pristine interments, but the kind of *weapons*, which were used by the first people. Within a Barrow, in the parish of Coupar in Fife, there were found several heads of battle-axes, formed of a very hard white-coloured stone, and neatly shaped, carved, and polished. Ib. v. xvii. p. 159. Ib. v. x. p. 186.

(*e*) Some years ago, when a considerable part of *Belton-hill* was removed, there was found in its bottom, a large square stone chest, wherein were some *beads* ; other two Barrows, at some distance, northwest from *Belton-hill*, were also opened, when there was found, in one of them, a stone chest,

Glenholm, in Peeblesshire, by Tweedside, there are several Barrows, one of which was found to contain a stone coffin, wherein was found the skeleton of a man, having *bracelets on his arms* (*f*). On the coast of Banffshire, in the Boyne, several sepulchral tumuli have been opened: in one of them, there was found a stone coffin, containing human bones, with a *deers-horn*: in others, there were stone chests, inclosing urns, which were full of ashes (*g*).

The sepulchral *tumuli*, in the Hebrides, and in the Orkney Isles, are of the same kind, both as to their structure, and contents, with those on the mainland, in their neighbourhood: and, we may from these circumstances infer, that they are the undoubted remains of the first people. Within several *tumuli*, which were opened, in the Isle of Skye, there were discovered stone coffins, with urns, containing ashes, and weapons (*h*). In a Barrow, which was opened, in the Isle of Egg, there was found a large urn, containing human bones: this urn consisted of a large round stone, which had been hollowed, and the top of it covered with a thin flag-stone (*i*). In the islands of Lismore, Gigha, and others, there have been dug out of such *tumuli*, stone coffins, and urns, containing ashes (*k*).

In Pomona, the chief of the Orkney Isles, there are a number of Barrows: in some of these, within the parish of Holm, there were found small stone urns, containing ashes (*l*). In the parish of Sandwick, there were discovered, in several tumuli, three stone chests, about fifteen, or eighteen, feet square, containing ashes, and fragments of bones, without urns: in one of these, there was found a large urn, which was shaped like a jar, and was sufficient to hold fifteen gallons; and it contained ashes, with fragments of bones (*m*). In the parish of Kirkwall, there was a number of tumuli, which have disclosed stone chests, containing bones, that were partly consumed, together with the ashes of the dead (*n*). In the Isles of Shapinsay, Sanday, and other Orkney Islands,

within which there was an urn of fine workmanship, that was filled with ashes, and the mouth whereof was covered with an appropriate stone: there were also found, in the chest, and near the urn, several *iron rings*, about the size of half a crown; but they were so much eat up, by rust, that on being touched they fell to pieces. *Beads*, the ornaments of the British women, have been found in several other Barrows, in North, and South-Britain. See Douglas's *Nenia*. *Archaiol.* v. vii. p. 414.; King's *Munimenta Antiqua*, v. i. p. 256.

(*f*) Stat. Acco. v. iv. p. 435.; Ib. v. vii. p. 299.¹

(*h*) Stat. Acco. v. xvi. p. 227. Ib. v. xviii. p. 186.

(*k*) Stat. Acco. v. i. p. 493. v. viii. p. 56.

(*m*) Ib. v. xvi. p. 459.

(*g*) Ib. v. iii. p. 57.

(*i*) Ib. v. xvii. p. 287.

(*l*) Ib. v. v. p. 413.

(*n*) Ib. v. vii. p. 557.

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there are sepulchral *tumuli*, in which have been found, urns, and half-burnt bones (*o*); the whole denoting that, the Orkneys must have been originally colonized, by the Gaulic-Britons of the southern shores.

The many Barrows, and other sepulchral *tumuli*, which have been opened, in different parts of South-Britain, have evinced a perfect similarity, in their structure, and composition, to the same melancholy monuments, in North-Britain; and exhibit, in the curious contents of their urns, and cistvaens, the ornaments, which once belonged to the British women, and the weapons, that enabled the British warriors to defend their country, during the earliest ages. The sameness, in all those objects of rational curiosity, attest, that they were undoubtedly the works of the same people, during the most ancient period of the British history (*p*).

The sepulchral cars, as they are composed of vast collections of stones, are more numerous in North, than in South-Britain, from its abounding more with lapidose substances. Within the parish of Borthwick, in Edinburghshire, there once were a great many such cars: In those, which have been opened, and all around them, there have been found a number of earthen urns, that were covered with flat stones, and were full of half-burnt human bones; these urns were of coarse, but ingenious workmanship, being ornamented with different figures, and would have contained about a gallon (*q*). On a moor, between the parishes of Kintore, and Kinellar, in Aberdeenshire, there are several sepulchral cars, wherein were found a stone chest, and in it a ring of a substance, like veined marble, which was large enough to take in three fingers; and near this stone chest was discovered an urn, containing *human hair* (*qq*). In a car, on Crameston-hill, in Berwickshire, which was dispersed, in 1792, there were found several earthen urns of different sizes, containing human bones (*r*). A sepulchral car, in Bendothy parish, in Perthshire, being opened, there were found in it some ashes, and human bones, which had undergone the action of fire; and lower down, in the same car, there were discovered two inverted urns, which were large enough to hold thigh, and leg bones; and contained human bones: these urns were adorned with rude sculpture, but were without inscriptions (*s*).

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(*o*) Stat. Account, v. xvii. p. 234.; v. vii. p. 489.; Pennant's Arctic Zool, v. i. p. xxxv.

(*p*) Archæology, throughout; Gough's Camden, throughout; Borlase's Cornwall, p. 211—222.; King's Munimenta Antiq. v. i. p. 267—326; Mr. King has shown, that the notion, which attributes several of those sepulchral tumuli to the Danes, is groundless.

(*q*) Stat. Acco. v. xiii. p. 635-6.

(*qq*) Ib. v. xiii. p. 92.

(*r*) Ib. v. xiv. p. 584.

(*s*) Stat. Account, v. xix, p. 359: in a sepulchral car, in the parish of East-Kilbride, there

In the Beauley Frith, which is, on both sides, very shallow, there are, a considerable distance within the flood-mark, on the coast of Ross-shire, several carns, in one of which urns have been found (*t*). We may easily infer, from those facts, how much the sea has encroached upon the flat shores of the Beauley Frith, since the distant epoch of carns, which are now so far within its flux.

Amidst the varieties, in the manner of burial, among the ancient inhabitants of our island, the *Cistvaen* is remarkable: the word, in the British language, signifies, literally, a stone chest, from *Cist*, a chest, and *maen*, stone; the (*m*) in the British changing, in composition, to (*v*) (*a*). In the various practice of those people, the *Cistvaen* sometimes contained the urn, which preserved the precious ashes of the deceased; but, it often contained the ashes, and bones, without an urn, as we have seen. In the same manner, urns were frequently found, without *Cistvaens*, which were of different sizes, and shapes, as we have perceived, according to the fashion of successive ages, and to the rank of the deceased (*b*).

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were found some urns, which were open at both their ends; were narrow in the middle: and were glazed, and ornamented with flowers. *Ure's Hist.* p. 214—15. In a sepulchral carn, which was opened, in the parish of Kirkinner, in Wigtonshire, there was found a stone coffin, containing human bones, which were half burnt. *Stat. Account*, v. 4. p. 145.

(*t*) *Stat. Account*, v. 17, p. 350: one of those carns, to the south-east of Redcastle, stands four hundred yards, within the flood-mark, and is of considerable size. On the south side of the same frith, at some distance from the mouth of the river Ness, a considerable space, within the flood-mark, there is a large carn, which is called *Carn-airc*, that is, the *carn in the sea*. West from this, in the same frith, there are three other carns, at considerable distances from each other: the largest is a huge heap of stones, in the middle of the frith, and is accessible, at low water: and, it appears to have been a sepulchral carn, from the urns, which are found in it. *Ib.* v. 9, p. 631.

(*a*) Davies, and Owen: it is curious to observe, that the British word *Cist* remains, to this day, in the Scoto-Saxon language.

(*b*) *Stat. Account*, v. 12, p. 342; v. 13, p. 272—3; v. 10, p. 186; v. 3, p. 57; which have been already quoted. *Ib.* v. 14, p. 113—370: Scarcely any thing has appeared, within any of the sepulchral tumuli, which have been opened, in North-Britain, to shew, that the funeral remains were Roman. Two circumstances are always wanting; (1.) The sepulchral urn, with its appropriate ashes, and burnt bones, ought to be found around some Roman camp: or, (2.) It ought to be discovered near some Roman road: such urns have been found, near the Roman camps, at Ardoch, and at Orrea. *Stat. Account*, v. 8, p. 495; v. 15, p. 528. It has been a very common error to attribute those sepulchral urns, which have been discovered, in North-Britain, to the Romans, on the supposition, that they originally introduced urn burial, and that they only were capable of making such urns. *Ib.* v. 14, p. 30; *Trans. of Antiq. Soc. of Scotland*, v. 1, p. 304: and so, Douglas's *Nenia*, p. 127, 131—3. But, Mr. King has evinced, that several barrows, which

The same observation may be made, with respect to urns, which have been generally found in *tumuli*, but often below the surface, without a hillock: they were composed, as we have seen, usually of pottery, sometimes of stone; and they were of different shapes, and variously ornamented, according to the taste of the times, and ability of the parties (*c*). There are still other varieties, in the modes of sepultures, in South, and North-Britain. In both, sepulchral tumuli have been found, in close connection with the Druid circles. At Achen-corthie, the field of the circles, there is a Druid temple, which, we have already seen, was composed of three concentric circles; and there has been dug up, between the two outer circles, a cistvaen, about three feet long, and one and a half feet wide, wherein there was found an urn, containing some ashes (*d*). And, we may thus see an additional example of the similar policy, which appears to have existed, in every age, between the inhabitants in the southern, and northern parts of our island, as well as the close continuity, which there seems to have existed, between the Druid places of worship, and of sepulture, and those of the Christians, in Gaelic Britain.

There appears to have been a still more natural connection, between the British strengths, and sepulchral tumuli; as stone chests, and clay urns, con-

which have been falsely attributed to the Romans, are really British; and that the Roman sepultures, in Britain, are generally without tumuli: it was not the usual practice of the Romans to raise barrows over their dead. *Munimenta Antiq.* v. 1, p. 300—304. And it ought to be recollected, that the Danes had desisted, from burning their dead, before their expeditions into Britain. *Douglas's Nenia*, p. 125.

(*c*) In the parish of Mousewald, in Dumfries-shire, urns, containing pieces of human bones, and ashes, have been found, in places, where there was no appearance of tumuli. *Stat. Account*, v. 7, p. 299. Near *Fordon*, in Kincardineshire, there have been discovered clay urns, which were inclosed in stone cases, that were sunk in the earth, without any tumulus; and which contained ashes. *Ib.* v. 4, p. 498; and Mr. Leslie, the Minister's Letter to me. In the parish of Cleish, in Kinross-shire, several urns were found under a large stone, and some under small cairns: the urns appear to have been made of coarse materials, and to have been pretty well glazed, and ornamented, with dotted lines. *Ib.* v. 3, p. 561.

(*d*) *Stat. Account*, v. 4, p. 456. At Barrach, in the parish of New Deer, Aberdeenshire, a peasant, digging for stones, in a Druid temple, found, about eighteen inches below the surface, a flat stone, lying horizontally; and on raising it, he discovered an urn, full of human bones, some of which were quite fresh; but on being touched they crumbled into dust; this urn had no bottom, but was placed on a flat stone, such as covered its top: and about a yard, from this excavation, another urn was found, containing similar remains. *Scots Mag.* 1772, p. 581. There are many other instances, both in South, and North-Britain, which evince an intimate connection, between Druid remains, and tumuli. *Stukeley's Abury*; *Douglas's Nenia*, p. 171; *Gough's Camden*, v. 1, p. 285—294, and pl. xv.; *Gent. Mag.* 1767, p. 170.

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taining ashes, and bones, are frequently dug up, about such ancient fortresses. On the east side of the British fort, at Inchtuthel, there are two sepulchral tumuli (*e*). Such were undoubtedly the burial places of the chiefs, who commanded the Caledonian hill-forts, in early times.

Analogous to those, are the sepulchral carns, which, at the end of so many eventful ages, still denote the fields of ancient conflicts. It is more than probable, that the battle, at the Grampian, is still perpetuated, and that the memory of the Caledonians, who fell in defence of their country, is yet preserved, by sepulchral tumuli (*f*). In the parish of Liberton, Edinburghshire, there were several large carns, wherein were found various stone chests, inclosing urns, which contained ashes, and weapons: some of these carns, which still remain, are called the *Cat-stanes*, or *Battle-stanes* (*g*). Single stones, in various parts of North-Britain, are still known by the appropriate name of *Cat-stanes* (*h*). The name is plainly derived, from the British *Cad*, or the Scoto-Irish *Cath*, which signify a battle. On Lauder-muir, in Berwickshire, where a battle is said to have been fought, there are a number of sepulchral tumuli; and there have been found near them fragments of swords, of bows, and of arrows, which had been pointed with flints (*i*). The early practice of raising carns, to perpetuate the memory of those, who had fallen in domestic conflicts, or in repelling foreign invasions, has come down to our own times (*k*).

(*e*) Stat. Account, v. 9. p. 505. There are several sepulchral hillocks, on a moor, contiguous to a British fortress, in the parish of Monzie: in one of these, called *Carn-Comhall*, a stone coffin was found. Ib. v. 15. p. 257. An urn curiously carved, and filled with ashes, was dug up within the area of a British fortress, on the top of Benan-hill, in Ayrshire. Ib. v. 3. p. 586. Under the ruin of the wall of a British fort, in the parish of Pittenain, Lanerkshire, there were found several stone chests, including urns, which contained ashes. Ib. v. 12. p. 39.

(*f*) "On the hill, above the moor of Ardoch, says Gordon, Itin. Septen. p. 42, are two great "heaps of stones, the one called *Carn-wochel*, the other *Carnlee*: the former is the greatest curiosity "of this kind, that ever I met with; the quantity of great rough stones, lying above one another, "almost surpasses belief, which made me have the curiosity to measure it; and I found the whole "heap to be about one hundred and eighty-two feet in length, thirty in sloping height, and forty- "five in breadth, at the bottom." The minister of the parish concurs, in this account; and adds, that there has been found in it a stone coffin, wherein there was a *skeleton seven feet long*. Stat. Account, v. 8, p. 497.

(*g*) Transac. Edin. Soc. Antiq. v. 1, p. 308.

(*h*) Stat. Account, v. 19, p. 591; Mait. Edin. p. 508; Gough's Camden, v. 3. p. 317: a rude upright stone, which stands at Kinver, in Staffordshire, is called *the battle stone*. King's Munimenta Antiq. v. 1, p. 120.

(*i*) Stat. Account, v. 1, p. 77.

(*k*) Ib. v. 15, p. 279; v. 13, p. 422; v. 15, p. 526—7; v. 17, p. 444; v. 6, p. 136. v. 17. p. 516; v. 17, p. 442; Gough's Camden, v. 3, p. 430.

Connected

Connected with those cairns of remembrance, are stones of memorial. Besides the upright stones, which we have seen so essentially connected with Druid works, there is, in every district of North-Britain, a variety of stone pillars, which are in their natural shape, without the mark of any tool; and which are called traditionally *standing stones*, from their upright position. They frequently appear single, and often in groupes of two, or three, or four, and sometimes in a greater number. These stones have been raised, in successive ages, to perpetuate events, which, as the stones are without inscriptions, they have not transmitted. In Arran, there are two large stone columns, which are quite rude (*l*). There is a number of these columnar stones, in Mull, whereof some are very large, and are commonly called, by the Scoto-Irish inhabitants, *Carra'*, a word signifying, in their language, a stone pillar (*m*). In Fife, there are four huge standing stones, near Lundin, and one near Dysart, which, tradition says, are memorials of battles (*n*). For the same purpose, similar stones have been erected, in every part of North-Britain, which, as they are without inscriptions, do not answer the end, either of personal vanity, or of national gratitude (*o*).

We are thus led on to some inquiries, with regard to the hill-forts, and other safeguards, of the original people. That such strengths existed, in North-Britain, at the epoch of the Roman invasion, we know, from the information of facts (*p*). Burrenswark hill, in Annandale, was the site of a Selgovæ fort, and

(*l*) Penant's Tour, v. 3, p. 178; there are others of the same kind in Arran. Martin's West Isles, p. 220. There are similar stones in Harris. Ib. 47—59.

(*m*) Stat. Account, v. 14, p. 154, 203.

(*n*) Stat. Account, v. 4, p. 546; v. 12, p. 522.

(*o*) See the Stat. Accounts, every where. Similar stones may still be seen, in many parts of England, Wales, Cornwall, and in Ireland. Borlase's Cornwall, p. 160—1; Rowland's Mona; King's Munimenta, v. 1, p. 13—23.

(*p*) The situation of those British strengths, their relative positions to one another, and the accommodations attached to them show that, they have rather been constructed, for the purpose of protecting the tribes, from the attacks of one another, than for the purpose of checking an invading enemy. They are placed upon eminences, in those parts of the country, which, even in those early ages, must have been the most habitable, and furnished the greatest quantity of subsistence. They frequently appear in groupes of three, four, and even more, in the vicinity of each other; and they are so disposed, upon the tops of heights, that sometimes a considerable number may be seen, from one another; having one much larger, and stronger, than the others, in the most commanding situation, which has, no doubt, been the distinguished post of the chief. Such was the large, and strong post on the Eldon hills, around which, in the adjacent country, there are the remains of more than a dozen smaller strengths: such also were the large strengths, on Burrenswark-hill, at Inch-tuthel,

and of the Roman station of *Trimontium*, as we may see in Ptolomy, and Richard. All around the edge, or summit of this hill, there are traces of something like the foundation of a breast-work : but, this defence, as well as the lines of circumvallation, appear to have been prior to the camps, and possibly might even have existed anterior to the arrival of the Romans, according to Roy. The meaning of the name, which he egregiously mistook, would alone establish the fact, that a British fort existed on this commanding hill, before the construction of the Roman camps (*q*). The term *Burrin* may be derived from the British *Bur*, the plural *Burau*, signifying an inclosure, or entrenchment, or work thrown up for defence (*r*) : Yet, Birne, Byrn, Byrna, signify *thorax*, *lorica*, in the Anglo-Saxon; and *wark* is merely Scoto-Saxon, for *work*. The coincidence of the British, and Saxon terms, for a defensive work, has preserved the ancient name to the present times. From Burrenswark, about two miles, there is a village, named Birrens, or Burrens, at which there is a Roman camp : there are at Burren hill, in Mousewald parish, Dumfriesshire, and at Burren hill, in Kirkbean parish, in Kirkcudbright, the remains of fortifications : from the coincidence of the facts, we may easily perceive, whence all those fortified hills derived their appropriate appellations. *Burron* hill, in Mousewald parish, was plainly the commanding site of a British strength ; being surrounded by a double ditch (*s*). Near *Burronhill*, there is another British fort, on the summit of *Panteth*-hill, which also commands an extensive prospect (*t*). On a well known hill, which is now called Wardlaw, in the parish of Caerlaverock, there is a circular British fortress, that is surrounded with two ditches, at the top, whence there is a most extensive view. On the same site, there are faint traces of a Roman camp, the

tuthel, the Caterthuns, Barra-hill, Castle-over, and others, all which had their subordinate posts, around them ; and the remains of many of those strengths are still to be seen. That many of those fortresses were in existence, before the Romans invaded North-Britain, appears from this decisive circumstance, that several of the larger strengths were converted into Roman posts. The large British fort on the Eldon hills, that at Inchtuthel, that at Castle-over, and some other smaller British fortlets, were converted into Roman posts. We may also draw the same inference, from this curious fact, that Roman camps are judiciously placed among several groupes of those British strengths, for the evident purpose of overawing, and watching them.

(*q*) See this station described in book i. ch. iii of this work, and the true etymon of *Trimontium*, from Tre, the well known British appellative for a town : see Roy's *Antiq.* pl. xvi. for a plan, and sections, of this hill, and camps : see also the *Trans. of the Antiq. Society of Scot.* v. i. p. 125.

(*r*) Owen, in vo.

(*s*) Stat. Account, v. 7. p. 298.

(*t*) Id. The prefix *Pan* is plainly a corruption of the British *Pen*, which signifies a head, or top.
area

area whereof is now much ploughed up (*u*). This eminence afterwards served, as a watch-hill, to a strong castle of the Maxwells, who were wardens of this frontier, during the middle ages. From this circumstance, it is apparent, that this commodious height acquired the Scoto-Saxon name of *Wardlaw* (*x*). In the same vicinity, there is on Eskdale-moor, *Castle-over*, which appears to have been a British fortress, before the establishment of the Roman post, on the same commodious site. The ancient entrenchment is of an oval form, on the top of a hill; and there are a number of small strengths of a similar nature, on the surrounding eminences (*y*).

In the parish of Menmuir, in Forfarshire, are two well known hill-forts called White Caterthun, standing to the south, and Brown Caterthun, to the northward (*z*). Pennant, whose welsh etymons are not always accurate, says, that the literal translation of Caterthun is *Camptown* (*a*). The name is plainly from the British words, *Cader*, a fortress, a stronghold, and *Dun*, a hill (*b*). Several of the fortified hills, in Wales, bear the same prefix, *Cader*; as *Cader-Dinmoel*, *Cader-Idris*, and others: *Cader-dun* would be made *Cader-dhun* by the Scoto-Irish, *Cater-thun* by the Scoto-Saxons, and *Fort-hill* by the English. These are said to be decidedly reckoned amongst the most ancient Caledonian strongholds, and to be coæval with what are called British posts (*c*.) White Caterthun is of uncommon strength: it is of an oval form, constructed of a stupendous dike of loose stones, the convexity of which, from the base within, to that without, is a hundred and twenty-two feet: on the outside, a hollow, which is made by the disposition of the stones, surrounds the whole. Round the base is a deep ditch; and below, about a hundred yards, are vestiges of another trench, that went round the hill. The area, within the stoney hill, is flat; the length of the oval is four hundred and thirty-six feet; the transverse diameter, two hundred: near the east side, is the foundation of a rectangular building; and there are also the foundations of other erections, which are circular, and smaller; all which foundations had once their superstructures, the shelters of the possessors of the post: and there is a hollow, which is now nearly filled

(*u*) Pennant's Tour, v. iii. p. 95; Munimenta Antiq. v. i. p. 28; Stat. Account, v. vi. p. 31.

(*x*) See *Weard*, and *Hleaw*, in Somner.

(*y*) See Roy's Antiq. pl. xxvi. for a plan, and section of *Castle-over*, which has exactly the same appearance, and form, as the *Caterthun*.

(*z*) Ainslie's map of Forfar-shire; Stat. Account, v. v. p. 150, and v. iv. p. 214.

(*a*) Tour, v. ii. p. 159.

(*b*) Davis, and Owen.

(*c*) King's Munimenta Antiq. v. i. p. 27, and pl. i. and ii. which exhibit beautiful, and accurate drawings of the White Caterthun.

with stones, and which was once the well of the fort (*d*). The other fortress, which is called *Brown Caterthun*, from the colour of the earth, that composes the ramparts, is of a circular form, and consists of various concentric dikes (*e*).

Similar to the Caterthuns is the British fortress on Barra-hill, in Aberdeenshire. This fort was of an elliptical form: the ramparts were partly built with stones; having a large ditch, that occupies the whole summit of the hill, which, as it is about two hundred feet, above the vale, overlooks the low ground, between it and the mountain of Benachie. It was surrounded, by three lines of circumvallation. Facing the west, the hill rises very steep; and the middle line is interrupted by rocks: the only access to the fort is on the east-side, where the ascent is easy; and at this part the entry to the fort is perfectly obvious. This Caledonian hill-fort is now called, by the tradition of the country, *Cummin's Camp*, from the defeat, which the Earl of Buchan there sustained, when attacked by the gallant Bruce. Of the name of this strength, it may be observed, that *Bar*, in the British language, as we have seen, is a top, or summit; and its plural is *Barau* (*f*): but, as this hill has only one top, we may suppose, that the name is from *Bar*, which, in the Scoto-Irish, equally signifies a *summit*, and *Ra'*, in the same speech, signifying a fort, a strength (*g*).

Barry-hill, near Alyth, in Perthshire, is probably nothing more, in the derivation of its name, than *Bar-ra*, a hill-fort. At the base, Barry-hill is about a mile in circumference, and six hundred and seventy-six feet high. The summit has been levelled into an area, of about one hundred and sixty-eight yards, in circumference, within the rampart. Barry-hill appears, from its vast ditch, and walls, to have been a fortress of impregnable strength. The approach to the fort was from the north-east, along the verge of a precipice; and the entrance was secured by a bulwark of stones, the remains whereof still exist. Over the ditch, which was ten feet broad, and fourteen feet below the foundation of the wall, a narrow bridge was raised, about eighteen feet long, and two feet broad: this bridge was composed of stones, which had been laid together, without much art, and vitrified on all sides, so that the whole mass was firmly

(*d*) Those intimations correspond with the remains of the several British forts, in South-Britain, which had their *Cells*, and structures, and wells. Pennant's *Tour in Wales*, v. ii. p. 203, 215, 216, 321; *Archaiol.* v. iii. p. 305, pl. xiv.

(*e*) Pennant's *Tour*, v. ii. p. 157—9; *King's Munimenta Antiq.* v. i. p. 27.

(*f*) Davis, Richards, and Owen.

(*g*) O'Brien, and Shaw: there is a British fortress on Pen-y-crug, in Brecknockshire, which is said to be on the top of a high hill; to be of an oval form, and to be surrounded by *three* deep, and broad, entrenchments. *Archaiol.* v. i. p. 299. See the Drawing of this fortress.

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A Plan, and Sections, of the British for



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cemented: this is the only part of the fortifications, which appears to have been intentionally vitrified (*b*). There seems to be no vestige of a well; but, westward, between the base of the mound and the precipice, there was a deep pond, which has been recently filled up. The tradition of the country, which is probably derived from the fiction of Boece, relates that, this vast strength of Barry-hill was the appropriate prison of Arthur's queen, the well known Guenever, who had been taken prisoner by the Picts. About a quarter of a mile eastward, on the declivity of the hill, there are some remains of another oval fort, which was defended by a strong wall, and deep ditch; and which, however, was of less strength, than the preceding. The same tradition relates, with similar appearance of fiction, that there was once a subterraneous communication, between those two British strengths, on Barry-hill (*i*).

There are many forts, in every district of North-Britain, of a similar nature, and of equal magnitude: and several of those fortresses have also the remains of the same kind of structures, within the area of each, for the same purpose of shelter. There is a fortress of this kind, which commands an extensive view of the lower part of Braidalban (*b*). On the summit of a hill, called Dun-Evan, in Nairnshire, there is a similar fortress, consisting of two ramparts, which surround a level space of the same oblong form, with that of Craig-Phadric, though not quite so large. Within the area of Dun-Evan, there are *the traces of a well*, and the remains of a large mass of building, which once furnished shelter to the defenders of the fort (*c*). In Glenelg, in Inverness-shire, there is a similar fort: the top of the hill is surrounded with a stone rampart, and in the area, there is the vestige of a circular building (*d*), for the use of the ancient inhabitants. Within

(*b*) It is observed, by the Rev. Dr. Playfair, that "among the ruins, there are several pieces of vitrified stone; but, this vitrification must have been accidental, as they are inconsiderable." Stat. Account, v. i. p. 508.

(*i*) For a more minute description of those fortresses, see the Stat. Account, v. i. p. 508—9, and v. vi. p. 405: there appears, from those descriptions, to be the remains of some superstructures, within the walls, the undoubted remains of the dwellings of the ancient inhabitants, who defended the fortress.

(*b*) Stobie's Map of Perthshire; Pennant's Tour, v. ii. p. 53; and this British strength, Mr. King has mistakingly described, as lying in the parish of Moulin, in Athol. Munimenta Antiq. v. i. p. 30.

(*c*) Trans. of the Royal Soc. Edin. v. ii. p. 13 part ii. The area is said to be about seventy paces long, and thirty broad, within the walls. Williams's Account of Remarkable Ruins, p. 36.

(*d*) This is exactly similar to the circular inclosure within the center of Caerbran, a hill fort, in Cornwall. Borlase, p. 346.

sight, there is another of these retreats, which are called, in Scoto-Irish, *Ba'-dhun*, says Pennant, the place of refuge (*e*).

A much more complete specimen of those hill-fortresses, with buildings, in the upper area of them, is that on Carby-hill, in the parish of Castleton, Roxburghshire. This hill stands detached from all others; and commands a most extensive view of a wide country. The whole summit of the hill, which is circular, and is about a hundred feet diameter, is surrounded, by a very strong wall of stones. In the center of the area, there is a circular building of stone: and around this, there are other circuitous erections of stone, lying circumjacent. A road, for ascending to the fort, appears plainly to have been made, in a winding course, round the hill, so as to enter the fortress, on the south side (*f*).

Beyond Liddel Water, northward, on the summit of a hill, there is a camp, which is nearly of a *square form*, and about three hundred feet diameter: the rampart is entirely of *earth*, and is about eighteen feet high: but, within the area, as in Carby Fort, there are no remains of any buildings. This square camp, which thus stood opposed to the British fortress, is plainly a remain of the Romans, that they had placed here, according to their usual custom, to besiege, or muffle, the previous strength. A similar coincidence appears, in the same parish. On the farm of Flight, near to the Castle of Clintwood, there are two camps, at a little distance from each other; the one is *round*, and is fortified with a stone wall, about a hundred feet diameter; the other is *square*, about a hundred and sixty-eight feet in length, and strengthened with two ramparts of earth (*g*). There are similar coincidences, in the same vicinity, which equally establish a curious fact, and illustrate a singular policy. On two hills, to the eastward of the village of Bengal, in Annandale, there are two fortresses; the one circular, and British; the other square, and Roman; and they equally stand opposed to each other; being only separated by a narrow morass. A little

(*e*) Tour, v. iii. p. 336—7: but, there is no such word, in the Gaelic, as *Ba'*, for a *place*: *Ball* is a spot, *dion*, not *dun*, signifies *shelter*, or protection. *Dun*, which, in the oblique case, is *dhun*, signifies a hill, and secondarily a fort, from the summit of hills being, in ancient times, the sites of the forts: *Ba'* is the plural of *Bo*, a *Cow*: so according to the intimations of Pennant, *Ba'-dhun* might be properly enough explained to be the *Cows-fort*, or safe-guard. But, this notion, and name, are more modern, than the age of the Britons.

(*f*) Stat. Acco. v. xvi. p. 83; wherein may be seen a draught of the fort, with the circular structures, within it. There are similar structures, within the areas of Castel-an-dinas, and Buntine Hill, in Cornwall. Borlase, p. 346—7: there are similar structures, in the area of Dinas, a hill-fort, near Llandudno, in Wales. Pennant's Tour, v. ii. p. 346.

(*g*) Stat. Acc. v. xvi. p. 84.

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higher, in Annandale, there is a pretty entire British fortress, at Drysdale-gate; occupying about two acres of ground; and commanding a most extensive prospect: about half a mile eastward from this, beyond an intervening moor, there is a large Roman camp (*g*). If the Roman policy be apparent, as we have formerly seen, this circumstance would evince that, the British strengths existed before the Roman times (*b*).

In the country upon the Forth, northward of the Roman wall, on the isthmus, between the friths, there are a number of British forts, which are perched upon little hills. The round, sometimes the oval summits of those hills, are surrounded by a rampart, which on many of them still remains. And the general appellation, in the country, for those forts, is *Keir*, which is evidently a corruption of the British *Caer*, a fort, the (C) being pronounced, in that speech, like (K) in the Scoto-Saxon (*i*).

Such were some of the British forts, standing southward of the Forth. There is also a range of the same kind of strengths along the face of the country, on the north side of the same river, which are equally known by the common name of *Keir*; and which appear to have been the only Caledonian posts, which were designed by them to oppose the Roman progress, as indeed Tacitus intimates (*k*).

(*g*) Stat. Acco. v. ix. p. 423—6.

(*b*) There are many other instances of the judicious position of Roman camps, in particular situations, for the evident purpose of overawing, or besieging the adjacent British strengths. In the districts upon the eastern side of the Dee, in Kirkcudbright, there are a great number of British strengths, which protected a part of the Selgovæ people, in the western extremity of their country; and among these, we find the remains of three Roman camps, which were placed in appropriate situations, for overawing the Selgovæ posts. See the Stat. Acco. v. xi. p. 24—5, with the map prefixed. The Roman camp at Lyne-Kirk is placed in the midst of some British hill-forts, which formed the safe-guards of a part of the Gadani territory, on the western extremity of their country. See Armstrong's map of Peebleshire, and the companion to it. Several other instances of the relative situation of Roman posts to the previous strengths of the Britons, may be seen, in the account of the Roman transactions, in North-Britain, and in the detail of the British antiquities, in the county histories. But, what must have made the yoke sit very uneasy on the conquered Britons was, the invidious circumstance, that several of the distinguished posts of their chiefs, were converted into Roman stations, which completely commanded the subordinate British strengths around them, as we have seen.

(*i*) Of such forts, and names, there are in the parish of Kippen, *Keir*-hill of Glentirran, *Keir*-hill of Dasher, *Keir*-brae of Drum, *Keir*-know of Arnmore, and *Keir*-brae of Garden: and, all these forts are of the above description. Stat. Acco. v. xviii. p. 329. A little southward of the village of Gargunnock, there is a conical eminence, called the *Keir*-hill, the summit of which was surrounded, by a rampart of a circular form. Ib. v. xviii. p. 116.

(*k*) Ib. v. xvii. p. 58: the prefix in *Car*-by-hill, before mentioned, is merely the British *Caer*, a fort.

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At the base of the Campsie Hills, about three miles from the *Peel* of Kirkintilloch, there are the remains of two British forts, on the summit of their several hills, which are each surrounded by ditches, and ramparts, in a circular form, as the hills are round: one of these, which is called, in the country, the *Meikle Reeve*, is about a hundred yards in diameter: the other, which is known by the appropriate name of *the Maiden Castle*, is about twenty yards in diameter (*l*). A mile northward, from the Roman fort of Barhill, on the same wall, there is a British fortress at Ball Castle: and, it is situated on a small mount of a triangular shape. About a mile northward of another Roman fort, at Wester-wood, there once was a British fort, at Cunny Park, of a similar form, and dimensions, with other fortresses, that owed their erections to British hands, before the ancient inhabitants were instructed by Roman arts; and which defended the tribes, from each other, before they were called on to defend their country from foreign intruders (*m*).

Within the parish of Castleton, there are also several circular forts, which are appropriately called *Picts-works*. They are all strongly fortified, by a rude wall of large stones. They seem also to have been erected with a view to foreign, as well as to domestic war. There are two of those forts near Herdshouse, two on the farm of Shaws, one on Toftholm, one on Foulshiels, one on Cocklaw, one on Blackburn, and one on Shortbuttrees. When the ruins of this last fort were lately removed, there was found, on the South side of it, a place, which was ten feet wide, and twenty feet long, and was paved with flat stones, and inclosed by the same sort of stones, that were set on edge; and there was discovered, within this inclosure, what seems to intimate its culinary use, ashes, and burnt sticks (*n*).

On the East side of Loch-Ness, stands the mountain fortress of *Dundharduil*, upon a very high hill of a circular, and indeed a conical shape. The summit of it is only accessible, on the south-east side, by a narrow ridge, which connects the mount with a hilly chain, that runs up to Stratherrick. On every other quarter, the ascent is almost perpendicular; and a rapid river winds round two thirds of the circumference of the base. The summit is surrounded, by a very strong wall of dry stones, which was once of great height, and thickness. The inclosed area is an oblong square of twenty-five yards long, and fifteen yards broad; and it is level, is clear of stones; and has on it the remains of a well.

(*l*) Stat. Acco. v. xv. p. 377.

(*m*) Stat. Acco. v. xviii. p. 291—2.

(*n*) Stat. Acco. v. xvi. p. 84. From their circularity, those *Picts-works* are also known to the people, by the appropriate name of *round-about*s.

Upon a shoulder of this hill, in the course of the ascent, about fifty feet below the summit, there is a *Druid temple*, consisting of a circle of large stones, which are firmly fixed in the ground, with a double row of stones, extending from one side, as an avenue, or entry to the circle (*s*). In the parish of Penycuik, on the Linton road, near the ten mile stone, on an eminence, there are the remains of a British fortress, which is called, by the country people, *the Castle*. It has an oval area of eighty-four yards long, and sixty-seven broad; and is surrounded, by two ditches, each of which is four yards wide; and having in the middle, between the ditches, a rampart six yards broad. In the area there is *a number of tumuli*, about eleven yards each, in diameter. There is a similar fort, on the side of Harkin-burn, within the woods of Penycuik (*t*).

From the foregoing details, it is now apparent, that the above mentioned hill-forts, and other strengths, which may still be traced, in North-Britain, by their remarkable remains, are all similar, in their structure, form, and site, to the British hill fortresses, in England, Wales, and Cornwall, that were every where, in Britain, the safe-guards of the first people, or their immediate descendants. The site, which was chosen for the whole, was the level summit of hills, with difficult access, while the Roman camps were generally placed on rising grounds below. The ramparts of all those British forts were composed of dry stones and earth, without any appearance of mortar, or cement. They vary, in their forms, according to the figure of the hills, whereon they were placed. In the areas of some of them, there are still to be seen the ruins of buildings, for habitation, and of wells, which supplied them with water. In the areas of a few of those forts, both in North, and South-Britain, there are tumuli. There appears to have accompanied some of those fortresses, on the declivity of the hills below, outworks, which were probably designed, as shelter for the cattle, belonging to those, who defended the forts above. The hill-forts, in Ireland, which are called, in the Irish language, and antiquities, *Raths*, and which have been mistakingly attributed to the Danish invaders, were really the strengths of the ancient

(*s*) Phil. Trans. of Edin. v. ii. part ii. p. 14—15. There are several Druid remains on Carnbre, a British hill-fort, in Cornwall. Borlase, p. 118—19. Near the British hill-fort, on Warton Craig in Lancashire, there are three rocking stones, which stand, in a right line from North to South, at equal distances, about forty feet asunder. Archæol. v. ix. p. 212. pl. xv. Near a British hill-fort, called Dinas, in the vicinity of Landudno, in Wales, there is a large *Maensigl*, or rocking stone. Pennant's Tour, v. ii. p. 346.

(*t*) Stat. Acco. v. x. p. 431. In the area of a British hill-fortress on Moel-y-Gaer, in Wales, there is a small artificial mount. Pennant's Tour in Wales, v. i. p. 85. In the area of the British hill-fort, on Pen-maen-mawr, there is a barrow, or tumulus of the longitudinal sort. Archæol. v. iii. p. 306.

Irish : and those *Raths* are similar, in their site, and structure, to the hill-forts of the ancient Britons, in South, and North-Britain : the *Raths* were placed on the summit of hills ; were generally surrounded with a greater, or less, number of entrenchments. In the areas of several of them, there were huts, or other buildings, for habitations, and wells for supplying the garrisons with water. In some of those forts, there is the appearance of excavations, like caves, which were probably the repositories for stores (*u*). Every intimation concurs to attest, that all those strengths were the work of kindred hands, for the safeguard of the Gaelic inhabitants, within the British islands.

Connected with those British forts, on the summits of heights, are the safeguards, which have been found in excavations, within the earth below. The most ancient people, in every country, and in every age, have constructed *hiding holes*, for the safety, both of their property, and persons, during seasons of danger. The inhabitants of the East, and of the West, have equally resorted to this rude policy of unprotected tribes (*x*). The Britons, in the most early times, as the individual was little protected by the many, resorted to this subterraneous shelter (*y*). The Caledonian descendants of the Britons, as they were perhaps less civilized, equally adopted similar safeguards (*z*). The same sort of excavations for similar purposes, have been discovered in Cornwall (*f*). The same sort of subterraneous buildings have also been found, in congenial Ireland (*g*). From all those coincidences, we may easily suppose, that the subterraneous safeguards, which have been discovered, in many parts of North-Britain, were constructed by the pristine people, during a rude age (*h*).

These interesting objects of a rational curiosity may be considered under three heads : (1.) The artificial structures, which have been formed under ground of rude stones, without cement ; (2.) Natural caves in rocks, which have been made more commodious by art ; and, (3.) Caves, which have been appropriated as religious retreats, in later times.

Of the first sort, are the subterraneous apartments, which have been discovered, in Forfarshire, within the parish of Tealing : this subterraneous building

(*u*) *Munimenta Antiq.* v. i. p. 77—9 ; Gough's *Camden*, v. iii. p. 482—3, wherein there is a description, and view of the *Rath*, at Ardscul.

(*x*) King's *Munimenta Antiqua*, v. i. p. 44—7.

(*y*) *Ib.* 48 ; wherein Diodorus Siculus is quoted, for the fact.

(*z*) *Id* ; and the *Remains*. (*f*) *Borlase*, p. 292. (*g*) *Wright's Louthiana*, p. 16.

(*h*) See the *Stat. Acco.* throughout ; *Martin's Western Isles*, p. 219 ; *Pennant's Tour*, v. iii. p. 181—2 : it is, moreover, to be added, that all those subterraneous safe-guards are constructed of rough stones, without cement of any kind.

was composed of large flat stones, without any cement, consisting of two, or three apartments, which were not above five feet wide, and were covered with stones of the same kind : and there were found, in this subterraneous building, some wood ashes, several fragments of large earthen vessels, and one of the ancient hand-mills, called querns. In the same parish, there has been discovered, a similar building, which the country people call, in the Irish language, a *weem*, or *cave* : it was about four feet high, and four feet wide ; and it was composed of large loose stones : there were found in it a broad earthen vessel, and an instrument resembling an adze (*i*). In the same shire, near Lundie-house, there has been discovered a subterraneous building of the same kind, constructed of rough stones, that had never felt a tool, but without cement : and there were found in this structure, the remains of some burnt matter, the fragments of small bones, and some querns, about fourteen inches diameter, with the remnant of an iron handle, and with appearances, which indicate, that they had been much worn (*k*). In the parish of Auchterhouse, have been found two subterraneous buildings, which are also called *Weems*, and which also contained ashes, bones, querns, and a brass ring, without any inscription (*l*). Several hiding holes of a smaller size, and of a somewhat different construction, have long been known in the Western Hebrides (*m*). In Sanday, one of the Orkney Isles, there are several barrows, one whereof being opened, was found to contain a building nine feet in diameter, round on the outside, but square, and hollow within, with a well at the bottom : in the upper part of the building, there was found a human skeleton, standing almost upright (*n*).

In every part of North-Britain, there are natural caves, which have been improved into hiding places, by artificial means. In Applecross parish, there

(*i*) Stat. Acco. v. iv. p. 101.

(*k*) Stat. Acco. v. xiii. p. 117—19.

(*l*) Ib. v. xiv. p. 526. Near Dundee, on the lands of Balgay, similar dwellings have been found, under ground. Ib. v. viii. p. 207. Such a structure has also been found in Alyth parish. Ib. v. vi. p. 406. In Bendothy parish, there have been found similar structures of a larger size, with rafters of wood, which were covered with earth. Ib. v. xix. p. 359. On the moor of Kil-drummie, in Aberdeenshire, such subterraneous structures have also been found. Ib. v. xviii. p. 420 ; Cordiner's Antiq. p. 15. Similar buildings have been discovered, in several parts of Kirkcudbright Stewartry. Ib. v. xvii. p. 120. In the district of Applecross, in Ross-shire, such structures have been found. Ib. v. iii. p. 378. Such buildings have been discovered in Kildonan parish, in Sutherland. Ib. v. iii. p. 409. Similar structures have been found under ground, in Shapinsay parish, in Orkney : and in them, was found a gold ring of very uncommon construction. Ib. v. xvii. p. 237-8. On the estate of Raits, in the parish of Alvie, in Inverness-shire, such a building sixty feet long has been discovered. Ib. v. xiii. p. 382-3.

(*m*) Martin's Western Isles, p. 154 ; Pennant's Tour, v. iii. p. 223-4.

(*n*) Stat. Acc. v. vii. p. 489. The circumstance of the Well seems to evince, that this building was rather a place of concealment, than of sepulture.

are several natural caves, which have been rendered more commodious, by artificial means, for the purpose of secret habitation (*o*). On the coast of Skye, in the parish of Portree, there are several caves of very large extent, of which idle tradition relates many fabulous stories (*p*). In the isle of Arran, there are several large caves, which appear to have been the necessitous retreats of the ancient inhabitants, during the rude policy of early ages. One of those, at Druman-duin is noted, in the fond tradition of the country, as the lodging of Fin mac-Coul, the Fingal of Ossian, during his residence in Arran. There are, in this favoured isle, other caves of great dimensions, which are also attended by their appropriate fictions (*q*). In the parish of Roxburgh, there are several caves, which have been formed, in the face of a rocky precipice, which is washed by the river Teviot (*r*). In Ancrum parish, on the river Ale, there are several caves, wherein there are fire places, and vents for the smoke (*s*). On the shores of the Solway Frith, in the parish of Borgue, at the bottom of some remarkable cliffs, there are some curious natural caves, one whereof has been assisted by art (*t*). In the parish of East Monkland, there is an artificial cave, which has been scooped out of a bold rocky eminence, on the river Calder, in a sequestered spot (*u*). On the north bank of the same river, in the parish of Bothwell, there is, in the face of a steep rock, a cave, which has been improved by art, and is capable of sheltering fifty men: it is difficult of access; and the entrance was guarded, by an iron gate, which was fixed during modern times, in the solid rock (*v*). Such, then, were the sad expedients, to which a rude people were

(*o*) Stat. Acco. v. iii. p. 378.

(*p*) Stat. Acco. v. xvi. p. 146-7; Martin's Western Isles, p. 151; King's Munimenta Antiq. v. i. p. 60. Similar to the great Cave in Skye, which is said to be capacious enough to contain five hundred persons, is the Giant's Cave, near Penrith. Gent. Mag. 1791, p. 990.

(*q*) Martin's Western Isles, p. 219; Pennant's Tour, v. iii. p. 181-2; Stat. Acco. v. ix. p. 167: by this account, the Cave of *Fin mac-Coul* is called the *King's Cave*; and is said to have had the honour of giving shelter to the illustrious Bruce, with the patriot companions of his perilous efforts, for his country's independence. The well known Caves of Hawthornden have also furnished commodious retreats to similar patriots, who risked their all for their country, and to religious bigots, who hazarded much for their faith, in more recent times. See Stukeley's Itin. Curiosum, for a description, and plan of the Caves, at Hawthornden; Mait. Hist. of Edin. p. 505; Grose's Antiq. v. i. p. 54-5; Pennant's Tour, v. ii. p. 253; Stat. Acco. v. x. p. 284-5.

(*r*) Stat. Acco. v. xix. p. 136: Several of those caves are of large dimensions.

(*s*) Ib. v. x. p. 294; and see Ib. v. xiii. p. 273, for a singular cave, in Kirkpatrick-Fleming. Within a sequestered glen, in the parish of Moffat, there are two caves, which have been cut out of a freestone rock, and are capable of holding several men: they are, at present, used as farm houses. Ib. v. ii. p. 288.

(*t*) Ib. v. xi. p. 41.

(*u*) Ib. v. vii. p. 280.

(*v*) Stat. Acco. v. xvi. p. 325: The fire-place, and floor of this remarkable cave still remain.

obliged

obliged to recur, for safety, before society had collected men into regular tribes; and it had become the duty of government to protect the few, by the efforts of the many.

The next objects of rational curiosity to the strengths, and hiding places, of the British tribes, are their weapons. Several of these have been already mentioned, as they were occasionally found, in the graves of the warriors, who had once made an appropriate use of them. These weapons are of different kinds; axes, or hatchets; and arrow heads. The hatchets, which have been most frequently found, both in North, and South-Britain, are generally of flint, and are usually called *celts*, though antiquaries have been unable to explain the meaning of the name. Yet, the *flint* hatchets, that have occasioned so much discussion, among learned men, were called *celts*, from the nature of the material whereof they were made; the *celt* of the British speech literally signifying a *flint stone* (*a*). These axes, or *celts*, as they have been called, even when they were made of *brass*, or other metals, have been discovered, in both North, and South-Britain; and they were often formed of brass, and of other materials of a similar kind, as well as of flint. Several of these brass hatchets have been found, in the British Barrows, on Salisbury Plain (*b*). The places, where these hatchets had so long reposed, with the original owners, and were at length discovered, attest, that they were British weapons. These brass hatchets, as they have been also found, within the British barrows, in North-Britain, must equally be deemed the curious weapons of the Caledonian Britons (*c*). Several arrow heads, which had been made of sharp-pointed flint, have been found within various graves, in North-Britain, as we have already seen (*d*). Such arrow

(*a*) Owen's Dict. These *Celts* have been found in various places, and of different sizes, all over South-Britain. Dug. Warwick, p. 778; Stukeley's Itin. Curiosum, p. 54; Plot's Staffordshire, p. 397; Hutch. Cumberland, p. 13-14; Whit. Manchester, 8vo. ed. v. i. p. 19, 20—22. Those curious *Celts*, which even appear on British coins, have also been discovered, in every part of North-Britain. Gordon's Itin. Septen. p. 172; Sibbald's Hist. Enquir. p. 51; Companion to the Map of Tweeddale, p. 34; Acco. Antiq. Scot. p. 55—92; and part ii. p. 46—122; Stat. Acco. v. iv. p. 479; Ib. v. iii. p. 56; Ib. vol. v. p. 85; Ib. v. x. p. 186; Ib. v. xvii. p. 159; Ure's Hist. of Rutherglen, p. 149, pl. 1.

(*b*) Stukeley's Stonehenge, p. 46; Gibson's Camden, 1263; Whit. Manch. 8vo edition, v. i. p. 17—19.

(*c*) Stat. Acco. v. vii. p. 251; Ib. p. 60; Ib. v. viii. p. 305; Ib. v. x. p. 56; Ib. v. xviii. p. 117. Sibbald says, "that several swords, heads of spears, and small darts, made of brass, have been found in several places of Scotland." Hist. Enquir. p. 51. There is a delineation of some brass axes, which were found, in Scotland, in Gordon's Itin. Septent. pl. 50.

(*d*) Stat. Acco. of Lauder, v. i. p. 78. In the parish of Benholm, Kincardineshire, on the side of a hill, where tradition says a battle was fought, in ancient times, there have been found a number of flint arrow heads, and, in the same vicinity, a quantity of human bones. Ib. v. xv. p. 238.

heads of flint have been found, in the isle of Skye (*e*). To these arrow heads of flint, superstition has given the name of *elf-shots*, from a supposition, that they are shot by elves, or fairies, at cattle. The common people derive many of the disorders of their cattle from the *elf-shots*; and superstition also directs the cure: the afflicted beast must be touched by the elf-shot, or must be made to drink the water, wherein the elf-shot has been dipped (*f*).

The armouries of the Britons were generally furnished with helmets, shields, and chariots, and with spears, daggers, swords, battle axes, and bows (*g*). The helmet, and the chariot, were confined to the chiefs; and the common men fought always on foot, provided with shields for their defence, and with spears, swords, daggers, bows, and battle-axes, for offending the enemy (*h*). These accoutrements have been mostly all found in the graves of the warrior, or have been seen, during recent times, on the Gaelic soldiers, in fight. The Caledonian chariots encountered Agricola's legions, at the foot of the Grampian mount. And they only wanted union, and discipline, to have enabled a gallant people, with such armour, to repel their invading foe.

Connected with their armour are their vessels, either for the enterprizes of war, or the accommodation of peace; and these consisted of canoes, and of cur-rachs. The first consisted of a single tree, which they hollowed with fire, in the manner of the American Indians; and in the mode of the same Indians, it was put into motion by a paddle: canoes of this sort have been discovered, where indeed they were to have been expected, in lakes, and in marshes, both in South, and in North Britain (*i*). In the great Locher-moss, in the loch of Carling-wark, in Loch-winnoch, and in the winding Carron, the canoes of the first people have been found (*k*). How early the Britons improved their art
of

(*e*) *Acco. Antiq. Soc. Scotland*, p. 55, and part ii. p. 46—122. Similar arrow heads have been found, in the parish of Logierait. *Stat. Acco.* vol. v. p. 85. In the parish of Penn-y-cuick, near Brunstone Castle, has been found an arrow head of flint, ragged on the edges, and barbed. *Ib.* v. x. p. 425. Similar arrow heads have been found in South-Britain. *Stukeley's Abury*, 33; *Thoresby's Leeds*, 49; 4; *Whitaker's Manchester*, 8vo edition, v. i. p. 25.

(*f*) *Pennant's Tour in Scotland*, v. i. p. 101.

(*g*) *Whitaker's Manchester*, 4to edition, v. i. p. 13—16, wherein is a delineation of British battle-axes.

(*h*) *Id.*

(*i*) Eight British canoes were found in Merton-mere, in Lancashire. *King's Munimenta Antiq.* v. i. p. 29; *Hutch. Cumberland*, v. i. p. 12.

(*k*) In Locher-moss, near Dumfries, an extensive tract of swampy ground, through which runs the Locher, there have been discovered several canoes; one of these Pennant examined; and found to be eight feet eight inches long, the cavity in the inside being six feet seven inches in length: it was

of ship-building cannot easily be ascertained. Before the age of Julius Cæsar they had certainly enlarged their canoes into currachs. Cæsar describes the currachs, as being accommodated with keels, and masts of the lightest wood; as having their bodies of wicker, which was covered over with leather; as he had learned from the Britons, and knew from his practice, in Spain. Lucan calls the British currachs little ships; and in these, he adds, the Britons were wont to navigate the ocean (*l*). In such currachs, according to Solinus (*m*), it was common to pass between Ireland and Britain. Adamnan, in his life of St. Columba, describes one of those currachs, with all the parts of a ship, with sails, and oars, and with a capacity for passengers; and he adds, that in this roomy currach, St. Cormac sailed into the north sea, where he remained during fourteen days, in perfect safety (*n*). We have thus seen what were the British vessels, both for the occupations of peace, and the adventures of war: and, what were the currachs, wherein the Scoto-Irish made incursions, from their woody isle into Romanized Britain, during the age of Claudian, when the Scottish rowers made the sea foam, with their hostile oars (*o*).

Such, then, were the Caledonian Britons; such the topographical position of the several tribes; and such were their antiquities; at the memorable epoch of Agricola's invasion of North-Britain. This country was, at that critical period,

two feet broad, and eleven inches deep; and at one end, there were the remains of three pegs, for the paddles: and, it appeared to have been hollowed by the action of fire, in the manner of the American Indians. In the same morass, another canoe was dug up, which was seven feet long, and dilated to a considerable breadth, at one end; an iron grapple, or anchor, was discovered with one of these canoes; and paddles, and oars, and other similar antiquities, have been found, in Lochermoss, which is ten miles long, and more than two miles broad. Pennant's Tour, v. iii. p. 93-4; Stat. Acco. v. i. p. 60; vol. v. p. 3. In Carling-wark-Loch, in Kirkcudbright stewartry, there were found, when it was drained, several canoes, which appear to have been hollowed, in the manner of the American Indians. Ib. v. viii. p. 306. In Loch-winnoch, in Renfrewshire, there have been discovered several canoes, which appear to have been formed, in a rude manner, out of single trees, like the American canoes. Ib. v. xv. p. 68. The greatest of all the canoes, which were thus discovered, in North-Britain, was that, which was found, in 1726, near the influx of the Carron into the Forth; and was buried fifteen feet in the south bank of the Forth: it was thirty-six feet long, four feet broad, in the middle, four feet four inches deep, four inches thick in the sides; and it was all of one piece of solid oak, sharp at the stem, and broad at the stern: this canoe was finely polished, being perfectly smooth within, and without; the wood was of an extraordinary hardness, and had not one knot, in the whole block. Reliquiæ Galeanæ, p. 241-2; Hutch. Cumber. v. i. p. 12.

(*l*) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. iii.; De Bel. Civ. l. i. Lucan, l. iv.

(*m*) Ch. 35.

(*n*) Stillingfleet's Orig. Brit. pref. p. lxi.

(*o*) That celebrated poet flourished, in the fourth century, under Theodosius, and his sons.

undoubtedly

undoubtedly rude; it was strong by nature; and its various hills were fortified, with great discrimination, and by a singular sort of untutored policy. The people, who were constitutionally brave, had been long occupied with domestic war. Their arms were sufficiently powerful, for enabling intrepid men, to resist intruders of less skill, and courage, and experience, than the Roman legions. And above all, though the Northern Britons were disunited by principle, and habit, they were actuated by a strong sense of national independence, which prompted their vigorous spirits to defend their land, their religion, and their women, with obstinate resolution, against unprovoked invaders.

CHAP. III.

Of Agricola's Campaigns.

WE have now surveyed the region, and seen the people, whom Agricola was destined to defeat, rather than subdue, after a braver struggle, than his foresight could have, easily, supposed: but, their country was strong from nature, and the mountain tops were all fortified by art; as we know, from the remains; and as we have already perceived, from research. One hundred and thirty-five years had elapsed, since the Romans, under the conduct of J. Cæsar, first invaded the southern shores of our island: and the disappointments of that great commander discouraged the repetition of such expeditions, for upwards of a century. The invasion, and conquest, of Britain, were at length undertaken, by some of the ablest officers of Rome. But, opposed by the strength of the island, and the bravery of the people, their success was not equal to their expectations, and their efforts. In this alternate state of hope, and disappointment, Agricola assumed the government of a country, wherein he had learned the art of war, under the most experienced commanders.

It was, in the year 78 of our common æra, that Agricola undertook his command, in Britain, by displaying his address, as a statesman, and evincing his skill, as a soldier. In the memorable year 79, by the exercise of both those qualities, he appears to have been chiefly employed, in subduing, and civilizing Lancashire. After all those necessary measures of precaution, he set out, at the age of forty, in the year 80, from Mancunium, the Manchester of the present times, to penetrate into the north, along the western coast (*a*). Unknown nations were now discovered, by the perseverance of the Roman troops;

(*a*) The late Dr. Robertson has, mistakingly, fixed this date, in A.D. 81. But, the critical Tillemont, in his *Histoire des Empereurs*, tom. ii. p. 32—39; the intelligent Horseley, in his *Romana*, p. 46; the learned Whitaker, in his *Hist. Manch.* 8vo ed. v. i. p. 43; all concur in proving, that Agricola assumed the command of Britain, in 78, and entered North-Britain, in 80. In this manner, by searching out certainties, may be, satisfactorily, settled the fancied uncertainties of the ancient history of North-Britain. That Agricola entered North Britain, by marching along the *west coast*, and not the *east*, is equally certain. See Horseley's *Romana*, p. 43.

and they are said to have pushed their ravages, in this third campaign, as far as the *Tau* (b).

In his fourth campaign, during the year 81, Agricola, if we may believe Tacitus, explored, and overran the mountainous region, extending from the Solway to the friths of Cluyd, and Forth, which flow so far into the country, as to leave only a narrow isthmus to be fortified. Much skill, and labour, and time, were employed, in trying to effectuate the difficult enterprize of removing “the remaining enemies, as it were, into another island (c).”

Yet, much remained to be done, before the power of the Caledonians could be effectually broken, and the Roman conquests could be sufficiently secured. In his fifth campaign, during the year 82, Agricola, meditating further conquests, thought it prudent, as an officer, to inspect the country, and to subdue the tribes, who, on his marching beyond the Forth, would have been, from their western positions, in his rearward. With those views, he invaded “that part of Britain, which is opposite to Ireland,” the whole extent of Galloway (d). As he resolved to carry on his operations, both by land, and sea, he probably sailed from Kilbride-loch, in Cumberland; and landed in the country of the Selgovæ, within the *loch*, near Brow, at the Locher-mouth, which here forms a natural

(b) Tacitus, who wrote the life of Agricola, at the end of seventeen years, after the events, which he relates, as he affected brevity, has left much obscurity to be cleared, and some contradictions to be reconciled. It is incredible, that the Roman legionaries, who were so vigorously opposed, during their sixth campaign, in the very strong country, which lies between the Forth, and the Tay, could have crossed so many waters, and mountains, subdued so many strengths, and penetrated to the river, which is so well known, at present, by the name of *Tay*. It is certain, however, amid so much uncertainty, that the word *Tau* signified any thing spread out, any extended water, an estuary, in the language of those Britons, who accompanied Agricola into the North. Comparing this circumstance with the context, it will appear sufficiently obvious, that the Romans carried their ravages, in their third campaign, to the Solway Frith, which answers remarkably to the plain meaning of the British *Tau*; as Tacitus, indeed, informs us: “Vastatis usque ad *Taum* (æstuario nomen est) rationibus.” If the distance, from Manchester to the Solway, be attended to; if the strength of the intervening country be considered; it will appear to military men, to have been an exploit of sufficient celebrity to have carried his arms, through Lancashire, Westmoreland, and Cumberland, to the Solway, in one summer’s march, occupied, as we are told Agricola was, with securing the country, as he proceeded, by fortifying his posts. Agric. xxii. But, they had strengths to conquer. The high, and strong grounds, which separate South, and North-Britain, seem, at all times, within the period of history, to have formed the boundaries of nations. In the age of Agricola, the Selgovæ, the Gadeni, and the Ottadeni, appear to have regarded those heights, as their boundaries, that they were studious to strengthen by art, if we may judge of their policy, from the many hill-forts, which may still be traced throughout their countries; and which could not have been taken, by the Roman armies, without many conflicts.

(c) Agric. xxiii.

(d) Agric. xxiv.

harbour.

harbour. But, he immediately found his march obstructed, by an impenetrable wood, and a vast marsh of many miles extent (*e*): yet, nothing could set bounds to Roman skill, and labour (*f*). And, marching along the shore, with his left to the estuary of Locher; and leaving Caerlaverock also on his left, he encamped against the Selgovæ town, the *Uxellum* of Ptolomy, and the Wardlaw of Pennant (*g*); while he sent out detachments to open the woods, and to form such roads, as the urgency of the war required. We here see, for the first time, a Roman camp, directly, opposed to a British hill-fort. We shall perceive this interesting fact more frequently, as we proceed. And, from the frequency of this hostile opposition of encampments against fortresses, we may infer, that the Roman invaders found much obstruction, in their progress, from the British strengths. This post of *Uxellum* on the Wardlaw, seems to have been retained by the Romans, during the age of the Antonines, while Ptolomy flourished. Agricola, having removed every obstruction, which arose either from art, or nature, probably passed the Nith, near Dumfries, where he may have been assisted by his ships; and where Roman remains have been found (*h*). He now turned to the left; and marching, in a south-west direction, into Kirkgunzeon, left in his route traces of his operations, which may still be perceived in the vestiges of the Roman camps, within that district (*i*). A march of five miles would have carried him thence to the Moat of Urr, on the west margin of the river Urr, where there are the remains of a British hill-fort, and near it the vestiges of a Roman encampment (*k*). Another march of ten miles and

(*e*) See the *Locher-moss*, in Crawford's map of Drumfries-shire.

(*f*) There is reason to believe, that Agricola opened a passage through the whole extent of that wood: the trees, which were then cut down, have been recently found, five feet below the moss; and a causeway, that had been formed of trees, on that occasion, probably, has also been discovered, six feet below the Locher-moss: Several Roman utensils have also been dug up, in this moss. Pennant's Tour iii. p. 88—94; Stat. Account, v. i. p. 160.

(*g*) Tour, v. iii. p. 95, and Richard's map, which shows the mistake of Roy, in placing *Uxellum*, at Castle-Over, in the upper end of Eskdale. The Wardlaw hill agrees well enough, though it be not extremely high, with the British word *Uchel*, signifying a height. On the summit of Wardlaw hill, there are the remains of a British hill-fort, of a circular form, which was surrounded by two ditches. Id. On the south side of this ancient strength of the Selgovæ, there are the remains of a Roman camp. From the Wardlaw-hill, which seems to have acquired a modern name, from its recent use, there is a vast prospect of the Solway Frith, of the mouth of the Nith, and a long extent of the Galloway hills. Id. King's Munimenta Antiq. v. i. p. 28; Stat. Account, v. vi. p. 31.

(*h*) Stat. Account, vo. v. p. 142.

(*i*) Ib. v. vii. p. 193.

(*k*) On the estate of Mr. Maxwell of Munshes, about a mile and a half south-west from Urr-Moat, there were found, lately, several legionary spear heads, which appeared to be made of a very

and a half, in a south-west direction, brought his army, from the Urr, into the midst of several British forts, on the west side of the Dee: among these, may be traced the opposing remains of several Roman camps (*l*). On the farm of Little Sypland, there is a large British fort of a circular form, which is surrounded by a double rampart, and fosse; and somewhat more than a mile south south-west, from this ancient strength, near Whinny-Legate, there is a Roman camp of a square form: and from this, about a mile and a half, south south-west, there is another Roman camp of a similar kind, on the farm of Bombie: between these two Roman camps, there is a large British strength of an oval form, near Mickle Sypland (*m*). From Bombie, about three miles south south-west, near the old church of Dunrod, there is another Roman camp (*n*): and, in the intermediate country, there were several British strengths, which seem to mark the track of Agricola's route. Such, then, were the military posts, both of the invaders, and defenders of the Selgovæ country, which thus appears to have been strongly defended, on every side, during the march of Agricola, which brought him, at length, to the *Caerbantorigum* of Ptolomy, the Drummorie-Castle of modern maps.

hard kind of brass. Stat. Account, v. xi. p. 70. Of this country, the Romans remained long in possession. In the same vicinity, at the Mill of Buittle, there were found, some years ago, three Roman silver coins; one of Tiberius, one of Adrian, and one of Commodus. Id. About three miles, north-north-east of Urr-Moat, on the lands of Glenarm, there was discovered, in a cavern, on removing a quantity of stones, in a quarry, a Roman cinereal urn of a gravelly brown earth, six inches and a quarter in diameter, and five inches and a quarter in height; and it contained some black liquor, like tar. Other urns of the same kind were found along with it; but they were destroyed by the workmen. Account of the Antiq. Society of Scotland, p. ii. p. 55. This cavern appears thus to have been a Roman cemetery. In the year 1776, a piece of a Roman sword of fine brass, and a round pin of the same metal, were found in Carloch-Cairn, on a hill, in the lands of Chapelearn, about four and a half miles, west-south-west from Glenarm. Id.

(*l*) In the course of this route, there was dug out of the earth, near Gelston, a Roman urn; which had been nicely carved, and was full of reddish coloured ashes. Stat. Account v. viii. p. 305. In the Carlingwark-loch, there was raised from the bottom of the lake, in a mass of marl, a brass *pugio*, or dagger, which was twenty-two inches long, and plated with gold. Id.

(*m*) Between the Roman camps, at Whinny Ligate, and at Bombie, there are three British forts, one large fortress, and two smaller ones, which all derived much of their strength, from the eminences, on which they were placed. Stat. Account of Kirkcudbright, v. xi. p. 24, by the intelligent Dr. Muter; and the map prefixed to his account, with Ainslie's map of Kirkcudbright.

(*n*) A little more than half a mile west-south-west of this Roman camp, there is, on the summit of an eminence, a large British hill-fort, which is called Drummorie-Castle. About the same distance, north-east, on the farm of Milton, there is another British fort. There are also several other British posts, which strengthened several parts of this strong country. See the reverend Dr. Muter's Stat. Account of Kirkcudbright; and Ainslie's map of this shire.

The

The *Caerbantorigum* of the Egyptian geographer is placed by Roy, at Kirkcudbright town: it is fixed nearly on the same site, by Richard. The prefix *Caer*, in the name of this station, plainly intimates, that there had been a British *fortress* on its site, from which the name was borrowed, and to which was added, as usual, a Latin termination. Among the many forts of the Selgovæ, in this country, that which is now called Drummore castle, and is situated on an eminence, above Drummore, was the largest, the strongest, and the most important: and from its position, and structure, it seems to have been calculated, for a permanent strength, where the Selgovæ, no doubt, had a town (*a*). As there is, in the vicinity of this ancient strength, the remains of a Roman camp, there can be little doubt, whether this were the real position of the *Caerbantorigum* of Ptolomy, and of Richard, which, as we learn from both, was possessed by a Roman garrison, during the reigns of the Antonines. The many remains, that may still be traced, in the southern face of this great peninsula of Galloway, and the absence of remains, on its northern side, are circumstances, which seem to evince, with strong conviction, that Agricola entered the country, from the south of it, and not from the north, as is too often supposed.

The Romans, in order to invade the Novantes, must have crossed the Dee, to the westward. Their country seems not to have been so strongly fortified: neither are there found in it many Roman remains (*b*). The only Roman position, which can now be traced among the Novantes, is at Whithern, the *Lucophibia* of Ptolomy, the *Candida-Casa* of Bede (*c*). From the paucity of remains,

(*a*) This fortress is situated on an eminence, above Drummore; and commands an extensive prospect of the Solway frith, and the country along the side of it. It is surrounded by a rampart, and deep fosse, that remain pretty entire: near the base of the height, whereon it stands, there is a large well, which is now built up with stones; and which had supplied the place with water.

(*b*) A helmet of brass, which is supposed to be Roman, was found in a tumulus near the river Cree, in Galloway. Gordon's *Itin.* Sept. p. 172. A Roman *securis* of brass, five inches long, three inches broad, at the edge, and an inch broad at the opposite end, was found in the moss of Cree; which lies in the direct route, from the passage of this river, to Whithern. Account of the Society of Antiquaries of Scot. p. 74. The head of a Roman spear, which was made of brass, was also dug up, in Wigtonshire: it measured thirteen and a half inches in length, and was encrusted with verdigrease, when found. *Ib.* p. 115.

(*c*) Within a mile of the town of Whithern, there are the remains of a Roman camp, which, though much defaced, plainly evinces it to have been a *Castra Stativa*. Stat. Account of Whithern, by the Rev. Dr. Davidson, vol. xvi. p. 288. Other Roman remains are said, by the same intelligent writer, to have once existed, in this neighbourhood, where they cannot now be traced. *Ib.* v. xvii. p. 594. Roy, notwithstanding the hints of Richard, was probably misled, by Horsley, to place *Lucophibia* at Wigton, rather than at Whithern: and, Ainslie was so idle, as to copy his error. There are no Roman remains at Wigton. The *Lucophibia* of Ptolomy, Camden himself knew not, indeed, where to seek.

we may easily believe, that Agricola did not pursue the Novantes into the recesses of their country. It is much more probable, whatever Tacitus may intimate, that the Roman general, retracing his steps, to the eastward, forced his doubtful way, northward, through the mountainous country, till he fell in with the southwestern sources of the Clyde. His fleet, indeed, may have sailed round the Novantian promontory; have taken some towns on the Glottan shore; and may have met him, in the commodious estuary of the kindred Clyde. In this fifth campaign, however, he is said to have subdued several nations, who were till then unknown to the Roman officers (*d*).

In the summer of the sixth year of his command, Agricola extended his views to the countries, which lay to the northward of the Forth. He dreaded a general concert of the more remote tribes, who had hitherto been disunited by their principles, and hostile to each other, from their habits. He ordered his fleet to survey the coast, and to sound the harbours. And he learned from captives, that their countrymen had been greatly alarmed, at the sight of so new an object on their shores, when they reflected, that now they had no other hopes of safety, but in the efforts of despair. With all those designs, and knowing, that his route, by land, would be unsafe, from the vigilance, and strength, of the enemy, Agricola set out, from the fortified isthmus, in the

(*d*) Agric. xxiv. The brevity of Agricola's biographer has again given rise to some contest among antiquaries, with regard to the route, by which the Romans entered the country, that is opposite to Ireland. From the circumstance, which is emphatically mentioned by Tacitus, "that Agricola crossed over in the first ship," it has been supposed by some, that he passed the frith of Clyde, below Dunbarton, and invaded Kintyre, where Roman footsteps have not yet been traced. The fact is, that every part of the river Clyde, from Dunglas upwards, was, in those days, *fordable*: and, this important fact is established, by the well known circumstance, that the Romans, when they built the wall of Antonine, eight and fifty years afterwards, carried it as low down as Dunglas, with design, plainly, to prevent the tribes, from fording the Clyde into the Roman province, on the south-west. Horsley's Brit. Romana, plate 176, number 1; Watt's MS. Report on the fords of the Clyde. It is to be inferred, from the context of Tacitus, that Agricola did not command, in person, the Roman detachments, who fortified the Isthmus of Forth, and Clyde, during the year 81: if he had been present, he could have conducted his army into the hostile peninsula, opposite to Ireland, without crossing any river: but, that prudent commander, probably, remained, at some station, on the south of the *Tau*, whence he collected informations, and issued his orders: and, it was, therefore, the Solway frith, which *he was the first to cross, in a ship*, in order to subdue nations, that were till then unknown. This exposition, by obviating all difficulties, seems to reconcile Tacitus to himself, and to illustrate the real policy of Agricola, who was attended by his fleet; as we learn from his biographer. The Roman remains, which may still be traced, in Galloway, confirm this reasoning: for, they are found, in the south, from the Solway to the Dee; and not in the north, from the Dee to the Clyde.

summer

summer of A. D. 83, on his expedition beyond the Forth (*e*). He was, no doubt, induced, by the previous knowledge of his naval commander, to the most commodious passage of a frith, the shores of which are, in some places, near the Isthmus, very marshy, and, in others, very steep. And, turning to the right, he was probably directed by his purpose, by the minute information of his naval officers, and by the nature of the country, to the narrowest strait of the Forth, at Inchgarvey, where the frith is greatly contracted, by the projecting points of the opposite shores. He was here, no doubt, met by a part of his fleet, which would speedily waft him over this contracted part of the frith to the advancing point, in Fife, which is now known, by the appropriate name of the Northferry (*f*).

Agricola was now arrived among the Horestii. In the meantime, the Caledonian Britons commenced offensive operations, from the higher country, by attacking the strengths on the Isthmus, which Agricola had left behind him, without adequate defence. By thus *daring to act offensively*, they are said to have inspired terror. The general was advised by those officers, who disguised their timidity under the mask of prudence, to retreat from this hostile land, by recrossing the Forth, rather than to be driven out, by the force of the enemy. But, he was too firm to be moved, by such insidious advice. And, being informed, that the tribes intended to attack him on all sides, in a country, with which he was unacquainted, he disposed his army into three divisions. He

(*e*) Agric. xxv. With all his brevity, Tacitus has given many circumstances, in respect to Agricola's campaign of the year 83, which shows distinctly the site of his operations: 1. The country *beyond the Forth* was his great object; 2. The roads were supposed to be rendered unsafe, by the enemies army; 3. He was induced, partly by this circumstance, to make use of the assistance of his fleet, which he caused to survey the Forth; and which pushed on the war by land, and sea: the cavalry, infantry, and marines, were frequently mixed together, in the same camp. 4. From the combination of all those circumstances, which are distinctly stated, by the son-in-law of Agricola, it is apparent, that the Roman general crossed the Forth, by means of his ships, which had first explored the several shores: and the additional intimation of the advice given to the general, by some officers, in consequence of an *offensive attack* of the enemy, "that he should *retreat on this side the Forth*," carries the strongest probability, arising from the previous circumstance, up to undoubted certainty, that the Roman army carried on their operations in FIFE, during the year 83. Add to all those circumstances, that there are the remains of a strength near Dunearn hill, adjoining to Burntisland, which are to this day, called *Agricola's Camp*. Stat Account, v. ii. p. 429. This intimation makes it probable, that the Roman fleet may have here found a harbour, while it explored the frith.

(*f*) See Stobie's map of Perth, and Ainslie's map of Fife, for this inviting contraction of the frith. Sir R. Sibbald, who had accurately surveyed Fife, fixes on the same ferry, as the place, where Agricola must have passed the Forth.

probably

probably marched towards Carnock, a little to the left, at no great distance, where there are still to be traced two military stations, which, in the names of two farms, are still known, by the significant appellations of East Camp, and West Camp (*g*). Unacquainted as the general was with the country, he pushed forward the ninth legion, which was weak, from former engagements, to Loch-Ore, about two miles southward from Loch-Leven, with two ranges of hills in front; the Cleish range, on their left; and Binnarty hill, on their right. At this position, the Romans pitched their camp, the remains of which are still apparent to the eager eyes of antiquaries (*h*). In the meantime, one of the three divisions of Agricola's army may have defiled to the right, and, with the marines from the fleet, may have encamped near Dunairn hill (*i*). During the night, the Horestii made a vigorous attack on the Roman entrenchments, at Loch-Ore. They were already within the camp, when Agricola, being informed of their march, hastened forward the lightest of his troops, to attack the rear of the assailants. A furious engagement was now maintained, in the gates of the

(*g*) See Ainslie's map of Fife; and the Stat. Account of the parish of Carnock, v. xi. p. 497. Those camps are not seven miles from the shore of the Forth: they stand on a pleasant bank, which gives them an extensive prospect of the frith, and the intervenient country. It is apparent, then, that Agricola could, from this eminence, at once see, and communicate with his fleet. Upon *Car-neil* hill, near Carnock, the Horestii appear to have had a strength; as we might learn from the prefix of the name; the *Caer* of the British, signifying a fort. The Romans probably took this strength by assault; as, in 1774, upon opening some tumuli upon Carneil hill, several urns were found, containing many Roman coins. Id. From Carnock, northward, a mile and a half, the Horestii had another strength, on Craigluscar-hill, which the minister of Carnock supposed to have been a camp of the Romans. Id. The minister of Dumfermling more truly calls this a Pictish camp. Ib. v. xiii p. 453. From Carnock, three miles north-north-west, there is another British strength, on the summit of Saline hill. Stat. Account, v. xiii. p. 453. And there was a similar camp of the Britons, at no great distance, below. Ib. v. x. p. 312. These several fortresses of the Horestii were, no doubt, taken by the legions of Agricola, in the campaign of 83 A. D.

(*h*) This camp is situated on the north side of Loch-Ore, less than half a mile south-west from Loch-Ore house, in the parish of Ballingry, in Fife. Its form is nearly square. In some places it is levelled, and defaced; but on the north, and west sides, there still exist three rows of ditches, and as many ramparts of earth and stone. The total circumference of it is about 2020 feet. On the side towards the loch, there is a round turret, analogous to those at the Roman camp, on Burnswark hill. Gordon's Itin. p. 36; Stat. Account, v. vii. p. 315; and Ainslie's map of Fife. Sibbald says, indeed, that the ninth legion was attacked in the Roman camp, at Loch-Ore. Hist. Inquiries, p. 37. In a moss, near Portmoak, there were dug up the heads of Roman lances, and javelins, which were made of fine hardened brass. Ib. 38.

(*i*) This hill is only a mile distant from Burntisland, where there is the best harbour in the Forth; and where the Romans had a naval station till the late period of their departure. Sibbald's Rom. Forts, p. 5—15; Stat. Account, v. ii. p. 424—6. On Dunairn hill, there was a British fort of great strength, which soon yielded to the Roman art. Ib. 429.

camp.

camp. But, the Britons were repulsed, though not discouraged: they attributed their repulse, not so much to the superior bravery of their adversaries, as to the skill of the commander, and the accidents of war. They magnanimously resolved to defend the last defile of their country. They sent their wives, and children, into places of safety (*k*); they armed their youth: and, they ratified the confederacy of the tribes, in their solemn assemblies, by public sacrifices. This is the first occasion, on which we hear of the union of the Caledonian tribes. We may judge of the pressure of the moment, and the fortitude of the clans, which could unite so many people, whose ruling passion was independence on each other.

The Romans, on their part, were elated with their victory; they cried out, that no force could resist their valour; that now was the time to penetrate into the recesses of Caledonia. Agricola resolved to gratify their ardour; as it promoted his own designs: and he immediately proceeded to subdue the Horestii, who do not appear, in the pages of Tacitus, to have made much resistance, after that decisive blow. In these operations, he spent the remainder of A. D. 83: and the beginning of the subsequent year, he occupied, in procuring information of the enemies motions (*l*).

Excited thus, and instructed, Agricola marched from Fife, the hostile land of the Horestii, in the summer of 84, with an army equipped for expedition, to which he added those Britons, whom he had brought with him from the south, as useful auxiliaries. He in the mean time dispatched his fleet around the coast, with design to spread distraction. He was probably directed in his route, by the natural positions of the country, as it was shown to his intelligent eyes, by the course of the Devon: he turned to the right, from Glen-devon,

(*k*) In those times, the British tribes had on every hill-top a fastness of considerable strength; as we know from their remains.

(*l*) It is perfectly obvious, from the narrative of Tacitus, that Agricola passed the winter of the year 83, in Fife, where he was readily supplied with provisions by his fleet; and whence he easily corresponded with his garrisons on the southern side of the Forth. Besides the Roman works, which have been noticed, there are the remains of others, that may still be traced along the frith. At Halyards, also, in the parish of Tullybole, there is a Roman encampment, which would merely hold a detachment. Stat. Account, v. xviii. p. 470. In the parish of Tillycoultry, there is said to have been a Roman station, on the north end of the Cuningar hill. Ib. v. xv. p. 214. There appears to have been an advanced camp at Ardargie, the *height of warriors*, among the Ochil hills, above the river May; and it is still remembered, as a Roman work. Ib. v. iii. p. 309. And see Stobie's map of Perth. Many circumstances, with regard to this campaign, seem to have been unknown to Roy, who combats the opinion of Gordon, without denying his facts. See also Sir R. Sibbald's Account of the Forts, Colonies, and Castles of the Romans, between the Forth and Tay, 1711, throughout.

through

through the opening of the Ochil hills, along the course of the rivulet, which forms Glen-eagles; leaving the Braes of Ogilvie, on his left. He now passed between Blackford, and Auchterarder, towards the Grampian hill, which he saw, at a distance before him, as he defiled from the Ochils (*m*). An easy march soon carried him to the moor of Ardoch, and to the presence of the Caledonians, within the district of the Damnii. He found the Caledonians already encamped, at the Grampian mountain, to the number of thirty thousand, under the command of Galgacus, a general, who appears to have merited the celebration of Tacitus. An obstinate battle ensued, which was at length decided, in favour of the Romans; not so much by greater valour, as by superior skill, and better weapons. Night put an end to a well fought engagement (*o*). The Caledonian

(*m*) In the parish of Blackford, there is a small camp, on an eminence, fronting Gleneagles, about five miles east from Ardoch. Stat. Account, v. iii. p. 310. In Auchterarder parish, opposite to it, there are some traces of encampments, on the east of that village, at the foot of the Ochils: a coin of the Emperor Vespasian was here found, in digging the foundation of the church. Stat. Account, v. iv. p. 44.

(*o*) The site of this famous battle has been sought for, in vain, by antiquaries. All that can be done, for the acquirement of certainty, is to adjust circumstances. Having sent round his fleet, to spread terror, he marched with an army equipped for expedition, *expedito exercitu*; and he arrived, without any obstruction, that we hear of, as his route lay through the country of the subdued Horestii, *ad montem Grampium*, the *Gran-pen* of the Britons, signifying in their language, the head, or chief ridge, or ledge. As his fleet no longer co-operated with him; as he was lightly equipped; he could not carry much supply of provision with him. From his scouts, he probably knew, that the enemy were encamped, at no great distance from him, a circumstance, which the text seems to suppose. As he marched through the pass of the Ochil hills, along the natural track of the modern road, he saw the Grampian mountain, beyond the intervenient valley, before him: and, he also saw the ground, whereon he could conveniently encamp. He took his station, at the great camp, which adjoins the fort of Ardoch, on the northward. See this interesting spot, in Roy's Mil. Antiq. pl. 10; and Stobie's map of Perth. From this camp, Agricola drew out his army, as Tacitus informs us, on the neighbouring moor, whereon Gordon saw a vast large ditch, which might be traced for above two miles. The Caledonians came down from the declivity of the Grampian, which begins to rise from the north-western border of the moor. "On the hill, above the moor," says Gordon, "are two great heaps of stones; the one called *Carnwochel*; the other *Carnlee*: in the former, the quantity of stones exceeds belief; and I found, by mensuration, the whole heap to be about 182 feet in length, 30 in sloping height, and 45 in breadth, at the bottom." Itin. Septen. p. 42. These two cairns are the British monuments of the Caledonians, who fell in this celebrated conflict. Every circumstance concurs to evince, that this moor was the bloody scene, where so many Caledonians perished, for their country's freedom. Here, there was room enough for the combatants, who were not so many as Tacitus states: there was not a district, in North-Britain, during that age, which could have fed 30,000 persons, for one day: it is not easy to tell how Agricola could have found supplies for his army, if it had been less in numbers, than is generally supposed, from the intimations of Tacitus. The camp is allowed, by competent judges,

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Caledonian Britons retired to the most distant recesses of their impervious country. Agricola led his army back to the confines of the Horestii, on the track of his former route. And, having taken hostages from them, he slowly conducted his troops, through the conquered tribes, into winter quarters, on the south of the friths; perhaps on the south of the Tine, and Solway. He, meanwhile, ordered the command of the Roman navy, who probably met him in the Forth, to sail round the island on a voyage of discovery, and with the design of intimidation. This voyage was happily accomplished, by the return of the fleet *ad portum Trutulensem*, or Richborough, before the approach of winter, when it returned to the Forth. With these remarkable events ended the campaigns of Agricola, in North-Britain.

The news of those exploits, however modestly stated, gave apparent joy to the Emperor Domitian; but inspired him, at the same time, with real envy. And, Agricola was recalled from Britain, in the year 85, under the pretence of promotion, which was rather declined by that great officer, than seriously

to have been sufficient for such an army, whatever may have been its numbers. The vast cairns are British monuments of some great conflict here: the name of *Victoria*, which the Romans afterwards gave to their station on the Ruchel, near Comrie, in this vicinity, is a significant memorial of their decisive victory. Gordon was so idle as to place the site of the battle at the station of *Victoria*. Pennant was so ill informed, as to confute Gordon's position upon mistaken principles: And, Pennant supposed, that the scene of action must be near the sea, where the fleet could co-operate: but, the plan of the campaign only admitted of general co-operation. If the Roman fleet came into the Tay, it performed all, which was expected from it; and Agricola, at the close of the campaign, communicated with his fleet, either in the Tay, or in the Forth. Pennant had attended so little to the intimations of Tacitus, as to suppose, that the attack on the ninth legion, in the preceding year, was at the station of *Victoria*. Tour, 1772, p. 96: but, we have already seen, that the whole operations of the preceding campaign were in Fife. There is no evidence, that Agricola ever reached the Tay: the *Tau* of Tacitus was the Solway frith of modern maps. Maitland, who was the first antiquary, who traced Roman roads, and Roman camps, beyond the Tay, was also the first, who pointed to Urie hill, as the appropriate site of the battle of *Mons Grampius*. In his loose conjectures, he was copied by Lord Buchan. And Roy followed both, who, in giving an account of the campaigns of Agricola, is always supposing what cannot be allowed, and what he cannot prove. There is a thread of sophistry, which, as it runs through the reasonings of all those writers, on this point, it is time to cut, for the sake of truth. They presume, that Agricola was the only Roman officer, who made roads, or constructed camps, in North-Britain; and that Lollius Urbicus, and the Emperor Severus, never appeared on that arduous theatre of war. It has, indeed, been suggested to me by a friend, the late Colonel Shand of the artillery, for whose opinion I have a great respect, that the camp at *the Findochs*, in the parish of Monzie, on the Amon river, in Perthshire is very likely to have been the site of the battle of the Grampian. Stat. Account, v. xv. p. 256—7. But, the weight of circumstantial evidence appears to my deliberate judgment to be far stronger, in favour of the moor of Ardoch, which contains many more interesting remains, both British, and Roman.

offered by his unfeeling master. Agricola died, probably, from the effects of chagrin, on the 23d of August 93, celebrated by his friends, and lamented by his countrymen, whose grief attests his worth. The silence of history, which intimates, that there were no events to record, during five and thirty years, after the recal of Agricola, evinces the wisdom of his measures, as a statesman, and shews the extent of his victories, as a general (p).

(p) The foregoing sketch of the campaigns of Agricola was drawn up from his life by Tacitus. Considerable assistance was derived, also, from the learned notes, of the elaborate Tillemont. *Histoire*, 2d tom. 475—6. Truth obliges me to notice the mistakes of Horsley, *Brit. Romana*, p. 39, 40. Most of the writers upon that period, by attributing every Roman labour to Agricola, have only obscured the splendour of his conduct. The late General Roy has debased his curious work, on the *Military Antiquities of the Romans in North-Britain*, by ascribing every road, and every rampart, the vestiges whereof are still to be traced, in that country, to Agricola, as if neither Lollius Urbicus, nor the Emperor Severus, had led armies into the northern parts of Britain, in after times. I do not observe, that any monumental stone has preserved the name of Agricola, who is nevertheless recollected, and admired, without the aid of such perishable notices. The late M. de la Rochette, who was a French engineer, that had inspected the Roman camps, in Scotland, observing the mistakes of Roy, had prepared materials, for writing an account of Agricola's campaigns; as Mr. Faden, the King's geographer, informs me. I endeavoured in vain to secure the papers of M. de la Rochette, before his death.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Transactions of Lollius Urbicus.

WHEN Agricola was recalled, by the envy of Domitian, in the year 85, victory had declared, in favour of Roman discipline, at the foot of the Grampian mountains. The long silence of history shews, with sufficient clearness, that the Caledonian Britons had felt the Roman hostility, and that they had, at length, dreaded the Roman power (*a*). The British tribes derived confidence, during Adrian's war with the Jews, from the recal of some of the Roman troops, with some of the best officers, in the Roman armies (*b*). They were provoked to turbulence, by the misrule of proprætors. The Emperor Adrian, who derived much of his celebrity, from inspecting, with a judicious eye, every part of the empire, came into Britain; corrected many abuses; and, in the year 120, built a wall from the Tine to the Solway; a rampart, which has, in every age, been a monument of his power, and a memorial of his circumspection (*c*). The antiquaries, in their inattention, have supposed, that Adrian meant, by this work, to relinquish the large extent of country, from his wall to the northern friths. But, their conjecture was made in opposition to the fact, and is, in itself, inconsistent with probability. That several stations remained, on the north of the wall, is a truth, which we know, from the discovery of inscriptions: and his policy seems only to have intended to provide an additional security, for the more southern provinces, against the insurrections of the Ottadini, and Gadeni, and the ravages of the Selgovæ, and Novantes; who having neither domestic tumult, nor distant devastation, to occupy them, were

(*a*) From the departure of Agricola, in 85, for thirty years, the Roman historians took, scarcely, any notice of the affairs of Britain. Horsley supposes, from a loose expression of Tacitus, a querulous historian, that the Romans lost much of their conquests here, during that period. Chron. Sub. An. 86. But, the silence of history conveys a quite contrary inference.

(*b*) Horsley's Brit. Rom. p. 49; Tillemont Hist. Des Emper. tom ii. p. 287.

(*c*) Horsley, p. 50. Spartian is the ancient historian, who is quoted for the facts. Scrip. Hist. Aug. p. 51. And see Warburton's *Vallum Romanum*, with his map; which show, from an actual survey, the track of Adrian's *Vallum*, with Severus's wall.

neither restrained, nor overawed, by the stations of Agricola, on the Isthmus, between the Clyde, and Forth (*i*).

Antonine assumed the purple, on the death of Adrian, the 10th of July 138, A.D. Among a thousand other good qualities, the new emperor was remarkable, for appointing to the government of the Roman provinces, the fittest officers: nor, could he have chosen, for the rule of Britain, a more proper officer, than Lollius Urbicus, a man, who possessed talents for peace, as well as a genius for war. His most early attention was drawn to the Brigantes, who, having raised a revolt, were again reduced to order by him, in 139, A.D. He marched northward, in the subsequent year, to the Friths; and tranquillized the tribes, beyond them. There is cause for believing, that this great officer carried his arms from the Forth to the Varar; and settled stations, in the intermediate country; throwing the whole of that extensive country into the regular form of a Roman province. Antonine, in the meantime, with the beneficent spirit of his character, extended the right of Roman citizenship over the whole Roman empire (*k*): From this epoch, every inhabitant of North-Britain, who resided along the east coast, from the Tweed to the Murray Frith, might have claimed, like St. Paul, every privilege, which peculiarly belonged to a Roman citizen. But, the Caledonian tribes, probably, paid little regard to such privileges, while there remained among them indelible marks of subjection, which humbled their pride of independence, as well as incited their hatred of submission.

Whatever may have been thought, during the infancy of our archæology, there can be now no doubt, that the earthen rampart, the vast ditch, and the military way, which conjointly extend, from Caer-riden, on the Forth, to Dunglas, and perhaps to Alclud, on the Clyde, were constructed, during the reign of Antoninus Pius, under the orders of Lollius Urbicus, his lieutenant (*l*).

The
(*i*) Horsley's Brit. Rom. 241-2; Whit. Manchest. 8vo ed. p. 259—60, who settles the point, with his usual acuteness, and ability: and Horsley, p. 51. The finding of a succession of coins, and medals, belonging to the intermediate Emperors, at the northern stations, is also a strong proof, that the Roman soldiers remained in them, during the period of that succession. Wood's Hist. of the Parish of Cramond, p. 4, 5.

(*k*) Ulpian Digest. Tit. *De Statu Hominum*.

(*l*) Capitolinus, who flourished, during the third century, was the first who intimated, that Antoninus Pius had built a wall, in Britain. Richard, who wrote, from classical informations, specifies the wall of Antonine to have extended from the Forth to the Clyde. And Bede, who appears to have possessed local knowledge, mentions the actual commencement, and termination of Antonine's wall. Yet, Buchanan did not live long enough to be acquainted with those curious truths. It was the discovery of one inscription, which enabled Camden to have a single glimpse

The second legion, detachments from the sixth, and twentieth, legions, with some auxiliaries, are recorded, in monumental stone, to have performed those military works, which are equally demonstrative of their skill, and creditable to their perseverance (*m*): The length of their labours, from old Kirkpatrick, on the Clyde to Caerriden, on the Forth, is thirty-nine thousand, seven hundred, and twenty-six Roman paces, which agree, nearly, with the modern measurement of thirty-six English miles, and six hundred and twenty yards (*n*).

This glimpse of the fact. The successive discoveries of many monumental stones, by digging up the foundation of the wall, have shown to all intelligent men the whole circumstances, of the time, when that singular fence was made, and by whom. Those stones may be considered, as so many records. The University of Glasgow, by engraving the great collection of stone-monuments, which have been deposited, in their library, and which often mention the titles of Antoninus, and once the name of Lollius Urbicus, have, liberally, furnished exemplifications of those records. I owe to that learned body my acknowledgments for the favor of a copy of those exemplifications. Timothy Pont first had the learned curiosity to inspect the remains of Antonine's wall, during the age of Camden. See Extracts from his Survey of this *Prætentura*, in Gibson's Camden, 1695, p. 958-9. Sir Robert Sibbald followed his example, at the distance of a century. Gordon, the Tourist, made a personal survey of the same work, about the year 1725. Horsley soon followed his track of inquiry, and mensuration, but with a more vigorous spirit, and more careful steps. And, Roy, a professed engineer, with as much curiosity, as either, and more science than both of them, made similar inquiries, and mensurations, in 1755, when the remains were unfortunately more faint. Owing to all those inquiries, the *Prætentura* of Antoninus Pius has ceased to be an object of antiquarian research; and now engages, merely, historical attention. Whoever wishes to know every particular, with regard to objects, which are altogether worthy of a rational curiosity, must read Horsley's *Britannia Romana*, l. i. ch. x. and study Roy's *Military Antiquities*, § 3. From their curious informations, it will appear that, this *Prætentura* consisted of a vast ditch, on the outward, which was, generally, about twenty feet deep, and forty feet wide; and which there is some cause for believing, might have been filled with water, as occasion required; 2dly, of a rampart, within the ditch, which was upwards of twenty feet high, and four-and-twenty feet thick, composed of earth, on a stone foundation; and this ditch, and rampart, were strengthened at both the extremities, and throughout its whole extent, by one-and-twenty forts; there being one station, at each extremity of it, and one at the end of every two miles, nearly; 3dly, of a military road, which, as a necessary appendage, coursed within the rampart, from end to end, for the necessary use of the Roman troops, and the usual communication between so many stations.

(*m*) Horsley's *Brit. Romana*, l. i. ch. x.

(*n*) Roy's *Military Antiquities*, p. 164: It herein appears, also, that the mean distance, from station to station, of the nineteen forts, along the course of the wall, is 3554½ yards, or something more than two English miles: Horsley, as above, had pointed out this curious intimation before him; and has acutely shown that, the stations, on the wall, were designedly placed on the previous fortifications of Agricola. Horsley has also remarked a curious fact, which tends to support the reasonings, in the text, that the fortified stations on Antonine's wall were placed more nearly to each other, than the military posts on Severus's wall. There are nineteen stations along the course of Antonine's *Prætentura*, exclusive of the fortified posts at Caer-riden, and at Dunglas, a mile and three quarters.

This rampart, this vast ditch, and this military road, which accompanied both, in the rearward, were constructed, in the year 140, along the course of the stations, which had been established, in A.D. 81, by the judicious policy of Agricola (o). At Dunglas, near the western extremity of this memorable fence, the Romans found a commodious harbour for their shipping, such as they likewise may have possessed at Blackness, near the eastern extremity of the same strength, and such as they certainly enjoyed, while they remained, in Britain, at Cramond (p).

In the popular language of the country, the wall of Antonine is called *Grime's-Dyke*. Roy was so idle, as to adopt from Gordon, the tourist, the

quarters beyond Old Kirkpatrick. The military road went on to Dunglas, and may have proceeded even to Alclud: the obvious reason, for carrying the *Prætentura* so low down, on the Frith, was plainly to cover the fords of the Clyde. At Old Kirkpatrick, where the modern opinions place the western termination of the wall, the Clyde was quite shallow, throughout its whole breadth, which is about a quarter of a mile. Pennant's Tour, v. iii. p. 140. Lower down, between Dunglas, and Dumbarton, there was the ford of Dumbuck, stretching across the river, which, when it was surveyed by Mr. Watt, in 1769, "had only *two feet depth of water*, at ebb-tide; and this shoal had "only three feet depth of water, for an extent of six hundred yards, up and down the Clyde, at this "place." MS. Report. The state of the river was not probably much different, during the first century: and, this circumstance must have dictated to the Roman officers the policy of covering those fords, where the Caledonian people might have easily passed into Valentia. From these considerations, it is apparent, that they must have carried their posts, and their military road, to Dumbarton, the *Theodosia* of Richard. Bede, and Nennius, seem to have given the Roman *Prætentura* this full extent. Camden concurred in this, by placing the wall between Abercorn, and Dunbarton. Brit. ed. 1586, p. 481. But, from their several ages, the remains were continually disappearing before the eye of curiosity. Nevertheless, sufficient remained to enable the intelligent Dr. Irvine, who was appointed historiographer royal, in 1686, to trace the several forts, very distinctly: Sir Robert Sibbald, in giving his account of this wall, says, "The west part of it, "from Dunbarton to Falkirk, was accurately traced by Dr. Irvine, who told me *he had several "times travelled along it*. The forts, he observed upon the track of it, *as I found them, in his "papers*, are these, with the distances of each set down: (1.) At Dunbarton, a great fort; " (2.) The castle, half a mile from it; (3) A mile thence, at the foot of Dumbuck hill, a fort; " (4.) A mile thence, at Dunglas, a fort; (5.) A mile thence to Chapel hill above the town of "Kirkpatrick, a fort:" and so, he proceeds with other nineteen forts, along the course of this *Prætentura*, which have since been surveyed, by Gordon, Horsley, and Roy. Roman Antiq. p. 28-9. The great defect of all these, in reasoning about the extent of the wall of Antonine, seems to be, that they did not attend to the ancient shallowness of the Clyde, and to the great object of the Roman policy. The Roman fleet, says Pennant, probably, had its station under Dunbarton, where there is sufficient depth of water; and the place was convenient, and secure: the water beyond [above] is impassable, for *any vessels of large burden*. Tour, v. iii. p. 141.

(o) Horsley Rom. 52: and see his plate, Scotland, N° xxv, for an inscription, showing that, Antonine's wall was constructed, in A.D. 140.

(p) Roy's Mil. Antiq. p. 164.

tradition

tradition of *Grime*, and his Scots, breaking through the wall; and so credulous, as to suppose, “that from this circumstance, it might possibly have the name of *Grime's-Dyke* (*q*).” It has not yet been proved, that such a person ever existed, whatever such fablers, as Fordun, Boece, and Buchanan, may assert. The fact is, that there are several works of the same kind, in England, which bear the name of *Grime's-Dyke* (*r*). This significant appellation was, undoubtedly, imposed by the British people, who were long restrained, in their courses, by its opposing strength. In their speech, and in the Welsh language of the present day, *Grym* signifies strength; and hence, by a little deflexion, *Grym* came to signify any strength (*s*). The fact, then, and the etymology, concur to explode, for ever, the historical fiction, which has passed into popular story, and which speaks of *Grime*, and his followers, as having once been real characters, and as having, in some age, broke through the strong dyke of Antoninus Pius. The Roman territories, in Britain, had been now carried to their largest extent, and the Roman power to its greatest height: they had conducted *Iters*, from the rampart of Severus to the wall of Antonine, and from this fence to the *Ptoroton* of Richard, the Burgh-head of Murray; they had formed roads, throughout that extent of country; they had established stations, in the most commanding places, within the districts of *Valentia*, and *Vespasiana*: and, it may be of use, at this epoch, to investigate, with some attention, those several objects, which are so interesting to a rational inquiry, as well as so demonstrative of the Roman art.

As the wall of Antonine was obviously intended to overawe the tribes, who lived within it, as well as to repel the wild people, who ranged beyond its immediate scope; with the same policy, *iters* were settled, roads were constructed, and stations were fixed, to command the Caledonian clans, throughout the

(*q*) Roy's Mil. Antiq. 161.

(*r*) As to the appellation of *Grimes-dike*, says Warton, or the ditch made by magic, it is common to other works of the same sort; and indiscriminately applied to ancient trenches, roads, and boundaries, whether British, Roman, Saxon, or Danish: he then gives five examples of different places, which are called *Grimsdic*, *Grimesdike*, *Grimmesdic*, and *Grimesditch*. Warton's Kidding-ton, p. 54—6: there is also a *Grimesditch*, in Bucklow hundred, Cheshire. See Horsley's *Romana*, p. 173, which seems to relinquish all hope of being able to explain the origin of the name of *Grime's-dyke*: and, see what Hearne says, in his edition of *Newbridge*, v. iii. p. 756—60, with regard to the proper name being *Grume's ditch*; *Grumæ*, or *Gromæ*, he says, were boundaries of provinces: but, the intimation of Hearne is too refined, for the occasion.

(*s*) Davies, in voce *Grym*; *Gryme*, in Cornish, signifies *strong*. Borlase. *Grim*, in the Gaelic, means *war*, *battle*. Shaw's Dict. It is curious to remark, that Timothy Pont points pretty plainly to this natural derivation of this well known, but mistaken name. Blaeu's *Atlas Scotiae*, p. 87.

Roman.

Roman territories. Soon after the erection of the wall of Antonine, three *iters* appear to have traversed the provinces of Valentia, and Vespasiana. The ninth *iter* of Richard extended from Carlisle, to the northern wall, near Camelon; and from this strong fence to *Ptoroton* (*t*). The intelligent monk thus places his four stages, from Carlisle to the wall; from Luguballium to Trimontium; from Trimontium to Gadanica, the Colonia of Ptolomy; from Gadanica to Coria, the Coria Damniorum of Ptolomy; and from Coria to the wall; without being able, however, to assign the distance of any one of his journies (*u*). Richard's first stage, as we have seen, is from Luguballium to Trimontium: setting out from Carlisle, along the track of the Roman road, through Annandale, about twenty-three statute miles would carry the Roman armies to the station of Trimontium, on Burrenswark-hill (*x*). From Carlisle, the Roman armies were naturally carried along Annandale, on the eastern side of the Annan, past Moffat, where there were some large Roman encampments, at the

(*t*) Richard supposes, from the documents before him, that the distance, from Carlisle to the wall, was eighty miles: but the fact does not warrant his supposition: the shortest distance between his extreme points is ninety statute miles.

(*u*) The *Gadanica* of Richard's 9th *iter*, is evidently a mistake, for *Colanica*, which is plainly the name, in his own map; and is the Colonia of Ptolomy's table, a town of the Damnii.

(*x*) A thousand circumstances fix the *Trimontium* on Burrenswark hill, the Selgovæ town, before Agricola placed a commanding garrison, near the site of this British fortress: this remarkable hill is situated, between the rivers Mein and Milk, on the east side of Annandale; and is exactly in the position, which the *Trimontium* occupies, in Richard's map: it was the site of the most important fortress, and also of the most eastern town of the Selgovæ. This hill commands a very extensive prospect of the surrounding country, comprehending Dumfries-shire, the east part of Galloway, nearly all Cumberland, and even part of Westmoreland: as it was also seen from afar, it seems to have early attracted the notice of the Romans, who appear to have set a high value on its commanding powers. The area, on the summit of this hill, was surrounded, in prior times, with a stone rampart, the remains whereof are still apparent, and evince, that the rampart had been constructed without mortar: and within this area, there also appear some vestiges of buildings, for the purpose of residence, or shelter, which are similar to those, in the British hill-forts, on Carby hill, in Roxburghshire, Caterthun, in Forfarshire, and in many others. There also remain, on this hill, some other vestiges of the British people; particularly, on the east side, there are the remains of a line of circumvallation, which appears to have surrounded the hill, at some distance below, from the circuitous trench on its summit. On the sides of this hill, the Romans constructed two different camps: one on the south side, which is an irregular oblong, three hundred yards long, and two hundred yards broad; having three gates, one in each end, and one in the south side: the other camp, on the north side of the hill, is an irregular oblong, three hundred yards long, and one hundred yards broad; having two gates, one in each side: both these camps are surrounded by two ramparts, having a fosse, between them; and they are connected by a large rampart of stone, and earth, which runs round the end of the hill. See Gordon's *Itin.* p. 16. pl. 1.; Pennant's *Tour*, v. iii.

the distance of nineteen statute miles, from Burrenswark-hill (y). The Iter must now, in its course north-eastward, have ascended Erickstane-brae; and passing this ridge, that separates Annandale from Clydesdale, it must have fallen in with the sources of the Clyde; and descending a little lower, it must have arrived at a Roman post, at Little Clyde, upon the track of the Roman road (z). This Roman post is about one-and-thirty miles, from Burrenswark-hill. And, it is more than probable, that this was the site of *Gadanica*, in the ninth Iter, the *Colanica* of Richard's map, and the *Colania* of Ptolomy, a town of the Damnii, which both concur, in placing on the south-eastern corner of their extensive territories. From this post, which corresponds so exactly with the Damnian town, on Little Clyde, the Iter must have proceeded, in a north-east direction, along the south-east side of Clydesdale to the remarkable turn, which the Clyde makes opposite to Biggar: from this position, it would naturally proceed, in a northerly course along the eastern side of the river to *Caer-stairs*, the *Coria* of the Iter, another town of the Damnii, which is four-and-twenty

p. 91.; 'Transact. of the Antiq. Soc. of Scotland, v. i. p. 125; and Roy's Mil. Antiq. p. 72. pl. xvi. and xxv. The Roman station, on Burrenswark-hill, must not be confounded with the station, which is nearly two miles and a half southward from it, on the north side of Mein-Water; and which, as it is near the hamlet of Burrens, is frequently called by that name. See Roy's pl. xxv. In order to suit a favourite, but mistaken etymology, General Roy has, in opposition to Ptolomy, and Richard, and in hostility to the Selgovæ, carried away the *Trimontium*, from its true site, where the ninth Iter calls for it, into the distant track of a different Iter. Stukeley, without much consideration, guessed Canoby to be the *Trimontium* of the ninth Iter: but, this position is much too near Luguballium; and is moreover out of the route of Richard's Itinerary, and design. Of this station, Horsely says: "*Trimontium*, according to Ptolomy, is not far from the estuary of Ituna, or Solway-Frith. I think," he adds, "the situation brings us near to Annan, or perhaps to *Burrenswark*, or Middleby, which I take to be the *Baltum Bulgium* of the Itinerary." Brit. Rom. p. 377. Maitland, amidst many mistakes, in the Roman topography of North-Britain, comes very near to the true position of *Trimontium*, by placing it on the Roman station, at Middleby, which, as we have seen, is little more than two miles south of Burrenswark-hill. Hist. Scot. v. i. p. 142.

(y) Stat. Acco. v. ii. p. 288. But, it is pretty certain, that neither of those camps were the station of Ptolomy's *Colania*, or Richard's *Gadanica*. Camden, who had not the help of Richard, placed *Colania*, at Coldingham, on the east coast, sixty miles, from the undoubted track of the ninth Iter. Maitland still more absurdly placed it at Cramond, on the Forth, which is at least seventy miles from *Trimontium*. Stukeley idly placed *Colania*, at Colechester, or Peebles: but, there is no such place here, as Colechester; and Peebles is almost fifty miles from Burrenswark-hill, without the range of the Iter.

(z) Roy 104. The minister of Crawford parish, wherein is this Roman post, mentions indeed the remains of three camps, which he considers, as Roman. Stat. Acco. v. iv. p. 514. But, the fact is, that only one of these is a Roman fort, as its *square form* attests: the other two are British strengths; as their round forms, and positions, on the summits of heights, demonstrate.

miles, from the Colania, on Little Clyde (*a*). At this place, is the Roman station of *Castle-dykes*, which, with many Roman remains, in its vicinity, attest, that here had been many transactions of that enterprizing people (*b*). Horseyley fancifully places *Coria*, at Kirkurd, in Peebles-shire; Maitland, who did not live to see Richard, absurdly supposes *Coria* to be near Stirling; Stukeley conjecturally places *Coria*, at Corsford, below Lanerk, out of the track of the *Iter*: and Roy, who had Richard before him, most mistakingly carries this *Iter*, which we have thus traced through Annandale, and Clydesdale, past Hawick, and the Eldon-hills, to *Currie*, on the Gore-water. Several of our acutest antiquaries have confounded *Coria*, a town of the *Damnii*, with *Curia*, a town of the *Gadeni*. From *Coria* this *Iter* proceeded *ad vallum*, to Falkirk, says Stukeley. From *Caer-stairs*, northward to *Camelon*, without the wall, is the distance of two-and-twenty miles. Whether this *iter* went along the vale of Mous-water, past Cleugh to Whitburn, and thence northward to the wall, or went by a more westerly course past Shots, the distance is nearly two-and-twenty miles to the opening of the wall, at *Camelon*, the Roman mart (*bb*).

We have now traced the course of the ninth *Iter* of Richard, from Carlisle to the wall; and have also ascertained the several towns, which are called for by it; and which have been so strangely confounded, and misplaced, by the ablest antiquaries. It is at length proper to trace, with equal precision, the fifth *Iter* of the same instructive monk, which went southward, by the eastern route, throughout the whole extent of *Valentia*, before we pass the wall into *Vespasiana*.

The fifth *Iter* of Richard, which proceeded from the eastern extremity of Antonine's wall to the south, is much more certain, though Stukeley has only

(*a*) The coincidences of the course of this *Iter*, of the distance, and of the name, concur to ascertain the *Coria* of the *Iter*, and *Caer-stairs* of the maps to be the same. In marching from Biggar about three miles, past Carnwath, the Roman troops would arrive, at the entrance of a small glen, or narrow vale, which is called *Cleugh*, from the Saxon *Clough*, a glen, that is the same, in sense, as the Celtic *Coiré*; and the *Coiré*, in a thousand instances, is applied, in the North-British topography, to glens of a similar description; and appears, in many names of places, in the form of *Corrie*: before the Saxon people settled, in this district, we may easily suppose, that this *Cleugh* was called, in the language of the Celtic inhabitants, *Coiré*, or *Corrie*, the *Coria* of Ptolemy, and of Richard.

(*b*) In the course of this *Iter*, between those stations, there were several small Roman posts: there was one between Catchapel and Little Gill, several miles from Little Clyde; there was another post below, on the western side of Culter-water, opposite to Nisbet; and there was a third post, lower down, at the turn of the Clyde, opposite to Biggar.

(*bb*) Sir R. Sibbald, who wrote from the papers of Timothy Pont, in speaking of the Roman road, through Clydesdale, says, "the people have a tradition, that another Roman *street* went from Lan-
"erk to the Roman Colony, near Falkirk." Roman Antiq. p. 39. By the *Roman Colony* we are to understand the Roman port, at *Camelon*, to which the tide once flowed, and vessels navigated.

obscured

obscured by his conjectures, what he proposed to clear by his research. Richard conducts this *Iter*, *a limite Præturiam*, to *Curia*; thence *ad Fines*; and thence to *Bremenium*; without being able to assign the distances of his several stages. If the Roman troops set out, from the eastern end of the wall, nine-and-twenty Roman miles would have conducted them to *Currie*, on the Gore-water; the *Curia* of the *Iter*, where there was undoubtedly a Roman station, and where several remains have been found. His next stage *ad Fines* would have reached the Eldon-hills, at the end of two-and-twenty miles (*c*). And another stage of thirty miles would have conducted them to *Bremenium*, which is undoubtedly Roe-chester, in Reedsdale, on the borders of Northumberland.

Beyond the wall of Antonine, an *Iter*, with its accompanying stations, traversed the whole extent of *Vespasiana*, from the wall to the Varar. This is merely the continuance of the ninth *Iter* of Richard, when he enters *Vespasiana*, and ends at *Ptoroton*. His first stage extended twelve miles, from the wall to *Alauna*, on the Allan river, near its junction with the Forth, as the coincidences of the name, and of the distance, attest. From *Alauna*, the *Iter* went forward, along *Strathallan*, nine miles, to the *Lindum* of the *Itinerary*, the well-known station at *Ardoch*, as the course, and distance, evince. From *Lindum*, the celebrated scene of many conflicts, the *Iter* passed throughout a course of nine miles to the *Victoria* of the *Itinerary*, the proud monument of *Agricola's* victory, at the *Grampian*, the *Dealginross* of the tourists, at the western extremity of *Strathern*, eight miles out of the direct course of the Roman road. The *Iter* now pursued its course, in an easterly direction, nine miles to *Hierna*, the station on the *Ern*, at *Strageth*, as every coincidence attests, whatever *Stukeley* supposed. The next stage of the *Iter* is the central *Orrea*, on the *Tay*, at the distance of fourteen *itinerary* miles. From *Orrea*, the *iter* went *ad Tavum*, nineteen miles; and thence *ad Esicam*, twenty-three miles. If we set out from *Orrea*, in an easterly direction, through the passage of the *Sidlaw-hills*, and along the *Carse of Gowrie*, nineteen miles would carry us to the northern side of the estuary of *Tay*, near *Dundee*, which is certainly the *ad Tavum* of the *Iter* (*d*). If, from this last station, we proceed, in a north-

(*c*) *Stukeley*, by an odd mistake, reads *ad Tines*; and so, fixed the station, at the *Tine*, as *Whitaker* observes; and, as he adds, this station must have been on the limits of the *Gadenian*, and *Ottadinian* territories; and must have been somewhere, on the banks of the *Tweed*, in *Tweed-ale*. *Hist. Manch.* v. ii. p. 346. This station was, no doubt, at the *Eldon-hills*, where there were a Roman camp, and a British strength.

(*d*) In the course of this route, at the distance of two miles west, from *Dundee*, and half a mile north, from *Invergowrie*, on the estuary of the *Tay*, there are the remains of a Roman camp, which, *Maitland* says, are about two hundred yards square, fortified with a high rampart, and a spacious ditch. *Hist. Scotland*, v. i. p. 215.; and see also the *Stat. Acco. of Liff*, v. xiii. p. 115.

north-east direction, through the natural opening of the country, we shall, at the distance of eleven miles, fall in with the well known Roman camp of Hare-faulds; and, at the end of three and twenty miles, nearly, we shall arrive on the South Esk, at Brechin, the *ad Esicam* of the Iter (*a*). This route exactly agrees with the names, and distances, in the Iter, and with the track delineated on Richard's map (*b*). Setting out from the South Esk, at Brechin, and proceeding in a north-north-east direction, the natural course of the Itinerary would arrive, at the end of five miles and three quarters, on the North Esk, the Tina of Richard (*c*). Having passed this river, at the King's ford, the Roman troops would naturally march straight forward, through the valley of Luther-water, about eight and a half miles to the station at Fordon, where there are the remains of two Roman camps; and thence by Urie hill, where there is the well known

(*a*) Stukeley placed the station *ad Æsicam*, by conjecture, at Brechin.

(*b*) In tracing the Roman route forward from Orrea, General Roy departs from his usual guide: Richard had shewn him the right track; but, his desire of novelty forced him into a wrong one. Roy carries the Iter, from Orrea to Burghtay castle, four miles east from Dundee, which he supposes to be the *ad Tavum*; and states it to be eighteen English miles from Orrea: the fact, however, is, that the real distance from Orrea to Burghtay castle is twenty-three miles; which extent is four beyond the itinerary distance: and moreover as their object was to get through the country northward, they would naturally file off, in that direction, from Dundee, through the open country, towards the South Esk, at Brechin. Going beyond Dundee to Burghtay castle would have been going four miles out of their way, without any apparent object. From Burghtay castle, he carries the Iter along the coast to the river South Esk, at Montrose, which he supposes to be the *ad Esicam* of his guide: and from this he carries on his route, three and a half miles to the river North Esk, which he equally conjectures to be the *ad Tinam* of Richard: yet, this deviation is quite irreconcilable with the distance, in the Iter, of eight miles, from *ad Esicam* to *ad Tinam*. From North Esk, Roy carries the Iter along the coast to old Aberdeen, his supposed Devana: and he states the distance to be twenty-five English miles; though the real distance is, in fact, not less than thirty-three miles, and the itinerary distance from *ad Tinam* to *ad Devana* is only twenty-three miles. For these great deviations from the distances, in the Iter, the object of their route, and from the track pointed out on Richard's map, not one good reason is assigned. Both in this, and the track of the Iter, north of the Devana, General Roy has erred, in carrying their route round the coast, in place of through the interior of the country. It is apparent, that the hostile policy of the Romans did not induce them either to place stations, or carry roads, along the shore of the German sea.

(*c*) Richard, in this stage, must be over-ruled by the fact: the distance between the two Esks does not extend to eight miles, without diverging from the straight course, so far as to make up two and a quarter miles. The Roman name of Tina, or the British appellation of Tine, which, like the other Tines, signified, in that language, a river, the same as *Avon*, could not apply to any other river, than the North Esk; because there did not exist any other river, nearly in that site. The station *ad Tinam* may indeed have been a little beyond the river Tine, from which, having recently passed it, the Romans would naturally borrow the name. It is a very curious fact, that the North Esk was called, by the British name of Tine, during the Roman period.

camp

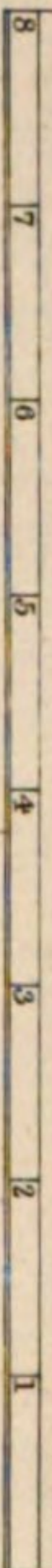
A PLAN of the Roman Camp, called, Norman-dikes, with the adjacent Country, and the course of the Dee. By Capt. Henderson. of the 29.th Reg.^t

to face p. 125.



Henderson Del.^d

8 Furlongs



or 1 Mile

J. Colburn Sculp.^d

Published for George Chalmers 1st Novem^r 1806.

camp of Raedikes; and going thence in a northerly direction, about six English miles would carry the Roman troops to the river Dee, at Peter-Culter, the Devana of Ptolomy, and of Richard. This position is thirty-one miles from the South Esk, at Brechin; and this distance exactly agrees with the number of miles, in the *Iter*; being *ad Tinam* eight miles, and *ad Devanam* twenty-three miles. This route corresponds with the devious track, which is delineated on Richard's useful map. At the termination of the itinerary distance, on the north side of the Dee, west from the church of Mary-Culter, and south-west from the church of Peter-Culter, there are the remains of extensive entrenchments, which are of a rectangular form, that indicate the site of a camp; and are usually called, in popular tradition, *the Norman dikes* (*d*). The agreement of the distance with that of the *Iter*; the correspondence of the name of the Deva, or Dee, with the Devana of Richard; and the undoubted remains of the large encampment, on the northern margin of the river, on a high ground of moderate elevation, opposite to several fords, in the Dee, which the camp was designed to cover; all these coincidences concur to fix the station of Devana, on this commodious site, in opposition to the conjecture of Stukeley, and to the mistake of Roy (*e*).

If

(*d*) This camp appears to have been of a rectangular figure, extending from the east-north-east to west-south-west. The rampart, and ditch, on the northern side, are about three quarters of a mile long, and remain pretty entire. From each end of this work, a rampart, and ditch, ran off, at right angles, and formed the ends of the camp, a few hundred yards whereof only remain: the whole of the southern side is destroyed. Colonel Shand, who was intimately acquainted with the field fortification of the Romans, on the north of the friths, and to whom we owe the discovery of the Roman camp, at Glen-mailen, examined the Norman dikes, in February 1801: and, he informed me, "that the profiles, and other dimensions of the ditch, and rampart, appeared to be the same, as those of the camps at Glen-mailen, and Urie, at Battledikes, and other camps in Strathmore." The Stat. Account of Peter-Culter, v. xvi. p. 380, confirms these relations, though the minister attributes this camp either to the Danes, or to William, the Norman, when he warred with Malcolm Ceanmore. This camp has been since, more minutely, inspected by more skilful men; by Mr. Irvine of Drum, Captain Henderson of the 29th regiment, and Mr. Professor Stewart of Aberdeen, who agree, in thinking the Norman dikes to be a Roman work. This camp has lately been surveyed by Captain Henderson, who has obligingly furnished me with an accurate plan of this curious remain. The camp of Normandikes is delineated by him, as of an oblong rectangular form, 938 yards long, and 543 yards broad; comprehending an area of 80 Scottish acres; being nearly of the same size, as the camp of Raedikes, on the Ithan, the next stage, in the *Iter*: it has two gates, in each side, like the camps of Battledikes, and Harefaulds, and at Urie, and one gate in each of the ends, which appear, from this delineation, to have been each covered by a traverse, in the Roman manner. See Captain Henderson's Delineation of the Camp of Normandikes.

(*e*) In respect to the station of *Devana*, antiquaries have been divided in their opinions, between the

It is as curious, as it is instructive, to remark, how different the course of Richard's ninth Iter is, from the track of the Roman road, through Angus, from Orrea. We have seen the Iter go, from the common departure, at Orrea, in an easterly direction, through the Sidlaw hills, to Dundee, the supposed station, *ad Tatum*; and thence proceed, nearly, in a north-north-east direction, to the South Esk, at Brechin. The Roman road went from Orrea, in a north-east course, along the east side of the Tay, and Isla, past Coupar-Angus, Reedie, Battledikes, and across the moor of Brechin to the camp of Wardikes, at Keithoc. This contrariety, naturally, suggests what is probable, from the tenor of history, that the ninth Iter, as recorded by Richard, was established *previous* to the formation of the road, which is two miles shorter, than the Iter, and even *previous*, perhaps, to the settling of the camps, on the line of the road, at Grassywalls, Coupar, Battledikes, and Keithoc. It is apparent, then, that the ninth, and tenth Iters of Richard must have been made, in the early part of the administration of Urbicus, and before the middle of the second age (*f*). And, these intimations equally evince, that none of the Roman camps, the remains whereof exhibit their sites, on the north of the Tay, were formed by Agricola, in the prior century.

In pursuing their object, northward, from the Dee, at Peter-Culter, to the Murray-frith, at Burgh-head, the Romans penetrated through the obvious opening of a rough country, by the right of Achlea, Fiddy, and Kinmundy; and thence passing forward, in a north-north-west direction, through a rather plain district, till they arrived at the site of Kintore, on the Don: whence they would

the two towns of Aberdeen, and Aberdon, without reflecting, that the object of their searches might have existed on a much more convenient site, than either. We have seen above, how many coincidences attest the real position of Devana to be at *Normandikes*, on the Dee. But, no castrensian remains have hitherto been found at either of those towns, which would remove doubts, or establish certainties, on this curious point: we learn, indeed, from Gordon, the tourist, "that in a place called the Silver burn, near Aberdeen, a great quantity of Roman medals was discovered, many of which I saw, in the hands of some curious gentlemen." *Itin. Sept.* p. 186. Those coins may undoubtedly have been dropt here, by the Romans, during some of their excursions; but, that fact, without other circumstances, more pregnant with proof, cannot ascertain the existence of a station, which we have now found more commodiously placed at *the fords* of the Dee, than at its *Aber*, or issue.

(*f*) The learned Whitaker, after investigating this point, with his usual accuteness, has decided, "that the Itinerary of Richard was compiled, as early as the middle of the second century, in a period, when the Roman empire among us, was in its greatest glory, and at its farthest extent." *Hist. of Manch.* v. i. p. 88. The facts, which have now been ascertained, confirm his decision: yet, the Itinerary was obviously settled at some epoch, subsequent to the construction of Antonine's wall, in 140 A. D. which is more than once called for, by the Itinerary.

follow

follow the strath of the river, according to their practice, to the bend of the Don, where they found a ford, at the same place, where the high road has always passed the same river to Inver-urie: they soon after passed the Urie: and they now pushed on, in a north-north-west course, through a moorish district, to the sources of the Ithan, the *Ituna* of Richard, where the camp of Glen-mailen was placed, an extended course of twenty-six statute miles, between those itinerary stations (*g*). The next station of the Itinerary is *mons Grampius*: but, neither the course, nor the distance, is specified, though the *mountain* is supposed, by Richard, to be, what it appears to the eye of mariners, from shipboard, at no great distance from the sea. Proceeding from Glen-mailen, northward, and crossing the Doveran, at Achengoul, where there may still be seen considerable remains of military works, thirteen statute miles, would carry the Roman troops to the high ground, on the north of Foggy-lone, at the eastern base of the *Knock-hill*, the real *mons Grampius* of Richard (*b*). From this station,

(*g*) From Aberdon, or Old Aberdeen, General Roy, supposing it to be the station of Devana, conducts the ninth Iter of Richard across the Don to the issue of the Ithan, which he supposes to be the itinerary station: but, the Don appears never to have been fordable, where the road must necessarily have passed; and the distance from the Don to the Ithan, which is only eleven miles, by no means corresponds with the itinerary distance of twenty-four miles. From the issue of the Ithan, at Newburgh, General Roy carries the route along the coast to Peterhead, thirty-three miles; and from thence to Doveran, nineteen miles. But, for this difference, between the itinerary distances, and the fact, and for this deviation from probability, and from the map of Richard, neither proofs, nor authorities, are given: nor, have any Roman remains been found, in that part of Aberdeenshire, lying between the Ithan, and the Doveran, eastward, to the sea, which would justify those departures from the truth. On the other hand, the station, *ad Itunam*, has been found, not at the issue, but at the sources of the Ithan. This important station was discovered, in 1786, by Colonel Shand, who communicated his discovery, first to the antiquarian society, at Perth, in 1788, and afterwards his survey of it to General Roy. The Roman camp, which the people of the country call the *Rae-dykes*, stands on the southern bank of the Ithan, a mile below the two well known springs of the river. There is, in Roy's *Military Antiquities*, pl. li. "a plan of the grounds, in the parishes of Forg, Auchterless, and Culsamon; exhibiting the ancient camp of Redykes, near Glenmailen, on the south bank of the Ithan." But, *this plan* came too late to enable General Roy to see, that the camp at Glenmailen, was undoubtedly the station *ad Itunam* of Richard, which, from its central situation, commanded the ample extent of Aberdeenshire, the ancient country of the *Taixali*. There are other remains, in the vicinity of this camp, which indicate the long residence there of a military people. The camp at Glenmailen, as well as the camp at Urie, is called the *Rae-dykes*, from the Gaelic *Ra'*, signifying a cleared spot, a fortress.

(*b*) The very intelligent Colonel Shand informed me of the obvious remains of military works, at Achengoul. From the heights, indeed, near Glenmailen, the Roman officers could see, distinctly, the whole course of the Murray frith before them, and the intermediate country, through which they were to pass forward to their ultimate object, at *Ptoroton*. From the high grounds,

north

station, the Itinerary goes forward *ad Selinam*, which is, mistakingly, supposed by Stukeley to be the Doveran. The distance, from the *mons Grampius* of the Itinerary to the station *ad Selinam*, is not mentioned by Richard: but, we are conducted, by the object of the Romans, by the coincidence of the name, and by the discovery of coins, to the rivulet *Cullen*, near the old tower of Deskford, at the end of ten statute miles (*i*). The next station is *Tuessis*, at the itinerary

north of Foggyllone, may be seen Kinnaird's head, and the whole of the north-east of Buchan; which head juts out here into the German ocean; and from which the lofty summit of the Knock hill is the first land-mark, that is seen by mariners, as they approach the most eastern point of North-Britain. Such were probably the circumstances, which led Richard to speak emphatically of the promontory, which runs out into the ocean, towards Germany, though he wrote in contradiction to his own map.

(*i*) The route, probably, lay from the height, on the north of Foggyllone, round the north-east base of the Knock hill, to Ordquhill; and from it to the rivulet of Cullen, at Deskford, where Roman coins were found, some years ago, near the old bridge, a little below the tower of Deskford. The coins were given to the Earl of Findlater, the lord of the manor: we had, indeed, been previously informed by Gordon, Itin. Septent. 186, "that in the country of the Boyne, several " Roman coins were dug up; twenty-seven whereof are preserved, by the Earl of Findlater; four " of them, I perceived, to be medals of Antoninus Pius, one of Faustina, one of Otho, whose " reverse had this legend, *Victoria Othonis*." Gordon was less lucky, when he talked, ignorantly, of "there being no vestiges of Roman encampments, or Roman remains, beyond the Tay." Ib. 187. But, Gordon published the result of his enquiries, in 1726, when such objects had not been so diligently sought for. The Rev. Mr. Lawtie, the late minister of Fordyce, the great antiquary of Banfshire, having minutely inspected the site of Deskford, cast his observations into a memorial. The antiquarian eyes of Mr. Lawtie saw appearances here of a Roman station, which he conceived to have the form of an oblong square, along the west side of the rivulet *Culen*; comprehending ten acres, with the tower, the church, and manse, and the village of Deskford. In order to obtain more certainty, I caused the same interesting spot to be surveyed, by the ingenious Mr. George Brown, the land-surveyor, in November 1799. To his more accurate eyes, the entrenchments appeared so indistinct, that it was impossible to determine, by what people, or for what purpose, they had been made. The discovery of Roman Coins, in this position, seem to render it probable, that the Romans may have had some station here. There are, moreover, about four hundred and fifty yards of an old paved road, leading from the south-east directly up to this supposed station. The antiquarian zeal of Mr. Lawtie pronounced this to be the remain of a Roman road. The indifferent eyes of Mr. Brown saw nothing but a regular causeway, over a deep clay soil, which necessity may have caused to be made here, in much more recent times. Colonel Shand, the great discoverer of Roman camps, and the zealous explorer of Roman ways, inspected this ancient pavement, during the summer of 1801: he informed me, that it is evidently very old, and is certainly paved, like the Roman roads, but is much broken at the sides; and it does not proceed in a straight line, like the Roman roads, in Strathern, with which he was very familiar. But, it may be observed, that the Roman camps do not invariably describe a straight line, or a right angle, where the ground does not admit of either: neither do the Roman roads always pursue a straight course, when they are pushed aside, by the inequality of the natural site. Horsley's Brit. Romana, l. i. ch. 2.

distance

A Plan of the Site of the Roman TUESSIS near Bellie with the adjacent Country along the River Spey.



Published for George Chalmers 1747 Novem. 1806.

G. W. G. G. G.

distance of nineteen miles, from the station *ad Selinam*. From Deskford, pursuing the course of the rivulet to Inver-Culen, and passing along the coast of the Murray frith, seventeen statute miles, the Roman armies would be conducted to the Roman post, which may still be seen, on the high bank of the Spey, the *Tuessis* of Ptolomy, and of Richard, below the church of Bellie; and which was, obviously, intended to cover the ford of this rapid river (*k*). This station was placed, without any authority, at Rothes, higher on the Spey, by Stukeley, and still more absurdly, at Nairn, by Horsley.

On the eastern bank of the Spey, with the Murray frith, at no great distance to the right, the Romans were now only one day's march from the *Alatta-Castra* of Ptolomy, the Ptoroton of Richard, the Burgh-head of Ainslie, at the mouth of the Estuary of Varar. The distance, from the Tuessis to Ptoroton, is not specified by Richard: but, a day's march of seventeen Roman miles would have enabled the Roman troops to reach the Ptoroton; though they would, in

(*k*) "The remains of the Roman encampment, says Colonel Imrie, who examined it, in January 1799, is situated about half a mile north-east of the ruins of the kirk of Bellie, on a bank, overlooking the low fluviated ground of the river. It is upon a flat surface, and has been in form nearly a *rectangular parallelogram* of 888 feet by 333; but, the west side, and the greatest part of the north end, of the parallelogram, are now wanting. I say *nearly* a rectangular parallelogram, as a small, though perceptible deviation from the straight line, exists in the vallum, and ditch, of its eastern side. As deviations of this kind are not frequently found, in Roman field fortification, where there is no obvious necessity, this deviation may be considered as an objection to the camp at Bellie, when it is said to be a Roman remain: but, from having examined, with much attention, the remaining vallum, and ditch of this camp, it is my decided opinion, that this has been the work of a Roman army: it appears to me, that the vallum, and ditch of this camp are nearly of the same size, and depth, as those of the camp of Battledykes, in the county of Forfar; and if I might be permitted to form a judgment, from the present appearance of the works, I should say that, according to my opinion, those works were formed nearly about the same period, and certainly by people, who followed the same general rules, with regard to their field fortifications." Thus much from the intelligent Colonel Imrie, in his obliging letter to me. The same ford on the Spey, which enabled the Romans to connect their stations, in the north, during the second century, also facilitated the passage of the Duke of Cumberland, in April 1746, when he pressed forward to Culloden, in order to decide the fate of the Gaelic descendants of the ancient race. At Upper Dalachie, near the Roman station, there remained inviolate, till 1794, a sepulchral tumulus, which is popularly called the *Green Cairn*; and which contained the ashes of some Roman chief. About two feet from the surface, was found, when it was broken up, an urn of rude workmanship, which, when the ashes of the dead were shaken out, disclosed a piece of polished gold, like the handle of a vase, three inches in diameter, and more than one eighth of an inch thick. It appeared to have been the handle of a vase. As the society of antiquaries, at Edinburgh, declined to purchase this curiosity, the finder sold it for bullion, at the price of thirteen guineas. The foregoing intimations were received from Mr. James Hoy of Gordon castle, in his letters to me, dated the 22d December 1798, and the 6th April 1799.

those days, have been obliged to make a circuit, for avoiding the waters, which formed the ultimate station, almost into a commodious islet. Horsley, and Stukeley, concur, in fixing the *Ptoroton* of the Itinerary, at Inverness; supposing the distance to be twenty-seven miles, from *Tuessis*, instead of forty-seven statute miles (*l*). The distance, as there was no intermediate station, will not permit such an inference to be drawn, from such dubious premisses. Other antiquaries have tried, with as little felicity of conjecture, to fix this station, where the ninth *Iter* ends, and the tenth begins, at Nairn: but, as this improbable position is distant, at least one and thirty statute miles, from *Tuessis*, the distance alone is sufficient to refute such an improbability, though Roman coins, have, indeed, been found, at Nairn. The situation of the Burgh-head, at the mouth of the Varar, where Richard had placed it; the remains, which show its vast strength, from the skill, and labour, of ancient times; the coincidence of the distance from *Tuessis* to *Ptoroton*, and from *Ptoroton* to *Varis*; all concur to fix, unalterably, the ultimate station of Richard, at Burgh-head (*m*).

(*l*) Taylor, and Skinner's Road Book, pl. 32.

(*m*) See Roy's Milit. Antiq. p. 131, pl. 33, 34. I caused the Burgh-head to be surveyed, in 1792, by Mr. James Chapman, the land-surveyor, who described the whole site of this remarkable station as follows: "The north and west sides of this promontory are steep rocks, which are washed by the sea, and rise about 60 feet above the level of the low water mark: the area, on the top of this height, is 300 feet long, on the east side, and 520 feet long, on the west side: it is 260 feet broad; and contains somewhat more than two acres English. It appears to have been surrounded with a strong rampart, 20 feet high, which had been built with old planks, cased with stone and lime; the south and east sides are pretty entire; but the north and west sides are much demolished. On the east side of this height, and about 45 feet below the summit, there is an area 650 feet long, and 150 feet wide; containing upwards of three acres English. The space, occupied by the ruins of the ramparts, which have fallen down, is not included in this measurement. It appears to have been surrounded with a very strong rampart of stone, which is now much demolished. On the south, and land side of these two fortified areas, two deep ditches are carried across the neck of the promontory; these ditches are at present from 16 to 20 feet deep, from 12 to 16 feet wide at the bottom, and from 40 to 50 feet wide at the top. The bottoms of the ditches are now 25 feet above the level of the sea, at high water; and are considerably higher than the extensive tract of the flat ground on the land side. The ditches, ramparts, rocks, and waste ground, which surround the areas above described, contain upwards of five acres English. The contents of the whole peninsula, with the rampart of the outer ditch, are more than eleven acres English." The vast ditches, and ramparts, which anciently guarded the entrance to this strength, are obviously the laborious works of Roman hands. The rampart, which consisted of oak planks, and of stone and lime, and which was, subsequently, erected for the security of the upper area, was undoubtedly raised by the less skillful work of Danish rovers, in the middle ages. Till recent times, the Burgh-head was called, in the common speech of the ancient people, *Tory-town*, or *Tery-town*, which antiquarian ears have regarded as something similar, in sound, to the *Ptoroton* of Richard. Survey of Moray, 1798, p. 51.

The

A PLAN of the Site of FORRES, the VARIS of the Romans, with the British Camp on the adjacent height.



Published for George Chalmers, 1st November, 1806.

Rossie sculp.

The modern name is, obviously, derived from the Danish invaders, who re-fortified this commodious station, during the middle ages.

From this remarkable strength, of which there can be no doubt, that it is the *Ultima Ptoroton* of Richard, we are now to proceed southward, according to the *tenth Iter* of that curious collector, *per mediam insulæ*. The first station is *Varis*, at the end of eight miles: from Burgh-head to Forres is, in fact, eight statute miles. The coincidence of the name, of the distance, and of the object, together with the discovery of Roman coins, at this town, demonstrate *Forres* to be the *Varis* of Richard (n). From that station, to the *Tuessis*, the same river Spey, which the Romans had crossed below, at the ford of Bellie, the itinerary distance is eighteen miles; the real distance to the lower ford, at Cromdale, is nineteen statute miles. *Tamea*, at the itinerary distance of twenty-nine miles, is the next station from *Tuessis*. Proceeding southward, along Strathavon, by Loch-Bulg, to the junction of the Dee, and Cluny, twenty-eight statute miles would carry the Roman troops to the commodious ford, in that vicinity. Etymological torture could not derive *Tamea* from *Mar*, as Roy wildly suggests; but, the misapprehension of foreign ears may have transformed Tam, or Tame, of the British topography, into *Tamea*.

The silence of Richard, with regard to the next station, leaves us to suppose, that he was unacquainted both with its name, and distance: but, nine and a half English miles would have carried the Roman troops, from *Tamea* to the height, which separates the waters, that flow, in opposite directions, to the Dee, and the Tay; and which, consequently, divides Aberdeen from Perthshire. That learned monk is equally unacquainted with the name of the next station, which he places at the end of one and twenty miles; though the route un-

(n) Roy's Milit. Antiq. p. 132. In November 1797, J. Brodie of Brodie, F. R. S. assured me, "that when the streets of Forres were lately dug up, in order to repair the pavement, there were discovered several Roman coins, and a Roman medallion, in soft metal, which resembled a mixture of lead and tin: this medallion he presented to the antiquarian society of Edinburgh." The *v* and *f* were often changed, in the names of places, as *Muref* for *Murev*; and the *Varar* of Richard, is now called *Farar*: so *Varis* is the same as *Faris*, which is the Gaelic name of the place, even to this day, as I am assured, by the Gaelic minister of the town. The *Vacomagi* had, probably, a village at *Varis*, or *Faris*. They certainly had a large hill-fort, the remains whereof are still extant, on the summit of the Clunie hills, at Forres. This strength is of a form between oval, and circular; is surrounded by a strong rampart of earth, and a fosse, which is still 12 feet wide. The area, within the ramparts, measures 6 acres, 3 roods, and 25 falls, Scottish. On the south side of the hill, there is a small post, of a square form, defended by an earthen rampart, and fosse; inclosing an area of 10 feet square, or 16 falls Scottish. This description is given from an accurate survey, and plan, which were made for me, in 1798, by Robert Macwilliam, a land-surveyor.

doubtedly lay along Glen-beg, and Glen-shee, to the confluence of the Shee, with the Lornly water. From this position, nine miles would conduct the Roman troops to the station *in medio*. From the passage of the Dee, or the Tamea of Richard, along the Cluny water, Glen-beg, and Glen-shee, the whole extent of the route amounts to almost forty statute miles. 'This distance, the natural direction of the country, the constant course of the waters, and the existence of Roman works, all concur to fix the station, *in medio*, at *Inchtuthel*, which still exhibits a remarkable camp of Roman construction, on a height, that forms the northern bank of the river Tay (*o*). From the station, *in medio*, is the distance of nine itinerary miles to *Orrea*: and the real, but corresponding distance, from *Inchtuthel*, along the banks of the Tay, to ancient Bertha, is almost ten miles (*p*). At this central station, which has, in every age, continued a military position of great importance, the tenth Iter rejoined the ninth; and from *Orrea*, it proceeded southward, by the former route, though with some trivial errors, in the distances, to the wall of Antonine (*q*). Such errors may be well pardoned in Richard, when we consider how much Ptolomy has perverted the true position of North-Britain. It is, indeed, seldom, that an ancient author is so completely confirmed, by coincident facts, subsequent discoveries, and recent experience, as the Westminster monk, to whom every British antiquary is so greatly indebted, for his interesting researches.

The whole extent of country, from the wall of Antonine to the Estuary of Varar, which we have thus traversed, is said by Richard, who is supported by strong proofs, to have been erected into a Roman province, by the name of *Vespasiana* (*r*). His authority, for this information, has been doubted; though his facts, which are confirmed by remains, can admit of no dispute. Whether the east coast of North-Britain, from the frith of Forth to the frith of Murray, had, in the age of Antonine, been formally erected into a Roman province, is a question, which needs not be strenuously argued: the country was traversed, as we shall immediately see, by Roman ways (*s*); the Caledonian tribes, who lived on that coast, were overawed by Roman posts; and coins, and medals, and pottery, have been frequently discovered, which indicate, wherever they are found, the footsteps, and illustrate the arts, of that powerful nation. It is certain, as we have already learned, from Ulpian, that

(*o*) See afterwards an account of the station at *Inchtuthel*.

(*p*) Richard, p. 38; Stobie's map of Perthshire.

(*q*) Roy's Milit. Antiq. p. 134.

(*r*) Richard, p. 31.

(*s*) Bergier lays it down, as a sort of maxim, that every Roman province must have had its military ways. *Hist. des Grands Chemins de l'Empire Rom.* tom i. p. 334.

the Caledonian people, who lived within the Roman boundaries, in North-Britain, were entitled to the privileges of Roman citizens, under the beneficial edict of Antoninus Pius (*t*).

One of the most striking monuments of the Roman power was their highways, which, by traversing their provinces, supported their authority, and promoted their intercourse. The whole extent of territory, which lay between the southern, and northern walls, was every where intersected, by Roman roads. A Roman way may still be traced, into the very interior of Vespasiana, where it conducted the march of the Roman armies; kept up the communication between the stations; and thereby enforced the submission of the Caledonian clans. It is important to trace all those roads, in their series, that we may be enabled to judge of the Roman polity, which invigorated the Roman armies to subdue so many people. The western road, as its course had been traced by the genius of Agricola, though constructed by his successors, was the oldest; and being the usual route of the troops, was the most frequented, even down to the sad epoch of the march of Severus. This road issues from the southern rampart, at Stanwix, near Carlisle; and crossing the Esk at Langtown Church, points westward through Solway-moss (*a*). After passing the Sark, at Barrowslacks, the vestiges of this road are distinctly to be seen, for many miles, leading west-north-west, through the *procestrium* of the station at *Birrens*, the British name whereof indicates an ancient strength. Passing on the west of Burrens-wark hill, whereon there are the striking remains of two Roman camps, the road proceeds, in a north-western direction to the river Milk, which it seems to have passed, at the Drove-ford, between Scrogs and Milk-bridge; and leaving the post of Malls-Castle, Lockerby, and the Roman camp, on Tor-wood Moor, all on the left, it crosses the river Dryfe, below Dryfesdale Church, at a little distance from its confluence with the Annan (*b*). At this position, a branch of this great road departed, from its usual course, to the left towards Nithsdale (*c*). The Roman road

(*t*) Digest: this supports the notices in Richard, p. 36.

(*a*) From Ainslie's map of Scotland, which delineates the Roman road, from Røys *Mappa Britannie Septentrionalis*, it appears, that the Roman road pushed across the present site of Solway Moss, about the middle of it; and afterwards passed the White, and Black Sark-waters, a considerable distance northward of Gretnay: from this intimation, there is some reason to conclude, that the Solway Moss did not exist, in any thing like its present state, during the first century.

(*b*) See Maitland's History, v. i. p. 191-2.

(*c*) The minister of Dryfesdale says: "There are plain traces of the great Roman road, from the borders of England, up to the vast encampments on the hill of Burnswark; and thence, crossing this parish, at Lockerby, to Drysdale-gate, up to the Galaberry-hill, on which there

road now pursued its course along the east side of Annandale by Dinwoody Green, and a small post, at Girthhead, to Wamphray-water, which having crossed, it pushed forward along the east side of the Annan, by another small redoubt; and then passed that river, near the Burnfoot of Kirkpatrick (*d*). The Roman road now proceeded along the west branch of the Annan, leading by the entrenchments at Tassies-holm; and having passed the Avon, near its conflux, with the Annan, it pursued its course along the ridge, between these two rivers; and ascending Erickstane-brae, and passing this remarkable ridge, which sends out the Annan, the Tweed, and the Clyde, it soon arrived on the upper branch of this river, at a place, that is named Little Clyde, where the Romans had a small post (*e*). The Roman road, thence coursing the right bank of the Clyde, by Newton, that is opposite to Elvan-foot, appears to have been joined, by the branch, which went off from its track to the westward, in Annandale, near Crawford Castle, at the foot of Camp-Water (*f*).

From this remarkable position, where we have just perceived both the branches of the Roman road again join their accustomed track, it pursued the shortest course over the high grounds of Crawford parish; and then descending from this elevation into the valley of the Clyde, it passed by Gateside, Causeway, and Catchapel, where there is a square redoubt, towards Lamington (*g*).

The

“ is a Roman fort, where the road divided; one branch leading up through Annandale, by Moffat, to Clydesdale; the other branch crossed the Annan, visited Lochmaban; and thence passed along the west side of the rivulet Ae, through Nithsdale into Ayr.” Stat. Acco. v. ix. p. 426.

(*d*) The minister of Wamphry says; “ The post-road, between Glasgow and Carlisle, passes through that parish; and in the track of it, there was a Roman road, by the side of which, a few upright stones, each about five feet high, are still standing, nearly at the distance of a Scots mile, from one another; and therefore, are supposed by some, to have been mile-stones. Ib. v. xii. p. 606. Yet, are we to recollect, that the Scots mile was larger, than either the Roman, or the English mile.

(*e*) The minister of Kirkpatrick-Juxta says; “ There is a Roman road, yet to be traced, running through this parish, from South to North: it comes up the east bank of Annan, from the ruins of a large camp, at Burrenswark, and passes here a place called Tassiesholm, where there are some remains of a small square encampment.” Stat. Acco. v. iv. p. 522. The minister of Moffat adds; “ The Roman road, from Esk to Stirling, passed through part of this parish to the west of the village of Moffat. The vestiges of that road, and of some military stations near it, are still visible. Some large Roman encampments, also, can be distinctly traced, in this neighbourhood. Near the Roman road, where it enters the parish of Moffat, there was found, in a mass, about three years ago, a piece of gold, having a semicircular form, on the outer edge of which was cut the following inscription: JOV. AVG. VOT. XX.” Ib. v. ii. p. 287.

(*f*) Maitland, v. i. p. 193. says the Roman road runs from Newton along the south side of the Clyde, where it is plainly to be seen.

(*g*) The minister of Crawford tells us; “ We have two Roman roads, which come through this parish.”

The united road proceeded, from the Roman post near Lamington, along the right bank of the Clyde, towards Biggar; but except, in crossing Biggar-moss, where its vestiges are very obvious, few traces of it any where appear (*b*). At Biggar, there is a strong redoubt, which is called *the moat*, where Roman coins have been found. From this place, which seems to have been a central position, there probably went off a vicinal way to the Roman stations, in Tweeddale, with which this was plainly the natural communication (*i*).

From the station at Biggar, the great road passed, by Liberton-kirk, towards Lochhart-hall, which is now called Carstairs-house (*k*). Having traversed the inclosures of Lochhart-hall, this road passes through the station of Castle Dykes, near Carstairs, which is finely situated on the right bank of the Clyde; and leaving Renstruther, on the right, proceeds to Cleghorn Mill, where it crosses the river Mous (*l*). The road leads thence through the inclosures of Cleghorn; leaving the Roman camp, on the right; and going on by Collylaw, Kil-Cadzow, Coldstream, and Yuilshields to Belstane, in the neighbourhood of Carluke; being throughout Clydesdale known, by the appropriate name of *the Watling-street* (*m*).

At Belstane, the Watling-street pursued its course to the wall, in two several directions: a branch went off to the right, by Shotts, to the opening in the wall, near Camelon (*n*): the principal branch continued its usual course along
Clydesdale

“parish.” *Ib.* v. iv. p. 514. He obviously alludes to the two branches of the great road, which came out of Annandale, and Nithsdale; the one coursing the left, and the other the right side of Upper Clyde.

(*b*) Roy carries the Roman road up to the vicinity of Biggar, where there are the remains of a camp. *Pl.* i. Ross, when he surveyed Lanerkshire, traced this road almost to Biggar.

(*i*) Maitland, v. i. p. 193-4, says, mistakingly, that a branch went off, from Biggar, in a north-east direction, by the eastern end of the Pentland-Hills.

(*k*) Near Carstairs-kirk, have been found the remains of a bath. Roy, p. 104. And many Roman bricks, Roman coins, and other objects, which all denote the long residence of the Roman troops at this station, on the track of the road. *Stat. Acco.* v. xv. p. 10; *Ib.* xviii. p. 180.

(*l*) Roy, p. 104; and *pl.* xxvii.

(*m*) Sibbald's *Roman Antiquities*, p. 39; Roy, p. 104-5; *Stat. Acco. of Scot.* v. xv. p. 10. In the *Stat. Account of Carluke*, v. viii. p. 136, the Rev. Dr. Scot says; “From south-east to north-west runs the Roman road, which is called here *Watling-street*. In some places, especially at Kilcadzow, it is still so visible, that the manner of its formation can easily be ascertained: the Romans appear to have placed broad stones, in the bottom of the road, where the ground was soft, and broke others, very small, with which they covered the surface. Roman coins have been found, in the direction of this road, at Burnhouse, and at Castle-hill.”

(*n*) Sir R. Sibbald, when speaking of the Roman road, through Clydesdale, called the Watling-street, says, “The people have a tradition, that another Roman street went from Lanerk to the
“Roman

Clydesdale to Garongilhead ; and thence passing Blindwalls, and Cam usne-
than kirk, on the right, it pushes on, by Meadowhead, to a place called *Roman
Stands* ; whence it passes forward, by Mother-well, towards Orbiston, on the
west side of Calderwater, where there was a Roman station, in a remarkable
bend of the Calder (*n*). The Roman road passed thence, along the height to
the southward of Bellshill ; and must have crossed West Calder Water, not far
above its conflux with the Clyde. Between this passage and Glasgow, some
traces of it were lately to be seen, particularly, a little to the eastward of Toll-
cross : its remains were, also, to be recently traced, beyond Glasgow, between
Dalmure-burn, and Old Kirkpatrick, where the road joined the western end of
Antonine's wall.

We must now return to that branch of the western road, which went off
from the principal road, in Annandale, near its passage of the Dryfe Water. It

“ Roman colony, near Falkirk.” *Rom. Antiq.* 1707, p. 39. In his map of the Roman roads,
1726, Gordon delineates this *Roman street*, from Clydesdale, several miles northward of Lanerk-
town, athwart the country to the opening of the wall at Camelon, the Roman colony, to which
Sibbald alludes. This road Gordon appears to have considered, as the only continuation of the
Watling-street to the wall ; for, he does not delineate the continuation of it, along the east side of
the Clyde, to the western end of the wall. See his map, which is prefixed to his *Itinerary*. Roy
assures us, it was affirmed, (by the country people), that a Roman road went from Castlecary, on
the wall, southward, by Crowbank, and Fannyside, and *that the stones of it were lately dug up* : he
thus supposes, that the Romans must have had such a communication ; and he points out the most
probable rout, by the Kirk of Shotts to Belstane. *Milit. Antiq.* 106-7. It is obvious, that Sib-
bald, Gordon, and Roy, all concur, in speaking of a traditionary road, which went, in the opinion
of the people, from Belstane, by the kirk of Shotts, to Camelon, whence the same road proceeded
into the interior of Vespasiana.

(*n*) The minister of Dalziel, in *Stat. Acco.* v. iii. p. 458, says, “ The great Roman highway,
“ commonly called *Watling-street*, went along the summit of this parish, from East to West ; but
“ its course is now much defaced, by modern improvements ; and for some length, the modern
“ turnpike road is laid upon the top of it. In one place, near the center of the parish, it has been
“ preserved entire, so as to point out the line to after times ; the *Cross-stone*, the emblem of the
“ baron's jurisdiction, being placed upon it, and a clump of trees planted around, fenced, and
“ secured. On this ancient road, at the western boundary of the parish, upon a steep bank over
“ the river Calder, are the remains of a Roman encampment. Little more than twenty years ago it
“ was pretty entire, but cultivation has now greatly encroached upon it. At the foot of the bank,
“ there is a semicircular arch over the river Calder of good masonry, and very uncommon construc-
“ tion, which has been supposed to be the work of the Romans. By this bridge, *Watling-street*
“ seems to have entered the parish of Bothwell.” The *Stat. Account of Bothwell*, v. xvi. p. 325,
says, “ About a quarter of a mile east from this, there is a bridge over the South-Calder, which is
“ judged to be of Roman construction ; being of one arch, high, very narrow, and without ledges.
“ The Roman road, called *Watling-street*, was, a few years ago, in entire preservation, leading to
“ it from the east, through Dalziel parish ; but, it is now scarce discernible, being removed by the
“ course of the plough.”

turned

turned away to the left, crossed the Annan, below the influx of the river, and pushed on, in a westerly direction, to Nithsdale, passing by the post, called Wood-castle, by Murder-loch, Lanegate, and Duncow, to Dalswinton, on the river Nith (*o*). This road now went up Nithsdale, on the east side of the Nith, passing by the village of Thornhill, and crossing Carron water, a little above its influx into the Nith (*p*). From this passage, the road continued its course, in a northerly direction, past a Roman fort, in a remarkable pass, above the Kirk of Durisdeer: from this post, it pushed through the hills by the defile, called the Wall Path: and it went down the west side of Powtrail-water to its confluence with the Dair. The road now continued its course, along the west side of the Dair, till its influx into the Clyde; and equally proceeded along the west side of the Clyde, past Elvanfoot, and Crawford village; and then crossed the Clyde to Crawford-castle, where it joined the Annandale branch, as we have seen (*q*).

There was plainly another road, which traversed Nithsdale; and which was yet unknown to Gordon, to Roy, and to Ainslie (*r*). From the road, which

(*o*) The Stat. Account of Tinwald, v. i. p. 165, says that, this Roman road, after coming through the parish of Lochmaban, enters the old parish of Trailflat, and passes by Amisfield-house, where there are many distinct traces of a *castellum*: and the road is traced to the village of Duncow, in the parish of Kirkmahoe. A branch, from this road, on the North, has been traced, through a moss, in the parish of Kirkmichael; and seems to have terminated, at a *castellum*, which has been converted into the minister's garden, the fortification whereof remains very distinct, on two sides. In a moss, upon the line of this vicinal road, there was found, in 1784, a pretty large pot of a sort of base copper, and a decanter of the same metal, nearly of the shape, and size, of a common white stone quart decanter, with three feet, about an inch and a half long. These were presented by the Rev. Dr. Burgess to the Antiquary Society of Edinburgh, and were considered as Roman. Stat. Acco. v. i. p. 64.

(*p*) On the west side of the Nith, opposite to the point, where the Roman road turns up the Carron, there is the remain of a Roman fort, called Tibbers-Castle, which is properly represented in Roy's Milit. Ant. pl. xlix. and in Crawford's map of Dumfriesshire: but, Roy, in his account of this road, as well as in his Roman map, and Ainslie, who follows him, in his map of Scotland, mistakingly apply the name of Tibbers-Castle to another Roman fort, in the pass, lying north of Durisdeer church, which is more than five miles, northward, from the real site of Tibbers-Castle.

(*q*) See Gordon's map, which is prefixed to his *Itinerary*, and which represents this western branch, as the only communication, that the Romans had, between the Roman walls, on the West. The track of this branch is erroneously represented by Roy, in his map, pl. i. and by Ainslie, after him, in his map of Scotland: instead of making it touch Dalswinton, on the Nith, they lead it into the valley of the Nith, nine miles north of the remarkable position, at Dalswinton.

(*r*) Maitland, however, seems to have had some confused notion of such a road; for, in v. i. p. 193, he says; "The Roman road, after passing from Annandale to Nithsdale, ran up the east side of Nith river to the Roman fortress, called Tibbers-Castle; and being joined by the Roman road, from Elwanfoot, both went on together to the county of Ayr, and to the estuary of Clyde."

went up the east side of Nithsdale, another branch diverged to the left, crossed the Nith, and traversed the Strath of the Scar, in a north-west direction, towards Kyle (s) : yet is it doubtful, whether this road ever went forward into Ayrshire, where no remains of it have yet been found.

From the station of Castledykes, there went off a vicinal road, athwart Clydesdale, which was, perhaps, intended to form a communication, between the western road, and the estuary of the Clyde. This vicinal road, probably, passed the Clyde, near Lanerk ; and thence led over Stonebyre-hill, towards Carro-mill, where it, no doubt, passed the Nethan river, though its track cannot now be ascertained : yet, on Draffan-Crofts, beyond the Nethan, its vestiges are often disclosed, by the successive operations of the plough. This road now crossed Canerburn, at the Gill, where it becomes very visible, at present ; leading by Tan-hill, along the northside of Blackwood inclosures to Dins-hill : it thence passed to the south of Hazleden, crossing Kype-Water at Sandyford ; and coursed along the south side of Avondale, by Wellsley, and Westlingbank, towards the gorge of Loudon-hill (t). Beyond this remarkable position, this road has not been hitherto traced : yet, its natural track led along the Irvine-Water, till it terminated at the commodious haven, which is formed by its influx into the Clyde (u).

From the Clydesdale road, another vicinal way diverged to the left, at Glasgow ; and passing the river at the ford, went athwart the country to the station of Vanduaria, at Paisley. This way was traced by Gordon, in 1725 :

(s) The Stat. Acco. of Penpont, which lies on the west side of the Nith, v. i. p. 209, says ; “ An old Roman causeway runs through Tynron, close to the edge of Scar-water.” And the Stat. Acco. of Tynron, v. xiv. p. 280, observes, “ An old Roman way runs through this parish ; “ and at this distant day, from its foundation, is in many places quite uncovered with grass : its direction is from East to West, (rather north-west) along the face of the hills.”

(t) The Stat. Acco. of Strathaven, v. ix. p. 394, says, “ A Roman road, or causeway, can be “ traced, for several miles, on the south side of the Avon.” A remarkable discovery of Roman coins has been lately made, near the track of this vicinal road, through the upper part of Strathaven. On the 5th of March 1805, some labourers, who were employed, in making a drain, at Torfoot, some miles south-west of the village of Strathaven, discovered a glass bottle of an oblong square form, which was surrounded by several stones, artificially, placed for its preservation : the bottle was carefully sealed up with a greenish pigment ; and upon being opened, was found to contain about 400 Roman silver coins of Trajan, Antoninus Pius, Faustina, Crispina, and of various other emperors, and empresses. The coins weigh about 40 grains each, and are, generally, in good preservation. About 50 of them, were, indeed, so encrusted, as to adhere together, and were considerably defaced, by the rude hand, that attempted to separate them.

(u) About two miles north-east of Irvine, in Ayrshire, there was found, before Gordon's time, a gladius of old mixed brass, three yards under ground, Itin. Sept. 1726, p. 118.

but,

but, such has been the agricultural improvements of this industrious district, that the remains, which appeared to the curious eye of the tourist, can be no longer seen (v). There are, indeed, to be traced, an ancient causeway, through *Maulsmyre*, on the estate of *Castlemilk*, in *Lanerkshire*, which antiquarians have supposed to be a Roman remain, though they have not been very successful, in connecting it, either with the vicinal way to *Paisley*, or with the Roman road, through *Clydesdale* (x).

On the great western road, there was also a vicinal way, which went off to the north-eastward, from *Langtown*, by *Netherby*, to *Liddel-moat*; and here, crossing the *Liddel*, pushed up into *Eskdale*, along the eastern side of the *Esk*, as far as the station of *Castle-over*, in *Eskdale-moor* (y).

After

(v) *Itinerarium Septentrionale*. Horsley also intimates, that he had seen, soon after, the same remains. *Brit. Romana*, p. 377. Roy, p. 106. At *Glasgow*, where this vicinal way diverged towards *Paisley*, there once existed a commodious ford, till the *Clyde* was deepened, in 1772. The shoal, which formed this ford, was long known, by the appropriate name, of the *Hirst*, and extended a quarter of a mile, up and down the river, at this place, between the *Broomie-law*, and the *Brewery Quay*. Mr. Smeaton, the engineer, who surveyed this shoal, in 1758, found the depth of water on it only one foot three inches, at low water, and three feet three inches, at high water. And Mr. Watt, the engineer, who surveyed it, in 1769, found that, the depth of water on the *Hirst* was only one foot two inches, at the ebb of a spring tide. MS. Report.

(x) Sir R. Sibbald says; "In *Clydesdale*, from *Erickstane*, in the one end, to *Maulsmyre*, in the other, where it borders upon *Renfrew*, there are evident vestiges of a Roman military way, called the *Watling-street*, and is visible for whole miles together." *Rom. Antiq.* p. 39; *Ure's Ruglen*, p. 133; *Stat. Acco.* v. xviii. p. 172.

(y) The *Stat. Acco.* of *Canoby*, v. xiv. p. 421, says; "The remains of a Roman station appear, about three quarters of a mile east of *Gilknocky*, near which a variety of Roman coins, and stones, with Roman inscriptions, have been dug up. From this camp, a Roman road can be traced through the east side of this parish, crossing *Tarras-water*; and entering the parish of *Lang-holm*, on the estate of *Broomholm*; and from thence leading up *Eskdale* to the different stations, in that quarter." The *Stat. Acco.* of *Langholm*, v. xiii. p. 597, says, "The Roman road of communication between *Netherby* and *Castle-over*, or *Over-by*, in *Eskdale-muir*, can still be traced: it enters this parish, at the south-east corner, crosses the *Esk*, a little above *Broomholm*, and continues its progress north-west into the parish of *Westerkirk*: and the minister adds, that a number of Roman coins have been found, on that line of road:" Particularly, in 1782, there were discovered, by some workmen, several *denarii aurei*; four of *Nero*, two of *Vespasian*, and one of *Domitian*; which were all in excellent preservation; and which are now in the possession of *Lady Douglas of Douglas*. In the track of the same road, there were found, at a subsequent period, a coin of *Otho*, and two *denarii aurei*, near *Wauchope bridge*. The commanding station of *Castle-over* appears to have been originally a British strength, which, from the advantages of its situation, was converted, by the Romans, into a post, that commanded *Eskdale*. In the country, around this remarkable station, to the distance of several miles, there are still to be observed the remains of smaller British strengths, on the tops of almost every height. There are also to be seen the remains of several posts, which appear to have formed a chain of communication

After this full account of the west road of the Romans, between the southern, and northern walls, it is proper to revert to the Roman ways, which conducted the Roman armies, from South to North, on the East of the Roman province. The Watling-street, having passed the walls of Hadrian, and Severus, at Portgate, directed its course through a rugged country, by the stations of Risingham, and Roe-Chester, in Reedsdale; and thence by the Golden Pots, on Thirlmoor, to the camp at Chewgreen, near the source of the Coquet, where it enters North-Britain (z). At the distance of three miles from Chewgreen, the Roman road ascends the mountains, by the remarkable pass of Wodenlaw; and at the bottom of those mountains, it crosses the Kail-water, at Towford (a). From its entrance into North-Britain, it forms the boundary, between the parishes of Oxnam, and Hounam, for the extent of more than five miles, when it enters a detached part of the parish of Jedburgh; and pushes forward, in nearly a straight line to Bon-jedburgh, which is situated on an angle, formed by the confluence of the Jed and Teviot, where there are said to be some vestiges of a station (b). After passing the Teviot, at that place, it leads through the inclosures of Mount-Teviot; and now, for the distance of three and a half miles, in a direct course, it bounds the parishes of Maxton, and Ancrum: passing over St. Boswell's Green, it crosses Bowden-burn above Newton, where its remains are very distinct (c); and from thence, it went forward to the village of Eldon, at the eastern base of the Eldon hills, on the summit whereof, there was a very strong fort of the Britons, with a Roman station, in its vicinity, below (d).

From

between the station of Castle-over, and the great station at Middlebie, on the Mein-water, in Annandale. There is reason to believe that, the Roman road, which has been thus described, as leading up Eskdale, went even beyond the station of Castle-over to the northern extremity of Eskdale. Report states that, a Roman causeway has been discovered at the head of the parish of Eskdale-muir, near a farm-house, named *Over-causeway*, before which place, the remains of a pretty strong outer station are still discernible. Stat. Acco. v. xii. p. 614. From a slight notice of this vicinal road, thus leading up Eskdale, General Roy mistakingly conceived that, it had been begun by the Romans, with a view to carry it, from Eskdale, to the right, along Tarras-water, and across the country, past Hawick to the Eldon-hills, and there to join it to the great eastern road. Milit. Antiq. v. i. p. 105. and the map, pl. i. This error arose, from his not tracing its real track to its proper destination, the station of Castle-over, in Upper Eskdale.

(z) See Roy, p. 102; and Stobie's map of Roxburghshire, for the track of this Roman road, from its entrance into North-Britain, through that county, as far as it can be traced, under the name of the *Watling-street*: this appellation has puzzled all the antiquaries; yet, is it merely the A. Saxon *Wathol*, erraticus; as we may learn from Lye. See the Saxon Chronicle, p. 143.

(a) There is a Roman post on the road, after it has passed the Kail-water. (b) Roy, p. 102.

(c) Mr. Kinghorn, who surveyed this part of the Roman road for me, in 1803, says, that the remains of it are very distinct, where it passes down the bank, on the south side of Bowden-burn.

(d) See Milne's Account of Melrose, p. 45, which Roy seems not to have consulted. This road

From Eldon, the Roman road went off, in a north-west direction, past Melrose, where many Roman coins have been found ; and traversed the Tweed, at the same ford, where the common road now passes it, above Melrose, and near the village of Galtonside (*c*). Near to this ford, there are two camps ; one on the south side, and another, on the north side of the Tweed (*d*). After the passage of the Tweed, the road turned to the right, and proceeded, northward, to the Roman station of Chester-lee, on the north side of a rivulet, which falls into the Leader, above Clacmae (*e*). Proceeding forward from *Chester-lee*, for three quarters of a mile, the Roman road still shows its remains, for a considerable distance ; and crossing the present turnpike, and soon after a brook, which falls into the Leader, below Chapel ; and pushing on, northward, it

is noticed, in the Stat. Accounts of Hounam, v. i. p. 52 ; of Oxnam, v. xi. p. 330 ; of Crailing, v. ii. p. 331 ; of Ancrum, v. x. p. 294 ; of Maxton, v. iii. p. 277—9 ; and of Roxburgh, v. xix. p. 137. In some of those accounts, antiquities are mentioned, as having been found, near the Watling-street ; and the remains of Roman camps, as existing in the vicinity of the same Roman road.

(*c*) Several Roman coins of Vespasian, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, M. Aurelius, and of Constantine, have been found at Melrose. Milne's Account, p. 44. And, Kinghorn's MS. Survey, for the passage of the road. From Eldon, northward, General Roy, in tracing its course, has completely mistaken its track, towards Soutra-hill. Without looking for the intimations of others, he was misled by the appearance of the *Girthgate*, which passes, from the bridge end of Tweed, up the valley of Allan-water, across the moors, to Soutra-hospital, on Soutra-hill. This footway, without any examination of its formation, or materials, he mistook, for the only remains of this Roman road. He forgot, that Warburton, the surveyor, and antiquary, had rode upon the true road, in 1722, from the river Reed, in Northumberland, by Jedburgh, *Melrose*, *Lawder*, *Ginglekirk*, now *Channelkirk*, to Dalkeith, and to Graham's dike. See Warburton's Letters to Gale, dated the 12th December 1723, in *Reliquiæ Galeanae*, p. 438. He adds, "The pavement is untrue, and the stones large ; so that some unskilful persons might perhaps take it for the foundation of a wall ; but that any one versed in antiquity should do so is strange." Ib. 440. For this pavement, with large stones, Roy never looked. He might have seen some useful intimations, in Milne's Melros, who had thrown his curious eyes on this interesting remain, in 1746. I caused it to be surveyed, by the intelligent Mr. Kinghorn, in November 1803, when the real track was again ascertained.

(*d*) Ib. 46—60 ; Stat. Acco. v. ix. p. 92 ; and Stobie's Map of Roxburghshire.

(*e*) The camp at *Chesterlee* was placed on a commanding eminence, which overlooked several British forts, in the surrounding country. It was of a square form, having its angles rounded ; and it measures 160 yards on each side. It was secured, by a double fosse, and an earthen rampart : but, the whole camp has been either cultivated, or planted. About 500 yards westward from *Chesterlee* camp, upon the northern side of the same rivulet, there was a small Roman post, called *Ridgewalls*, which stood also on a height, that overlooked several British forts, both on the North, and South. The post of *Ridgewalls* was of an oblong form, secured by three fosses, and ramparts of earth ; the area, within the inner rampart, being 85 yards long, and 37 yards broad. This post has also been much defaced by cultivation. MS. Survey of Mr. Kinghorn.

arrives

arrives at a small station, called the *Waas*, or *Walls*, near to New Blainslee (*f*): passing on from the *Waas*, the Roman road again becomes very distinct, throughout a mile and a half, when it again crosses the turnpike road, and immediately afterwards a rivulet, about half a mile east-north-east from Chieldhelles Chapel, where it enters Berwickshire. In proceeding up Lauderdale, the Roman road appears to have passed, on the West of Lauder town, and between it, and Old Lauder, where there are the remains of a military station (*g*). About a mile and a half, above Lauder, the remains of the Roman road again become visible, and is here named the *Ox-road*, as it leads up to a strong station, called *Black-Chester* (*h*). From this station, the Roman road passes on northward, by the west of Oxton; and in the course of half a mile, again becomes distinct, and continues obvious to every eye, as it crosses the western stream of the Leader, in its course to the Roman station, at Channel-kirk (*i*). From this commanding post, the Roman road proceeded forwards to Soutra-hill; whence turning to the left, it traversed the declivity of the country to Currie,

(*f*) This Roman station was placed upon a gentle eminence, on the western side of Leader-water. It is of an oblong form, and comprehends an acre and a half of ground. Its ramparts seem to have been of stone, though they are now so much defaced, as not to show distinctly, of what materials they were originally composed. MS. Survey of Mr. Kinghorn.

(*g*) Roman coins have been dug up, in the vicinity of Lauder, which the minister has preserved. Stat. Acco. v. iii. p. 77. This station, which was placed on a rising ground, is of an oblong form, which approaches to an oval; and its longest diameter is 120 yards, from East to West, and its shortest 82 yards from North to South. It was secured by a single fosse and rampart of earth, which are now very much defaced. Proceeding from this station, there are the remains of a military road, with a sloping ditch, on either side, which led down from this station, eastward, as if to join the great road of the Romans, as it passed, northward, to the Roman wall. MS. Survey of Mr. Kinghorn.

(*h*) This camp was placed on a rising ground, which overlooks several British forts, in the surrounding country. Its figure is something between a circle and an oval; and seems to have been thus formed to suit the ground, whereon it was placed. It was secured by two fosses, and ramparts of earth, having one entrance, on the East, and another on the West. The outer ditch is, even now, nearly eleven yards wide, and from fifteen to twenty feet deep: the inner ditch is about fourteen feet wide, and appears to have been seven or eight feet deep, but is now much filled up. MS. Survey of Mr. Kinghorn.

(*i*) The Roman camp at Channelkirk appears to have been of considerable extent, and very similar to the Roman camp at Cleghorn, in Clydesdale: but, as the greatest part of the surrounding ramparts of this camp has been levelled, its exact dimensions cannot now be ascertained. The west side, and a part of the east only remained, in November 1803. The west side exhibits a gate, which is covered by a traverse; and at the south-west corner, there is a prodigious redoubt. The area of this camp is now occupied by the church, the church-yard, and the minister's glebe of Channelkirk, and extends to almost five acres. Roy's Mil. Antiq. p. 61. pl. vi.; and MS. Survey of Mr. Kinghorn.

which

which stands in a bend of the Gore water ; and which is ascertained to be the *Curia* of Ptolomy (*k*). From this remarkable position, the road pushed on, in a north-west direction ; and crossed the South Esk, near Dalhousie Castle, and the North Esk, near Mavis-bank, where many Roman antiquities have been found. The road thence pursued its course, by *Loanhead*, and *Straiton*, which probably owe their names to its neighbourhood, to Bowbridge, at the east end of the Pentland-Hills (*l*). At this position, vestiges of it were lately to be seen, till the present turnpike was made ; leading through the entrenchments, at the Buckstane (*m*). The Roman road thence continued its course, by the east end of Bruce-hill towards Mutton-hole, near the corner of the park wall of Barnton : and from this position, it pursued its short track, which is still discernible, by curious eyes, to the naval station on the Forth, at Cramond, the *Alaterva* of Roman times. From Cramond, the road crossed the river Amon ; and passing Barnbogle-hill, went on along Eklin-moor, where it appeared to the inquisitive sight of Maitland, to Caeridden, which formed the eastern extremity of the Roman wall (*n*).

This memorable rampart was necessarily attended by a military road. It can be traced, indeed, behind the wall, throughout its whole extent, and even to Dunglas, beyond its western extremity. And a military road, though not perhaps of the same magnitude, and usefulness, must undoubtedly have connected the stations, which the genius of Agricola had placed on the same commodious isthmus.

As there were still more western roads, which went off, from the west road ; so there was a more eastern branch, that diverged to the eastward, from the eastern

(*k*) From the Roman post, at Inveresk, there went a vicinal road to a large Roman camp at Sheriff-hall, three miles, south-west of Inveresk ; and thence southward to the station of *Curia*. The traces of this ancient road, between the post of Inveresk, and Sheriff-hall, were visible, in the memory of several persons, who are still living. Stat. Account of Inveresk, v. xvi. p. 5. In writing on this subject, in 1707, Sir R. Sibbald informs us that, “ the track of a Roman road appear-
eth yet, in the way from Muffelburgh to Lugton ; and from thence to Borthwick-Castle,” (near Currie). Rom. Antiq. 39.

(*l*) In this neighbourhood, saith Maitland, the Roman road is to be seen, pointing to the station of Cramond. Hist. of Scot. v. i. p. 194.

(*m*) The entrenchments, at the Buckstane, which now remain, are of an oval figure, and seem to have been originally much more extensive ; but, from their appearance, they are thought to be rather of British, than of Roman construction.

(*n*) For the whole track of this eastern road, see Roy's *Mappa Brit. Septentrionalis* ; and Ainslie's Map of Scotland ; and also Richard, and Roy's Antiq. p. 104, 5 ; Maitland's Hist. v. ii. p. 203. It must, however, be recollected that, Roy, and Ainslie, who follows him, have mis-
takingly

eastern Watling-street, soon after it had issued from Severus's wall. This branch, which is known by the popular name of *the Devil's Causey*, thus diverging to the right, from the Watling-street, at Bewclay, pushed on between that road and the sea towards the Tweed, near West Ord; and entering Scotland, it pointed its course towards Mordington, whence it has not been traced, along the eastern coast (*o*). It is, however, certain, as remains attest, that a Roman road led from Inveresk to Cramond, along the coast of the Forth (*p*).

One road only seems to have issued, towards the North, from the wall of Antonine, at the distance of a mile and a furlong, eastward of the strong fort of Rough Castle, through an opening in the wall, which had been plainly left, for this necessary purpose. This circumstance shows distinctly the design of Lollius Urbicus, to extend the Roman authority, throughout the Caledonian regions, on the north-east.

The road had scarcely issued from the wall, when it passed through Camelon, the Roman port on the Carron; and pushing straight forward, according to the Roman manner, across the Carron, it pursued its course, by Torwoodhouse, Pleanmuir, Bannockburn, St. Ninian's, and by the west side of the Castle-hill of Stirling, to the river Forth, on the south side of which, near Kildean, there are evident traces of its curious remains. It here passed the Forth; and went forward to the station of Alauna, which was situated on the river Allan, about a mile above its confluence with the Forth; and which, as

takingly carried this road up the course of Allan-water to Soutra-hill, in place of the real track along Leader-water: See the British-Roman map prefixed.

(*o*) Roy, p. 103-4. This road may possibly have communicated with the Roman station on the White Adder, near Allan-bank, which is distant only about five miles from the Tweed, at West Ord: but, Ainslie has, in his map of Scotland, carried up this road to the supposed Roman post on the height, near St. Abbe's-head. Maitland, indeed, supposes, that this road entered Scotland, at Berwick, whence he carries it, by Coldingham-moor, Old Cambus, and Dunbar, by devious courses, to Inveresk. Hist. Scot. v. i. p. 202. He does not, however, say, that he had seen any actual remains of this road, throughout this extended route. See Sibbald's Rom. Antiq. p. 7.

(*p*) Maitland traced the remains of this road, near Muffelburgh, on the West, whence it went on to Leith, where it passed Leith-water, at the foot of the Weigh-house Wynd, where it was discovered, when the pier was repaired, at the beginning of the last century. Hist. Scot. v. i. p. 203. This road appears, in the north-east of Duddingston parish, by the name of the *Fishwives Causey*. Stat. Acco. v. xviii. p. 376. In dragging for marle, in Duddingston-loch, Roman antiquities have been found. Id. Gordon traced the same road, from Cramond towards Edinburgh, where it disappeared among the improvements. Itinerarium, 117. Had he pursued his search, in 1725, towards Leith, he had discovered its remains.

it

it is twelve miles, from the opening in the Roman wall, agrees with the distance in *the Iter* (a).

Pursuing its appropriate course along Strathallan, the road came, at the end of nine miles, to the *Lindum* of Richard's Itinerary, the well known station at *Ardoch*, according to Roy. The many Roman remains, in this vicinity, prove that, it had been the active theatre of military operations, during the successive conflicts of the Roman period. The distance of the Itinerary of Richard, and the intimations of Gordon, concur to show, that the *Victoria* of Richard, and the camp at *Dealgin-Ross*, are the same (b): placed in the upper part of Strathern, the station of *Victoria* must have formed a very commodious defence to the valley below (c). A short journey must have conducted the Roman armies, from *Ardoch* to the *Hierna* of Richard, the camp of *Strageth* upon the *Ern*. The Roman road, after passing on the east side of *Ardoch*, ascends the moor of *Orchil* to the post at *Kemp's Castle*, which it passes, within a few yards, on the east (d). The road, from *Kemp's-hill*, descends the moor to the station of

(a) This station certainly derived its name from the river *Allan*, on which it stood, in the same manner, as *Ituna* was named, from *Ithan*, the *Esica*, from *Esk*. In the vicinity of this station, there were several British forts, called *Caer's*, the remains of which are still extant; and are known, in the country, by the appellation of *Keir*, a corruption of the British *Caer*, that signifies a *fort*. From one of these, the mansion-house, and estate, of *Keir*, derived their names.

(b) Gordon's Itinerary, p. 40—42; Richard, 38, who assigns the distance of nine miles, from *Lindum* to *Victoria*; Roy's Mil. Antiq. 128. In Richard's map, the name of *Victoria* is misplaced, in the east, instead of the west end of *Strathearn*: there is, indeed, in this map, a nameless station, marked near the true position of *Victoria*, to which the name should have been applied. The fact is, as the remains evince, that *Victoria* lay eight miles, on the left, from the direct course of the Roman road: at *Lindum*, the Romans went off, in a north-west direction, nine Roman miles to the *Victoria* of Richard, the *Dealgin-Ross* of Gordon: in prosecuting their march, northward, they turned easterly, nine Roman miles to their camp at *Hierna*, the *Strageth* of modern times, which is only six Roman miles, in a direct line from *Lindum*. The truth, as it is attested by facts, appears to be, that the road, and the *Iter* of Richard, often took different routes; as here, at *Ardoch*; and farther on, at *Orrea*. Bede, and Richard agree, in saying that, *Agricola* founded *Victoria*, as a memorial of his victory over *Galgacus*, at the *Grampian*: the following coincidences confirm their opinions; (1.) The name of *Victoria*; (2.) There is a high stone, which stands within the right gate; (3.) The tumuli, or circles of stones, which are scattered about the plain, show that, this had been the busy scene of some signal military operations.

(c) Stobie's map of Perth-shire; Gordon's Itin. p. 42; Roy's Mil. Antiq. p. 128, and pl. xxxii.

(d) This is a small, but strong fortification of an oblong form, about thirty yards long, and twenty-five yards broad: it is strengthened, by a double ditch, and treple ramparts: and being placed on an elevated situation, it commands an extensive prospect. Maitland's Hist. Scot. v. i. p. 195; Roy's Milit. Antiq. pl. xxxi.

Hierna, at Strageth, from which it immediately crosses the river Ern (*e*). The position of Strageth is pronounced by military judgments, to have been peculiarly well chosen, whether its site, on the bank of the Ern, or the facility of its defence, arising from the contiguity of the river, be considered.

After the passage of the Ern, the road turns to the right (*f*); and, in an easterly direction, passes on the north side of Inverpeffery, and proceeds, nearly, in a straight line, across the moor of Gask, where it is now used, as the common road (*g*); and continuing its course through the plantations of Gask, it passes

(*e*) Maitland says the road intersects the Roman camp at Strageth. *Hist. of Scot.* v. i. p. 196. Roy carries it past the west side of the camp, at the same place. *Milit. Antiq.* p. 107. The reason of this apparent difference is, that Maitland, and Roy, allude to different camps. There was a larger, and a smaller Roman camp, at Strageth, through the former of which the road passed, leaving the smaller camp upon the right hand, as stated by Roy. The large camp, at this place, was overlooked by Gordon, and slightly noticed by Roy. *Gordon's Itin.* p. 42. pl. vii.; Roy's *Milit. Antiq.* p. 128. and pl. xxxii.; and see afterwards, p. 136.

(*f*) From the great Roman road, near the passage of the Ern, on the north side, a vicinal way diverged to the left, and went in a northerly direction, through the country, nearly seven miles to the Roman station at East Findoch, on the river Amon. I was informed, by the late inquisitive Colonel Shand, who had inspected that vicinity, with the eye of a soldier, after mentioning several vicinal ways of the Romans, in Strathern, "that there is one way of this kind twelve feet wide, which I have traced, and which in some places is very distinct, from the confluence of the Powaffray-water, with the river Ern, near Strageth, where the great Roman road crosses the Ern, through the country, northward, to the plantations of Monzie, where there is the vestige of a strong post, in the Roman style; from which post, this vicinal way turns to the right; and I was told, by some of the country people, that it may still be seen, in a few places, running on past Connachan to the Roman camp, at East Findoch. This camp contains, as usual, about ninety acres Scots measure, and is advantageously situated in the mouth of Glen-Amon." Colonel Shand's letter to me, dated the 22d December 1801. Stobie's map of Perth-shire may be inspected, with a view to that camp, and way. In the same letter, Colonel Shand mentioned to me another vicinal road; "running in a straight line, from the confluence of Farg-water with the Tay, towards Dunning, and the house of Duncrub." It remains almost perfect, for more than a mile, through the moorish ground, called Muirmonth: it is sixteen feet wide, raised considerably above the adjacent ground, and has a ditch, on either side of it. It is exactly the same, in every respect, as the other vicinal roads, except, that it is not paved.

(*g*) The *Stat. Acco. of Trinity Gask*, v. xviii. p. 486, says: "That the Roman road, or causeway, passes along the highest ground in the parish. It is very compleat, and with little, or no repair, serves for a public road. The stones, of which it is made, are pretty large, and are laid in good order. It is commonly dry, in the wettest season." The *Stat. Acco. of Gask*, v. i. p. 481, says: "The Roman causeway runs through the middle of this parish on the highest ground. It is twenty feet broad; and is composed of rough stones, closely laid together. It is in entire preservation, as the proprietor of the adjacent grounds, though he enclosed the fields, on each side, with stone dykes, did not suffer a stone to be taken from the road. Along the causeway are stations, capable of containing ten, or twelve men: they are enclosed by ditches, which

passes a Roman camp, on the right (*b*). At the distance of two miles farther on, where the plantations of Gask terminate, this great road passes another small post, on the left (*i*). From this position, the road proceeded forward, in a north-east direction to the station of Orrea, which is situated on the west bank of the Tay, at the present confluence of the Amon with that noble river (*k*). The commodiousness of the site, before a part of the encampment had been washed away, by the floods of the Amon; the correspondence, between the distance of the Itinerary, and the real distance, and the passage of the Tay, by the Roman road, at this position, along a bridge, which still may be traced, by remains, to a landing place, whence the Roman road proceeds; all those circumstances concur to show, that the station, at the confluence of the Amon, with the Tay, was the Orrea of Richard (*l*).

From

“ which are yet very distinct ; and seem to have been designed for the accommodation of the overseers of the work.” For the policy of such small posts, see King’s *Munimenta*, v. ii.

(*b*) Stobie’s map of Perth-shire represents this camp, in the same form, but of smaller dimensions, than the small camp at Strageth. The minister of Gask says, “ it seems to have been capable of containing five hundred men :” the ditches, with the *Pretorium*, are still distinct, though the ground is planted with firs, being inclosed in the plantations of Gask. *Stat. Acco.* v. i. p. 481. This camp is not noticed either by Maitland, or by Roy. There is a paved way, twelve feet broad, from the great road to this camp, says Colonel Shand, in his letter to me of the 22d December 1801.

(*i*) Stobie’s map of Perth-shire ; Roy’s *Mil. Antiq.* p. 107 ; and *Stat. Acco.* of Gask, v. i. p. 481. ; and of Trinity Gask, v. xviii. 486.

(*k*) The Amon at present washes the south side of the station, and has carried away a part of the works : but this was not the course of it, in ancient times : it ran past Ruthven-castle, now Hunting-tower, where there is still a rivulet called Old Amon, and it joined the Tay about half a mile southward of its present junction. *Stat. Acco.* v. xv. p. 528.

(*l*) Roy’s *Mil. Antiq.* 128. See a drawing of Orrea, in Roy’s plate xii. The intelligent minister of Redgorton, the parish which claims this Roman station, remarks : “ Another piece of antiquity is the continuation of the causeway, leading from the Roman camp of Ardoch, which crosses the Tay, at its present conflux with the Amon. At this place, there are the remains of a Roman station, regularly formed into a square, surrounded with a deep fosse, which has, for some years, been gradually washing away by the overflowing of the Amon. There have been dug up here several urns, filled with human ashes, a Roman *lachrymatory*, and also a pig of lead, weighing about two stone, with Roman letters on it. The foundation of a wooden bridge, which had been thrown over the Tay, at this place, still remains ; and consists of large oak planks, fastened together, coarsely jointed, and surrounded with clasps of iron. At the other end, beyond this bridge, to the north-east, there are some remains of a causeway, which extends almost as far as Blairgowrie.” *Stat. Acco.* v. xv. p. 527-8 ; Maitland’s *Hist. of Scotland*, v. i. p. 199 ; Cant’s *Threnodie*, p. 112. On the north bank of the river Amon, near its influx into the Tay, there were dug up some Roman cinereal urns of yellow clay, and some fragments of glass vessels of a blueish colour, which were presented to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland,

From the important station of Orrea, the Roman road, and Richard's Itinerary, took different directions: and we may infer, from this unnoticed circumstance, that they belonged to different ages, or at least were composed, with dissimilar views. Having crossed the Tay, by means of the wooden bridge, the Roman road went up the east side of the river, and passed through the center of the camp, at Grassy-walls (*k*). From this position, the remains of the road are distinct, for a mile, up to Gellyhead, on the west of which it passed; and went on, by Innerbuist, to Nether-Collin, where it again becomes apparent; and continues distinct to the eye, for two miles and a half; passing on, in its obvious course, to Drichmuir, and Byres (*l*). The road now went forward, in a north-east direction, passing between Blairhead, and Gilwell, to Woodhead; and thence pushing on, by Newbigging, and Gallowhill, on the right, it descends Leyston-moor; and passing that village, it proceeds forward to the Roman camp at Cupar-Angus, which is about eleven and a half miles from Orrea. The camp at Cupar appears to have been an equilateral quadrangle of four hundred yards, fortified by two strong ramparts, and large ditches, which still remain, on the east, and south sides, and a part on the north side, but the west side has been obliterated by the plough (*m*). From Cupar, the Roman road took a north-east direction towards Reddie, in the parish of Airly. On the south of this hamlet, the vestiges of the road again appear; and for more than half a mile, the ancient road forms the modern way (*n*). The Roman road now points towards Kirriemuir, past which it appears to have gone, in its course to the large Roman camp, at Battle-dikes (*o*). Having traversed this camp, the Roman road continued its progress, in an east-north-east direction, for several miles, along the valley, on the south side of the river South-Esk, which it probably passed near the site of Black-mill, below Esk-mount. From

land, in March 1781. *Acco. of the Society*, p. 46. Richard, indeed, places the *Orrea* on the northern bank of the Tay, in the country of the Vecturiones: but, the facts, which have just been stated, would over-rule a greater authority than Richard's, with the classical aid of Ptolomy.

(*k*) Roy, p. 65, and pl. xii.

(*l*) Stobie's map of Perthshire.

(*m*) Maitland's *Hist.* v. i. p. 199. The *Stat. Acco. of Coupar-Angus*, v. xvii. p. 11, says: "It is nearly a regular square of twenty-four acres." This camp seems not to have been noticed, either by Gordon, or by Roy. There is, indeed, a little more than one mile south of this camp, on Camp-moor, another Roman camp, which Roy describes p. 67, and of which he gives a plan, pl. xiv.

(*n*) Maitland's *Hist. Scot.* v. i. p. 200: Roy's *Mil. Antiq.* p. 108.

(*o*) Maitland's *Hist. Scot.* v. i. p. 200, says: "That John Webster, the farmer, who resided in, and laboured this camp, turned up with the plough the foundation of this road, in divers parts, in its course, through the camp, which is now all converted into arable land."

this

this passage, it went across the moor of Brechin, where vestiges of it appear, pointing to Keithock (*q*); and at this place, there are the remains of a Roman camp, which are now known, by the modern name, of *Wardikes* (*r*). Beyond this camp, on the north, this Roman road has been seldom, or never seen, even by inquisitive eyes. In the popular tradition, this road is called the *Lang Causeway*; and, is supposed, in popular belief, to have extended northward, through Perth, and Forfarshire, and even throughout Kincardine-shire, to Stonehive: Legend imagines this *Lang Causeway* to have been constructed, by the magic powers of Michael Scot, even in one night; and it is, therefore, often called *Michael Scot's Causeway*. The tradition, though not the legend, is supported by remains. About two miles, north-east, from the Roman station, at Fordon, and between it and the well-known camp, at Urie, there are the traces of an artificial road, as it crosses a small hill; and it is popularly called the *Picts Road*, an intimation, which carries back its origin, and construction, to ancient times (*s*).

There is, indeed, reason to believe, that there are traces of roads, which may have been made, by Roman hands, even farther north. In Aberdeen-shire, between the rivers Don, and Urie, on the eastern side of Bennachee, there exists an ancient road, which is known, in the country, by the appropriate name of the *Maiden Causeway* (*t*). It proceeds from Bennachee, whereon there was a hill-fort, more than the distance of a mile, into the woods of Pitodrie, where it disappears from the most inquisitive sight: it is paved with stones; is about fourteen feet wide; and has every appearance of a vicinal way of the Romans (*u*).

Even still more northerly, in the track of the TENTH ITER, as it courses between the two stations of *Varis* and *Tuessis*, from Fores to the ford of Cromdale, on the Spey, there has been long known a road of very ancient construction;

(*q*) Maitland, who has the merit of having first traced this road, says; "that its vestiges point to Keithock."

(*r*) See a plan of the camp at Wardikes, in Roy's Milit. Antiq. pl. xiv.

(*s*) In the same manner, Severus's wall, in the north of England, is called the *Picts wall*. The intimations about the traces of the road, in the text, I owe to the intelligent letter of the Reverend James Leslie, at Fordon, dated the 26th of March 1799.

(*t*) Some of the Roman roads, in the north of England, are distinguished by the same name of *Maiden Causeway*.

(*u*) Such was the opinion of the late judicious Colonel Shand, who described this road to me, in his letter of the 2d December 1801. This *Maiden-way* is on the west side of the *ninth Iter*, on its course, from the Don to the springs of Ithan, the station of *Rae-dikes*: if this way were continued, in its appropriate direction, a mile beyond Pitodrie, it would join the tract of the *Iter*, near the river Urie.

leading

leading along the course of *the Iter*, for several miles, through the hills; and pointing to Cromdale, where the Romans must have forded the Spey. It appears to have been judiciously laid out, and substantially constructed: it is not now used; nor can the most intelligent persons of the country ascertain, when, or by whom it was made (*x*). The track of this very ancient way, on the course of the tenth *Iter*; the mode of its construction; its unaccountable age, and modern desuetude; all these coincidences make it probable that, those singular remains were once a Roman road.

Various traces of very ancient roads are still discernible along the track of the *tenth Iter*, between the distant station of *Tuessis*, and *Tamea*, by Corgarf, and through Braemar; as hath been already intimated: the tradition of the people, in Strathdee, and Braemar, declares, indeed, that there are remains of Roman roads, which traverse the country, between the Don, and the Dee. It is certain that, there are obvious traces of ancient roads, which cross the wild districts, between Strathdon, and Strathdee, though it is impossible to ascertain, when, or by whom, such ancient roads were constructed in such directions, throughout such a country (*y*). Such are the various notices, which have been diligently

(*x*) The Reverend John Grant of Elgin informed me, in his letters dated the 24th of October, and 6th of November, 1799, of the existence of such a road, from the information of Captain Grant, who was perfectly acquainted with that retired part of the country. I was thus induced to make farther inquiries. And Mr. James Grant of Grantoun, the manager of Sir James Grant's extensive estates, informed me, in his letter, dated the 11th of March 1800; "Last summer, I observed two pieces of very ancient road, not now used; one of them is some distance north from Castle Grant; and the other, further on, in a direction towards Forres: upon making inquiry of the people, who live in that country, I was informed that, still farther on, there are two, or three pieces of a similar road, leading through the hills towards Forres." The late intelligent Robert Grant, the old laird of Elchies, said to me, in his letter, dated the 16th of July 1800: "There certainly is a very ancient road, crossing the country, in the direction, you point out; (from Forres to the ford of Cromdale on the Spey); some part of it must have gone, in the direction of the present military road, which passes through Strathspey, and by the castles of Corgarf, and Braemar, to Glenshee." Such, then, are the informations of those very well-informed persons. The tradition of the country ascribes the construction of that very ancient road to the Comyns of the 13th and 14th centuries: but, that powerful family were otherwise occupied, during times, when the making of roads was unthought of: the policy of those times would have rather obstructed the making of passages into the interior of an impervious region.

(*y*) The Reverend Robert MacGregor, the missionary minister, in Glenmuick, Tulloch, and Glengairn, says, in his letter of the 6th of May 1801: "That a man eighty years old gave him a description of a *Roman* road, which goes from the craigs of Ballater, near the influx of the Gairn into the Dee, across the country, in a northern direction, towards Corgarf, on the Don. This road first appears, at a little distance north of the Dee, between Gairn-water, on the west, and the burn of Altdowrie, on the east; and the traces of it are distinctly seen, at intervals, throughout

diligently collected, from the most intelligent persons, in those wild districts, with regard to those ancient roads, which babbling tradition appropriates to Roman times. It is, however, certain, from every inquiry, that the Romans did not, throughout Vespasiana, make their roads with the massy materials, which they usually employed, in similar works of greater stability.

We have now investigated, with some precision, the *Iters*, and the *Roads*, which facilitated the communications of the Roman territories, in North-Britain. We are thus, naturally, conducted to a consideration of the Roman *Stations*, which secured the Romanized Britons, and overawed the independent Caledonians, without the Roman limits. As the Romans originally entered the Caledonian regions, on the west, we ought to look, for their earliest encampments, along the track of their first invasions. The fact attests the truth of this intimation. It is along the course of their usual communications, where we observe the most early of the Roman works. On the Roman road, from Carlisle through Annandale, we soon meet with the Roman station at Birrens, near Middleby, which Horsley supposed to be the *Blatum Belgium* of Antonine's Itinerary (y). It is situated on a commodious flat, upon the northern bank of the small river Mein; having on its east side a rivulet, which here joins the Mein: it is of a rectangular form, and is surrounded by five earthen ramparts, and four fosses, a part whereof have been carried away by the floods of the river, that once formed its ornament, and strength (z). As we might easily expect, many Roman antiquities have been successively discovered, at this station, where the

" throughout the country, almost to Corgarf, a distance of about nine miles: the place, where it
" is most distinctly seen, is at the well of Glaschoil, a few miles from Corgarf." He adds that, Captain M'Donald of Gardensdale shewed him another ancient road, higher up in the country, which first appears, near the chapel of Abergeldie; and proceeds, northward, along the hill Gealaig toward Rinneton, by Sleadhach, towards Corgarf; the whole extent being about twelve miles. These roads, he remarks, go by the name of *Roman*, in the language of those, who know them. William Farquharson, the laird of Monaltrie, informed me, in his letter of the 31st January 1800: " I have heard of a way near my house of Ballater called the *Roman road*: and, James Catenach, " the schoolmaster of that district, tells me, in his letter, that there is a place near the burn of " Tullich, or Altdowrie, called *the Roman Causeway*." Mr. Farquharson supposes this to be the continuation of the same way, called the *Roman road*, near his house of Ballater. Both Mr. Farquharson, and Mr. Catenach, allude to the same road, which was first mentioned above, by Mr. MacGregor, as going from the craigs of Ballater, northward, between Altdowrie, and Gairnwater.

(y) Brit. Romana, p. 114-15: Roy says he has done so, with good reason. Milit. Antiq. 118.

(z) See a plan, and section of this station, in Roy's Milit. Antiq. pl. xxiv.; and see Pennant's Tour, v. iii. p. 90.; Maitland's Hist. v. i. p. 191.; Gordon's Itin. p. 16. pl. i., and addit. p. 27.

Romans,

Romans, no doubt, remained till their ultimate abdication (*a*). North-westward from Birrens, nearly three miles, the Romans placed two camps, on the side of Burrenswark-hill, the summit whereof had been previously occupied by a British strength. This is obviously the *Trimontium* of the ninth Iter of Richard, as we have already seen (*b*). The antiquaries are not agreed, by whom those Roman camps were placed on the commanding site of Burrenswark-hill: yet, is it probable, that the Roman genius was first attracted by the Selgovæ fort, and was afterwards induced to place successively two camps on the declivity of this hill, by its commodious position. On the Torwood moor, about four and a half miles, north-west from Burrenswark-hill, on the left of the Roman road, half a mile, there are the mutilated remains of a large camp. The greatest part of one side, with its two gates, and a portion of each end, remain entire. Such was its extent, that it would have contained ten thousand men (*c*). As it was somewhat dissimilar, in its structure, from the Roman camps on Burrenswark-hill, it was probably formed, by the Roman hands of a different age. In Upper Annandale, at *Tassiesholm*, there are the remains of a redoubt, and a large entrenchment, which were probably constructed here, by the Roman armies, on their march, for a temporary accommodation (*d*). In the parish of Moffat, near the Roman road, there are the remains of some large Roman camps, which can still be distinctly traced, after so many years of waste (*e*). Besides those larger stations, the Romans established, within Annandale, sundry smaller posts, along the course of the Roman road (*f*). On the eminence of *Galla-berry*, standing in the center of the extensive holm, between the Annan, and the Drife, there is another small Roman post (*g*). On the Roman road, below

(*a*) Gordon's Itin. p. 18.: Horsley's Brit. Rom. 207. 341. pl. n° 7. xxxii., pl. n° 7. xxxiv.; Pennant, v. iii. p. 90—3; and v. ii. p. 406; Roy, p. 119: and see the Trans. of the Antiq. Soc. Scot. p. 55—116., for the several antiquities, which were found here, and presented to that Society, by the late Dr. Clapperton, and Mr. A. Copland of Collieston.

(*b*) Book i. ch. 2.

(*c*) Roy, p. 61. and pl. vii.

(*d*) Ib. p. 61. pl. viii.: The minister of Kirkpatrick-juxta mentions the post at *Tassiesholm*; and describes some antiquities, which have been found, in his vicinity. Stat. Acco. v. iv. p. 552.

(*e*) Ib. v. ii. p. 288.

(*f*) Beyond the Milk, there are the remains of a Roman post, which is called *Malls-Castle*. Roy, pl. xxv. North-westward from this post, on the south-west of Lockerby, there is a similar post, near the great station on Torwood-moor, towards the east. There is another Roman post, on the western extremity of Torwood-moor, near the Roman road. Half a mile further north, there is a similar post. From the village of Berngall, on the east side of the Annan, there is a small Roman post on a height, which stands opposite to a British fort, on the adjacent eminence. Ib. v. ix. p. 425., which speaks of warlike weapons, and ancient armour, that have been frequently found here. See Roy, pl. xxv.

(*g*) Id.

Wamphray,

Wamphray, there is a small Roman post, at Girthhead (*b*). At Cartertown, in the parish of Hutton, there is a small Roman camp, which was probably placed here, for the purpose of muffling, and overawing several British forts, that are perched on the surrounding heights: it may have, also, served, as a post of communication, between Annandale, and Eskdale, where the Romans had several stations.

On the angle, between the great branches of the Esk, a little above their junction, the Romans had a station, the remains whereof are now called *Castle-over*, or Overby, in contradistinction to the post of Netherby, on the Lower Esk, whence a Roman road has been traced throughout Eskdale to Castleover. Such was the advantage of *Castleover*, that it completely commanded Upper Eskdale. On this position, there was previously a large British fort, which was surrounded by a number of smaller strengths, that were placed on the summits of the heights, for several miles around (*i*). It is more than probable, that *Castleover* was the *Corda* of Ptolomy, a town of the Selgovæ, which he places where this is found, on the northern extremity of their territories. In lower Eskdale, three quarters of a mile, eastward, from Gilknocky, there are the remains of another Roman station, near which a variety of Roman coins, and sculptured stones, have been discovered by excavation (*k*). Still lower, in Eskdale, the Roman stations were the well known post at Netherby, and a smaller post at Liddel Moat, both which are on the English side of the dividing Esk.

In Nithsdale, no considerable Roman stations have yet been discovered, except the camp on the declivity of *Wardlaw-bill*, the *Uxellum* of Ptolomy, and Richard. This has been already noticed, among the operations of Agricola, by whom it is supposed to have been constructed, near the Selgovæ town of *Uxellum*. On the Roman road, which went athwart Annandale, and along the eastern part of Nithsdale, into Strath-Clyde, there were several small stations; particularly, a post, near Amisfield-house, and another, in the remarkable pass, lying northward of Durisdeer Church; both which still appear, in their distinct

(*b*) Roy, p. 104. Upon the Roman road, along the east side of the Annan, in Upper Annandale, there are the remains of several small posts of the Roman armies, which had been here constructed on their successive marches. Stat. Acco. v. ii. p. 288.

(*i*) Stat. Acco. v. xii. p. 614; Ib. xi. p. 528; and Crawford's map of Dumfries-shire: both on the summit of a height, and on the lower ground below, to the southward of *Castle-Over*, there are the vestiges of entrenchments; one line running southward, and the other east, towards the bank of the Esk. Roy, p. 120. See a plan of *Castle-Over*, in Roy, pl. xxvi.

(*k*) Stat. Acco. v. xiv. p. 421.

remains (*l*). At Kirkmichael, between Annandale, and Nithsdale, there was a small Roman station, the site whereof now forms the minister's garden. A vicinal way led off to it, from the Roman road, as it passed through Nithsdale (*n*). Though from this great road, a Roman way branched off, which pushed up the vale of Scar river, towards Ayr-shire; yet, the only Roman post, which has been discovered, on the western side of the Nith, is the small station of *Tibber's Castle*, opposite to the point, whence the Roman road turns, northward, up Carron-water, towards Clydesdale (*o*).

The Roman stations, which have hitherto been discovered, in Galloway, from the Nith, westward, to Whithern, have already been described, in giving an account of the operations, in that extensive country, of its first invader. We have found many footsteps of the Romans, in Galloway, but scarcely any, in Ayrshire: and these curious circumstances attest more satisfactorily than the brief narration of Tacitus, that Agricola entered Galloway, from the south, and not from the north, as antiquaries have supposed.

We are now to pass into Clydesdale, another great scene of Roman transactions. Here, also, shall we find almost all the stations lying, along the track of the Roman road, or in its immediate vicinity. On the sources of this great river, we may see at Little Clyde, in the parish of Crawford, the remains of a Roman post, placed upon the northern declivity of Erickstane-brae (*p*). This is obviously the long sought for Gadenica, the town of the Damnii. The minister of Crawford claims, for his parish, the honour of having three Roman posts, within it (*q*): but, he can only be allowed Gadenica, the other two strengths being merely the circular hill-forts of the British people. A few miles lower down, we come to an undoubted remain of a Roman post, as its square form evinces, near the Roman road, between Catchapel, and Littlegill, in the parish of Lamington (*r*). The minister, indeed, mentions a Roman post on Arbor-hill (*s*): but, this also is only a British hill-fort, as its remains attest. About seven miles below, near the Roman road, and between it and Culter-water, opposite to Nisbet, there is an undoubted remain of Roman construction, square in its

(*l*) *Ib.* v. i. p. 165.; Roy, 105. To this station, whose remains are still distinct, Roy, and Ainslie, have mistakingly applied the name of *Tibber's Castle*, which is, in fact, the name of a very different station, distant five miles southward, on the west side of the Nith.

(*n*) *Stat. Acco.* v. i. p. 64.

(*o*) See a plan of *Tibber's Castle*, in Roy, pl. xlix. and Crawford's map of Dumfries-shire, for its position.

(*p*) Roy, p. 104.

(*q*) *Stat. Acco.* v. iv. p. 514.

(*r*) Roy, p. 104.; and Ross's map of Lanerkshire.

(*s*) *Stat. Acco.* v. vi. p. 557.

form,

form, and capacious in its contents (*t*). From this station, two miles and a half west-north-west, beyond the Clyde, above the village of Syminton, there are the distinct remains of two Roman camps (*u*). From the station on Culterwater, about two miles northward, there is the remain of another Roman camp, as its square form, and its location, near the Roman road, attest: it stands between the road and the river, where the Clyde makes a remarkable turn, opposite to Biggar. From this station, north-east, a mile and a half, there is another Roman post near Biggar, on the west, which is now called *the Moat*: and this camp was obviously intended to command the communication between the Clyde and Tweeddale (*x*). Below Biggar, nine miles, there is a Roman station, which has acquired the appropriate name of *Castledykes*, through which passed the Roman road (*y*). Horsley says, indeed, that this station had a large fort, with many buildings, which were even then to be seen, and where urns, and coins, have been discovered, by excavation (*z*). In this vicinity, as all the coincidences evince, was situated the long-sought for *Coria*, the town of the Damnii, and of the conjectures of the antiquaries; as, indeed, we have perceived, in tracing the ninth Iter of Richard, which calls for it, as a commodious stage. From the station at Castledykes, two miles, there is a large Roman camp, on the north side of the Mous river, between Cleghorn and Stobbylee. This camp is nearly six hundred yards distant from the Roman road, on the east; and from its vicinity to Castledykes, we may suppose, that it was not a permanent station (*a*). On the south side of the Mous, there are the vestiges of another camp, on Lanerk-muir: but, as there can be traced only a part of the entrenchments, on one of the sides, and a part of one of its ends, its original size cannot easily be ascertained (*b*). At Lanerk, which is nearly three miles from Castledykes, and two miles from the track of the Roman road, Roy supposes, that the Romans had a station, and the Damnii a town, the *Colania* of Ptolomy, and Richard. But, no remain has yet been discovered, which would confer the honour of a station on Lanerk, a shire-town; and the *Colania* of the Damnii stood undoubtedly on Little Clyde, as we have seen, in

(*t*) Id.: and Ross's map.

(*u*) See Ross's map, for their positions.

(*x*) See Roy, and Ainslie's map.

(*y*) See a plan of *Castledykes*, and of the adjacent country, in Roy, pl. xxvii. Many remains, such as pottery, coins, bricks, and a bath, have here been discovered, which indicate this to have been a station of great note, and long endurance. Stat. Acco. v. xviii. p. 180.; v. xv. p. 10. Roy, p. 104.

(*z*) Brit. Rom. p. 367.

(*a*) Roy, p. 62, and pl. ix: he says its dimensions are 610 yards long, and 430 broad, and that it was not a permanent camp.

(*b*) See Roy's pl. ix. and the Stat. Acco. v. xv. p. 10.

our progress (c). Proceeding down the vale of Clyde, from Castledykes, fourteen miles, we find another Roman station, on the east bank of the river, below the church of Dalziel. This station is distant more than a mile from the Roman road, on the left, which goes on to the Roman wall (d). Below this station, nearly two miles, there is a small Roman post, on the banks of the river Calder, which seems to have been intended to protect the ford, as the road passed the Calder, at this place (e). Below the post at Calder, ten miles, there is supposed to have been a station, whence a road pretty certainly diverged to Paisley (f). The road, we have traced; but, this doubtful station has been lost for ever. The fact is, that the Roman wall came too near to the site of Glasgow, to require a station; and being within the Roman province, and near the Roman centinels, the ford, at Glasgow, could be safely passed, without a protecting post: nor, has any Roman station yet been found, where none was requisite, between Glasgow and the wall.

But, no one has ever denied to Paisley the honour of a Roman station, at *Vanduaria*, a town of the Damnii. Sir R. Sibbald, and Horsley, speak of the visible remains of a Roman station, at this busy place. The expansion of the town, and the cultivation of the country, have almost obliterated the Roman remains. The bowling-green, however, on the commanding height, is said, by tradition, to denote the *Prætorium* of the Roman fort. The British name of the Damnian town seems obviously to have been derived from the vicinity of the *White-Cart*, to which the station extended; *Wen-dur*, signifying, in the British, the *white water*; and this Celtic appellation was easily latinized, by the Romans, into *Vanduar-ia*; as *Esc* was converted into *Esica*, and *Alan* into *Alauna* (g). Beyond Paisley, on the West, no Roman station has yet been found, though some roads have been traced, and coins, and armour, have been found, as we have seen. It was the opinion of the learned Mr. David Buchanan, says Sir R. Sibbald,

(c) See Roy, p. 122., where he says, without authority, “ that the Castlehill is indisputably a Roman fort; for here, and in the adjacent fields, coins have been found, particularly, a medal of “ Faustina:” but this castle was merely baronial; and coins might well be found, where so many Romans dropt them. See Stat. Acco. v. xv. p. 12.

(d) See Ross’s map of Lanerkshire.

(e) A little more than twenty years ago, said the minister of Dalziel, in 1791, this fort was pretty entire; but, cultivation has now greatly encroached upon it. Stat. Acco. v. iii. p. 458.

(f) But, for this station, and road, Roy relies on the obscure intimation of Gordon, the tourist, who was not much to be trusted. Milit. Antiq. 106.

(g) In the beginning of the last century, there existed, at Paisley, the remains of a large Roman camp, with its *Prætorium*, on the rising ground, called Oakshawhead, which overlooks the surrounding country, and the town of Paisley. The *Prætorium* was not large, but was well fortified, with

Sibbald, that there was a Roman camp, on the Clyde, where New-Glasgow stands ; and where appeared the vestiges of a tower : but, no such camp has yet appeared to more accurate eyes ; and the tower, to which he alludes, was either the old castle of Newark, or the eastern castle of Greenock, that he idly mistook, for a Roman post (*b*).

If we pass, however, from Biggar, through the natural opening of the country, into Tweeddale, we shall discover Roman stations. The principal post, in this country, was the Roman camp at Lyne church, about ten miles, eastward, from the Roman position, at Biggar, the guard of the natural road into the interior country. This camp was placed upon a rising ground, on the eastern side of the river Lyne, in a kind of amphitheatre, which is surrounded by hills. It is of an oblong form ; and was defended by three strong ramparts, and two large fosses ; having a regular entrance, on each of its sides : on the west, it was further defended, by a bank forty feet high, along which flowed the Lyne : the same bank, and the river, continued round the south side, though at a greater distance ; the trench of the camp being a hundred and fifty yards, from the top of the bank, which was artfully scarped away, to augment the strength of the defences (*i*). The minister of Lyne says, that the road leading to the camp visibly runs through the present glebe (*k*). Neither Roy, nor Park speak of this road ; yet, Armstrong, the surveyor of Peebles-shire, mentions a redoubt, and a *causeway*, on the eastward of the station (*l*). Pennicuik was the first, who published any notice of this station : in speaking of Lyne,

with three fosses, and ramparts of earth, which were then so high, that men on horseback could not see over them. The camp itself, says Mr. William Dunlop, who was the Principal of the College of Glasgow, and royal historiographer, “ took in all the rising ground ; and, by the vestiges, seems to have reached to the Cart. Upon the north side, the agger, or rampart goeth along the foot of the hill ; and if it be allowed to go as far upon the other side, it hath inclosed all the ground, upon which the town of Paisley standeth, which may be reckoned about a mile in circuit.” The form of this camp appears to have been much the same with the Roman camp at Ardoch. In the vicinity of this station, there are two small posts, somewhat larger than the *Pretorium* of the large camp ; but of the same form ; the one, on the west, upon the lands of Woodside ; and the other, on the south, upon the lands of Castlehead, each about half a mile from the large station. The description of Renfrewshire, as quoted by Sir Robert Sibbald, *Roman Antiq.* p. 36. : and Crawford’s *Hist. of Renfrewshire*, p. 5. on the same point.

(*b*) *Rom. Antiq.* 38.

(*i*) This description is chiefly given, from an accurate survey of this station, which was made by Mr. Mungo Park, in October 1802. Both Gordon, and Roy, represent the parallel sides as of equal length : but the difference in Mr. Parke’s measurement may be owing to the imperfect state of the remains. Roy’s measurement is 850 feet long and 770 feet broad, including the ramparts. The interior area, extending to between six and seven Scots acres, has been often ploughed, when coins are said to have been found. *Stat. Acco.* v. xii. p. 9. and 564.

(*k*) *Id.*

(*l*) *Companion to the Map*, 64.

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he says, "here is to be seen the remains of a large camp, near half a mile in circuit, which is strongly fenced with dry, and double ditches; and which the people call to this day, Randal's walls (*m*)."¹ From the central situation of this Roman camp, in the middle of Tweeddale, it must have commanded the whole country: and, it is curious to remark that, even in the present times, the great roads, leading from Strath-clyde, on the west, from Selkirk, and Roxburgh, on the east, from the Lothians, on the north, and from Dumfries-shire, on the south-west, all meet at a central point, three quarters of a mile east of Lyne (*n*). In Tweeddale, which had its communication with Clydesdale, and could thus command the interior, there have been discovered, by active curiosity, some other Roman camps, but of less consequence, than *Randal's Walls*. From this station, distant nine miles, in Linton parish, there is a Roman camp, at Upper Whitefield, on the north: it is in the form of a parallelogram: and its dimensions, and area, says Gordon, are much the same, as the well-known camp at Ardoch (*o*). The minister of Manor claims the honour of a Roman camp, for his parish, which he supposes to be pretty entire, and to exist near a tower, upon an eminence, commanding a most extensive view (*p*). Armstrong, who was also ambitious of Roman discoveries, could not find any Roman camp, in Manor parish (*q*).²

In the wild country of *Etterick forest*, which, long after Roman times, was covered with wood, there has not yet been explored any Roman post. The Romans, however, seem to have delighted to hunt, in this well-stocked forest.

In

(*m*) Description of Tweeddale, 1715, p. 19: "It got this name, says Armstrong, from a popular tradition, that the famous Randolph, the Earl of Murray, had a house in the area." Companion to the Map of Peebles, p. 65. Gordon first gave a plan of this camp. Itin. pl. lii. Roy gives a drawing of this camp. Milit. Antiq. pl. xxviii.

(*n*) There are the remains of several British forts, on the heights, around this Roman station, within the circuit of a few miles; particularly, one on Hamildun-hill, on the north, one on east Happlew, on the south, one on Hound-hill, one on Caver-hill, and the vestiges of others, on other heights.

(*o*) Itin. Septent. 114: Armstrong's Comp. to the Map of Peebles, 59. Gordon, who eagerly connects this camp, with the name of *Romanno*, in the neighbourhood, says, this camp is only one mile north-west, from that place; but, in fact, it is at least three and a half statute miles, northward of *Romanno*, where Armstrong, the surveyor, could find no vestige of any Roman works. Companion, 74.

(*p*) Some years ago, a Roman urn, and some ancient coins, were here discovered by the plough. Stat. Acco. v. iii p. 388. The tower, which is alluded to above, is no doubt the lofty ruin on a steep knoll, called *Castle-hill*, on the west side of Manor-water, above Manor-town.

(*q*) He found, however, in this parish, what he might have seen every where, British hill-forts, in several parts of Manor parish. Comp. to the Map, and his Map of Peebles-shire. Near Traquair, on the southern side of the Dale, an octangular vase of brass, which is doubtless of Roman workmanship,

In a moss, near Selkirk, there have been found the skulls of the urus, with a Roman spear, which seems to have been used, in killing those powerful animals (*r*). Within the modern limits of Selkirkshire, there was, indeed, a Roman post, in Roberton parish, for overawing the circumjacent forts of the British people, in western Teviotdale.

The same policy dictated to the Roman officers the establishment of some posts in *Lidsdale*. On the farm of Flight, near the old castle of Clintwood, is a Roman fort, which is surrounded by two ramparts of earth. The remain is of a square form, extending a hundred and sixty-eight feet, on every side. It was obviously placed here to oppose a British hill-fort, which still appears, in its vicinity. In the south-west of Lidsdale, there was placed, on the commodious side of a hill, another Roman post, which was surrounded by a rampart eighteen feet high. It was plainly opposed to the British fort on Carbyhill (*s*). These two Roman posts, the one on the east, and the other on the west, probably, commanded the narrow district of Lidsdale.

Teviotdale exhibits many more remains of Roman posts, than the foregoing districts; as it was much more populous, and as it was intersected by the Roman road, which came down, from Northumberland, by the name of the *Watling Street*, and passed upward, through Lauderdale. At Bonjedworth, on the angle between the Jed and Teviot, there are some vestiges of a Roman station, near the course of the Roman road (*a*). On the border of Maxton parish, there are the conspicuous remains of a Roman camp (*b*). On the west of the Roman road, after it has passed the river Kail, there is also a Roman post (*c*). Between Bedrule, and Newton, a mile eastward from Rule water, there is a Roman post of a square form, which is surrounded by a fosse, and rampart: it overlooks a British fort, which opposes it, about half a mile, on the west (*d*). In the parish of Cavers, amidst several British strengths, there is a Roman post, which obstructed their ancient influence. Within the parish of Roberton, on the

workmanship, was found; and presented, by the Earl of Traquair, to the Antiquary Society of Edinburgh. *Acco. of this Society*, p. 555.

(*r*) Those remains were presented to the Antiquary Society of Edinburgh. *Stat. Ac.* v. ii. p. 448.

(*s*) *Stat. Acco.* v. xvi. p. 83: On the farm of Shortbut-trees, in this vicinity, were dug out of a moss, some copper, and brass vessels of antique construction, which were given to the Duke of Buccleugh. *Ib.* 80 From the many matters of Roman manufacture, which have been dug, from the bottom of mosses, we might infer, that those mosses did not exist, in Roman times.

(*a*) Roy, p. 102. Ainslie represents a Roman camp, on the angle of the two great branches of the Jed, on the south side of Teviotdale.

(*b*) *Stat. Acco.* v. x. p. 294. (*c*) Ainslie's map of Scotland. (*d*) *Stat. Ac.* v. xv. p. 563.

Borthwic

Borthwic water, there is a camp, which the country people call *Africa*, and which was judiciously placed amid several forts of the Britons, on the surrounding heights (*e*). At the Eldon hills, in northern Teviotdale, the Romans had a considerable station, below which there was a large fortress of the British people, on the summit above (*f*). It has, indeed, been supposed, that the Romans merely converted the British strengths into a stronger work (*g*). The Romans did certainly convert several British forts into more defensible posts, where the situations were advantageous; but, their permanent stations were more commodiously placed, than on *steepy craggs*. Their station here appears to have been situated at the northern base of the hill, near Melros (*h*). Around the British strength, on the Eldon hills, which seems to have been of commanding force, there appears to have been several British forts of smaller size. Some of these, the Romans converted into more defensible posts. Such was their fort on Caldshiels hill, two miles, west-south-west, of the Eldon hills (*i*). The smaller strengths of Row-chester, at Kippila-mains, and Black-chester, southward of Clarilaw, appears also to have been converted, from British forts, to Roman posts; Row-chester is two miles, and Black-chester, three and a half miles, southward, of Eldon hills (*k*).

(*e*) Ib. v. xi. p. 545. (*f*) Roy, pl. xxi. which gives a view of the surrounding country.

(*g*) Milne's Melros, p. 45.

(*h*) Ib. 44—5. There have been many Roman coins found here. Id. There are, indeed, some traces of entrenchments, near the village of Eldon. Roy 116. And there are some other further northward, near Melros. The Watling-Street went past this station, in its course, northward, beyond the Tweed.

(*i*) This fort is nearly of a square form, 200 yards long, and 180 yards broad, having the corners rounded off: the area, extending to more than seven acres, is surrounded by an earthen rampart, and fosse; and another rampart, and fosse encompass the hill, about fifty feet below: the Romans added a square redoubt, on the south side, extending to about half an acre, which was defended, by a rampart, and fosse. Mr. Kinghorn's MS. Survey, in February 1803.

(*k*) The post of Row-chester, which stands on a gentle eminence, is in the form of a parallelogram, having the angles rounded: it was fortified by a strong rampart, and large fosse, inclosing an area of two and a half acres. Mr. Kinghorn's MS. Survey. Row-chester is also the name of a Roman fort, near Severus's wall; Roe-chester is the name of the Roman station, in Reedsdale; and Rochester, in Kent, derives its name, from a Roman fort. The *Row*, *Ro*, *Roe*, are probably the English forms of the Scottish *Raw*, *Ra'*, *Rae*, as we see the word, in *Rae-dikes*, the Roman camp, at Urie, and also the Roman camp, at Glanmeilin: the word is probably derived, from the British *Rba*, and Gaelic *Ra'*, signifying a fortified place, a fort: The Irish *Raths* have the same origin, the (*th*) being quiescent. Black-chester is situated on a gentle eminence, northward of the Ale water: it is also a parallelogram, with the angles rounded: it was defended, by a strong rampart, and a double ditch: it was considerably larger than Row-chester, at Kippilaw mains. Mr. Kinghorn's MS. Survey.

These

These three strengths were connected, by a military road of a singular kind ; which runs from the strength, on Caldshiels hill, south-south-east, nearly three miles to the post of Row-chester ; and from it, south-east, a mile and a half to the camp of Black-chester. This military road was mentioned by Milne, in 1743, and by the minister of Bowden, lately (l). It is described, by Mr. Kinghorn, who surveyed it, in 1803, as being, in general, about forty feet broad, but in some places fifty, where the unevenness of the ground required such a breadth. It was plainly formed, by scooping the earth from the sides, an operation, which left the middle high : there is a ditch, on each side, from twelve to twenty-eight feet wide, whence the earth was thrown up, so as to form a mound, on the outside of the excavation. No part of this road appears to have been paved with stones. It does not go straight forward, but in several places takes a bend (m). This remain is so different from all the Roman Roads, in North-Britain, that it is not easy to suppose it to have been constructed, by Roman hands. It may have been the work of the Romanized Britons, during their struggles, after the Roman abdication. When they reoccupied their strengths, on that sad occasion, they may have imitated the policy of the Romans, in connecting their posts, by a military way, upon a plan, that was adapted to their own purpose. Unlike the Roman roads, this military work appears to have answered all the uses of a covered way. This singular work is, in some respects, similar to the *Catrail*, which runs athwart the country, in a similar direction, but considerably to the westward of this covered way. The *Catrail*, its perfect state, must have resembled a lane, with a high rampart of earth, on either side : it was thus obviously intended, as a work of defence, though it may have also answered the useful purpose of a *covered way*. The object of the military road before mentioned, appears to have been to furnish a defensible passage between those neighbouring strengths. It was probably formed, at an earlier period, than the *Catrail*, when the Romanized Britons had been driven back from the country, through which it passes. It is remarkable, that though this military road leads directly up to the strength on Caldshiels hill, and to the fort of Black-chester, yet it passes Row-chester at the distance of four hundred yards, westward ; sending off two branches, one to the south, and the other to the north side of the fortress. This circumstance shows clearly, that this work was intended, as a covered way, between those several strengths. From slight appearances, this remarkable work is supposed to have crossed the Ale water,

(l) Account of Melros, p. 48 ; Stat. Account, v. xvi. p. 240.

(m) The minister of Bowden says, that various warlike weapons have, at different times, been dug up, in the vicinity of this work, and in the adjacent mosses. Stat. Account, v. xvi. p. 240.

southward, to a strength on Bewlie hill; and from thence, south-eastward, a mile and a half, to the ancient fort above Rawflat, on the height. From Caldshiels hill, two miles, northward, there is the strength of Castlesteads, on a gentle eminence, at Kidside. From Castlesteads, a similar covered way to that above described, if not the same, has been traced, westward, nearly a mile to the Netherbarnford, on the Tweed; and it seems even to have here passed the river into the country beyond it, though the occupations of peace have obliterated what the results of war had constructed (*n*).

From the British fort, on Eldon hills, to the strength on Caldshiels hill, westward, two and a half miles, there are a fosse, and rampart, which appear to have been carried throughout the distance, between those fortresses, as a defensible boundary. The fosse was dug, from twelve to fifteen feet broad, and nine or ten feet deep: the rampart was formed of the earth, which was thrown up from the ditch, upon the north side, to which the ground, throughout the distance, naturally slopes (*o*). This defensible boundary, like *Herrit's dike*, extending from Lauderdale to Berwick, is to be referred, probably, to the Romanized Britons, at the epoch of the Roman abdication; and, with other remains of a similar nature, somewhat illustrate the darkest period of the British annals.

With the *Watling Street*, we now pass, from the interesting district of Teviotdale, into the vale of the Leader, the Lauderdale of more recent times: we here may see the Roman post of *Chesterlee*, three and one half miles up the dale, westward, of the Leader, half a mile. This strength forms a square of one hundred and sixty yards, on either side, with the angles rounded off, to suit the position. Chesterlee was defended by a double fosse, and a strong rampart of earth, which cultivation has levelled. A part of the area has been planted. Standing on an eminence, this Roman post overlooks several strengths of the Britons, in the circumjacent country. From Chesterlee, westward, five hundred yards, was placed the smaller station of *Ridgewalls*, which, from its gentle eminence, commanded several forts of the Britons, both on the north, and on the south. The Roman post of *Ridgewalls* is of an oblong rectangular form; and was defended by three fosses, and earthen ramparts: the interior area measures eighty-five yards long, and thirty-seven yards broad (*p*). In Lauderdale, along the course of the *Watling Street*, there were several British hill-forts, which were converted, by Roman art, into defensible posts. At Old Lauder, was such a post, which was defended by a fosse, and rampart. And from it, led down a military road.

(*n*) Milne's Melross, 55-6; Mr. Kinghorn's MS. Survey.

(*o*) Milne's Melross, 46; Kinkhorn's MS. Survey, 1803.

(*p*) Both Chesterlee, and Ridgewalls, were surveyed by Mr. Kinghorn, in November 1803.

to the Watling Street, at some distance, eastward. Farther up the dale, two miles from Old Lauder, there was the British fort of *Black-chester*, which was obviously converted, by Roman policy, into a defensible post; as it was advantageously situated on the Watling Street; and as it overlooked several strengths of the Britons, in the circumjacent country (*q*). But, the Roman station of greatest consequence, in this district, is the camp at *Channelkirk*, in Upper Lauderdale. This station appears to have been of considerable extent, though cultivation has obscured its magnitude. The church, churchyard, and the minister's glebe, of *Channelkirk*, containing nearly five acres, are comprehended in the area of this singular camp (*r*).

If from Lauderdale, we turn to the right into the *Merse*, we shall find the most considerable station of the Romans, in this district, at *Chester-knows*. It stands on the bank of the White Adder, eight miles, west-north-west, from Berwick, and five miles east from Dunse. It was of an oblong rectangular form; the length being from east to west, along the river; and it was defended by a triple line of ramparts, which have all yielded to the repeated attacks of the husbandman (*s*). The only other Roman station, which time, and chance, have yet discovered, in Berwickshire, is a small post, on St. Abbe's head, ten miles, north-north-east, from *Chester-knows*. While this post possesses the eastern extremity of the height, a British strength occupies the western, at the distance of half a mile. Further westward, three furlongs, there was another British strength, which, with the former, were both commanded by the Roman post (*t*).

From St. Abbe's head, along the coast to Inveresk, no Roman camp has yet been discovered, whatever antiquaries may have supposed (*u*). The minister
of

(*q*) I owe those notices to Mr. Kinghorn's Survey, in November 1803.

(*r*) In the west side, there was a gate, which was obviously covered, by a traverse; and a remarkable redoubt projects, from the south-west angle. Roy, p. 61. pl. vi.; and Mr. Kinghorn's MS. Survey, in 1803.

(*s*) The ramparts remained pretty entire till 1765, when they were inspected by Dr. Anderson, the minister of the parish. Stat. Account, v. xiv. p. 32—3. At this station was found, by excavation, a Roman *moletrina*, in 1796. Ib. 45—50. From Chesterknows, at some distance, northward, was discovered, in 1788, a Roman sepulchre of considerable magnitude on Billiemire, in the parish of Chirnside. Id. 30—1.

(*t*) See Blackadder's map of Berwickshire. Ainslie has somewhat misplaced this Roman post; and he seems to have gone beyond his authorities, in carrying up to it the Roman road, though the Romans must have had a way to their post.

(*u*) Maitland speaks of a tradition, which placed a Roman camp, at Dunbar, where no remains have been found; and the Statistical Account is silent, though it particularizes every ancient remain.

of Humber mentions, indeed, that a Roman *Castellum* is still to be seen on the lands of Whiteburgh. This fort, which occupies more than an acre of ground, stands on a lofty summit, in the western parts of this parish. It is of a circular form; and is defended by three walls, which are at the distance of fifteen feet, from each other; and which are built of large stones, with cement, at the foundation of each. He considers this circular hill-fort, thus surrounded by walls of stone, as a Roman castle; because there have been found in it a medal of Trajan, a fibula, a patera, and the horn of a mouse deer (x). But, might not a British chief have carried all these into his stronghold, as the spoils of war, or the gifts of peace? This castle is not more than three and a half miles, east-north-east, from the Itinerary station of *Currie*, on the Gore water, a town of the Gadeni.

Mid-Lothian much more abounds in Roman antiquities. The Roman officers seem to have had many villas along its salubrious shore. At Fisherow, at Musselburgh, at Inveresk, many Roman remains have been found, at various times; and these show, that the Romans had a post, at Fisher-row, and a post, at Inveresk (y). At Sheriffhall, the Roman camp is of a square form, and is of a large size. And, a hamlet near it bears the appropriate name of *Camp-end* (z). From Sheriffhall, south-east, distant four and a half miles, there is a Roman camp of a smaller size, which stands on a commanding site, upon the southern extremity of the hilly ridge, that runs along the eastern side of Newbattle parish (a). This post is of a quadrangular form, comprehending, in its area, about three Scots acres; and having an opening to the south-east (b). From this com-

The tradition refers to a British strength on the summit of the *Dun* hill, two miles south from Dunbar, or perhaps to a similar strength of the Britons three miles south from Dunbar, which Forrest has denominated a Roman camp, in his map of Haddingtonshire. Maitland also states, that there is a Roman camp on *Camp hill*, near Haddington, on the north-east. Hist. Scot. i. p. 202. The Statistical Accounts are altogether silent. Maitland, perhaps, alluded to a large fort of the Britons, which as usual, is called *Chesters*, near Haddington, on the north. See Forrest's map, and Armstrong's map of the Lothians.

(x) Stat. Account, v. vi. 162.
(y) An altar dedicated *Appolini Granio* was dug up, at Inveresk, before the age of Camden. Brit. 1607, p. 13; Sib. Rom. Antiq. 33. Coins, and medals, have also been found here. A bath has been laid open to the eye of curiosity. Stat. Account, v. xvi. p. 4, 5. From Inveresk, a causeway led, southward, to the Roman camp, at Sheriffhall, three miles distant, on the south. Id. Another Roman road traversed the coast to Cramond, a well known Roman port.

(z) See Armstrong's map of the Lothians, for the camp, at Sheriffhall, which exhibits it, in a square form.

(a) Its site is 680 feet above the level of the sea; and overlooks the Lothians, the Forth, and the shore of Fife.

(b) Armstrong's map of the Lothians; Stat. Account, v. x. p. 213; and the Rev. John Clunie's MS. Description.

manding

manding position, three miles, south, there is the remain of a Roman station at *Currie*, on the Gore water. Every circumstance attests *Currie* to have been a Roman post. It is plainly the *Curia* of the fifth Iter of Richard; and of course the *Gadeni* town: the Watling Street, in its course, northward, passed this position, as did the fifth Iter, on its progress southward. The concurrence of the name, the distance of its position, from Antonine's wall, the coincidence of the situation, all evince, that this was the *Curia* of the *Gadeni*, however antiquaries have misplaced that British town (*c*). In the vicinity of *Currie* has been discovered a Roman altar of a quadrangular form, which was raised upon a strong foundation. There is another Roman altar of the same figure, and dimensions, in the burying ground, at *Borthwick* church, near the same interesting place (*d*). In this vicinity, which abounds with antiquities, on the farm of *Catcune*, a mile below *Currie*, there is the remain of a British strength, that is called the *Chesters*. In the middle of this fort, there is an immense round whinstone, which the cultivators of the soil have not been yet able to dig up, from its sitfast hold: and from it, distant a hundred yards, there are several sepulchral tumuli. It is curious to remark, that the prefix, in the name of *Cat-cune*, where those remains exist, signifies, in the British, and Gaelic languages, a *battle*, which the tumuli also indicate to have been once fought at *Cat-cune* (*e*). It is probable, that there was a Roman post, on the North Esk, near *Mavisbank*, where the Watling Street enabled the Roman troops to press forward to

(*c*) On Richard's map, *Curia* is placed, as far southward, as *Bremenium*, in opposition to his own text. Roy, and Whitaker, have confounded *Curia*, with the *Coria* of the *Damnii*.

(*d*) The Rev. John Clunie's MS. Account. He also states that, in this vicinity, upon the lands of *Middleton*, there are five rows of terraces above one another, in the face of a sloping bank, which overlooks a pleasant valley; and these are called *Chesters*, a name, which always intimate some warlike works.

(*e*) The Rev. Mr. Clunie's MS. Account. He examined, at my request, all those remains, with the tenant of the lands. On a plain, half a mile east from *Currie*, there are a number of sepulchral tumuli, which have disclosed earthen pots, containing half-burnt human bones. Near the same tumuli, have been dug up, from the plain ground, only a foot, or a foot and a half, under the surface, earthen urns, containing ashes, with half-burnt bones. From every circumstance, it is reasonable to believe, that the earthen pots, which were found under the tumuli, contained the remains of the Britons; while the urns, that were ploughed up, from the surface, contained the ashes of the Romans. It is apparent, from all those coincidences, that the Roman legionaries, and the *Gadeni* people had, on this scene, met in bloody conflict, the one to attack, and the other to defend the British town. In this neighbourhood, were those altars erected: and three miles, northward, from *Currie*, was placed the Roman camp, in *Newbottle* parish. I owe my thanks to the Rev. Mr. Clunie of *Borthwick*, for almost all those antiquities of this interesting spot, on the Gore water.

Cramond

Cramond, and the wall (f). At Ravelrig, eight miles, south-south-west, from Cramond, stood a Roman post, a little eastward from the hill, which was occupied on the summit, by a British fort, whence the hill was named *Castle-bank* (g). But, the most interesting station of the Romans, in Mid-Lothian, was *Cramond*, the *Caer-amon* of the Britons, the *Alaterva* of the Romans (h). At the mouth of the Amon, upon the eastern side, the Romans had their naval station, from early times, till their final departure, from the shores of the Forth. Here, have been discovered the mole, which they had founded on the rock, the Roman altars, their coins, and medals, and pottery, and lime kiln, and an anchor, the evidence of the port, and a pavement, the proof of the town (i). Cramond, as we have seen, communicated by a road, eastward, with Inveresk, and westward, to the wall.

West-Lothian has its full share of Roman antiquities. The Romans seem to have had a villa, at Linlithgow, where the Gadeni had previously a town (k). Yet, Camden, and his followers, cannot be allowed to place the *Lindum* of Ptolemy, and Richard, at *Lin-lith-gow*, which demonstration has fixed at

(f) Near Marisbank many Roman antiquities have been found. Roy, 103; Stat. Account, v. x. p. 286.

(g) See Armstrong's map of the Lothians; and the Stat. Account, vol. v. p. 326. From *Castle-bank*, eastward, three and a half miles, there is the remain of another Roman post on *Lady hill*. Id. In the south-west extremity of Mid-Lothian, not far from the town of Crosswoodburn, there is a Roman post in a pretty entire state. It stands on a most commanding situation, upon the summit of an eminence, called *Castlegreg*, near the passage of the ridge, which separates Lothian from Clydesdale; and over which passes the present road to Lanerk. In the environs of *Castlegreg*, have been dug up several Roman coins, that displayed the Roman eagle, though the inscriptions were defaced. Stat. Account, v. xviii. p. 196.

(h) The fort stood at the influx of the *Amon* river into the Forth; hence, the Britons called the site *Caer-amon*, or *fort on the Amon*; and this descriptive name has been abbreviated, by pronunciation, to *Cramon*, to which ignorance has added a (d); so as to form *Cramond*.

(i) Sibbald's Rom. Antiq. p. 33; Gordon's Itin. p. 116—17; Horsley's Brit. Rom. p. 204-5; Wood's Cramond, p. 11, 12. Among many coins, that have been found at Cramond, there was discovered here a medal of Dioclesian, who died, in 316 A. D.; having on the reverse a genius, with the appropriate inscription, GENIO POPULI ROMANI. This medal alone evinces, as Horsley, indeed, remarks, how late the Romans retained this naval station.

(k) Sir R. Sibbald is positive upon this point. Hist. of Linlithgowshire, p. 15. But, he does not say, that any remains of a station has been here found. A discovery was, however, made, in 1781, which supports the probability of there having been a Roman villa, on this elegant site, which was afterwards occupied by a royal palace: in the Burrow moor was turned up, by the plough, a Roman urn, which contained many Roman coins of Vespasian, Domitian, Hadrian, Trajan, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, and Faustina. Three hundred of these coins were presented to the Antiquarian Society of Edinburgh, by Robert Clerk, the respectable provost of Linlithgow. Antiq. Transac. p. 60.

Ardoch (l).

Ardoch (*l*). There is much more reason to believe, as Bede, indeed, has intimated, that the Romans placed several posts, as exploratory forts, along the bank of the Forth, from Cramond to Caer-riden (*m*). Near Queensferry, the castle of Abercorn, and Springfield, those posts are supposed, by various antiquaries, to have stood, as stronger, or weaker intimations struck different minds (*n*). It is, however, certain, that the Romans, during many ages, were busily employed along this track, and must have dropt many reliques, which mark their footsteps, illustrate their policy, and exhibit their arts. But, there has never been any doubt of there having been a Roman station, at Caer-riden; as the name imports, and as the termination of the wall evinces (*o*). The Romans found a shelter for their vessels, while they carried on their intercourse, at Blackness, distant from Caer-riden two miles, eastward, on the shore of the Forth (*p*).

The wall of Antonine appears to have been strengthened, and defended, as we have seen, by nineteen forts, judiciously placed, within two miles of each other, exclusive of the stations, at Caer-riden, and Kirkpatrick (*q*). At Dun-glas, they doubtless had a fort, as well as a harbour, for their ships, in the Clyde (*r*). But, as their shipping must have been embarrassed, and their *prætentura* enfeebled, by the shoal, at Dumbuck, the principal harbour, as well as the commodious mart of the Romans, must have been at Dunbarton, the *Theodosia* of the lower empire (*s*). Such, then, were the Roman stations in *Valentia*.

During those times, the Romans possessed many posts in *Vespasiana*, which we are now to survey. The remarkable peninsula of Fife was first invaded by them, under Agricola, in 83 A.D. when its inhabitants, the Horestii, were

(*l*) The antiquaries were deluded into that conceit, merely, by the likeness of the prefix *Lin*, in both the names; as they did not advert to the distance, and the location.

(*m*) Smith's Bede, p. 50; Sibbald's Hist. Linlithgow, p. 20; Stat. Account, v. i. p. 238; Id. v. xx. p. 399; Roy, p. 136.

(*n*) Id.

(*o*) Sibbald's Hist. Linlithgow, p. 19. Gordon shows how many Roman antiquities have been found at Caer-riden. Itin. Septent. p. 61. pl. li. Since the ages of Sibbald, and Gordon, other remains have been found, where many once existed. In 1741, says the minister of Caer-riden, there were found here, by excavation, axes, pots, and vases, which, as they were evidently Roman, were sent to the Advocates' Library, at Edinburgh. Stat. Account, vi. p. 100.

(*p*) Roy, p. 164.

(*q*) Ib. p. 157—64, pl. xxxv.

(*r*) Id.

(*s*) Roy places Theodosia, at Dunbarton, on his *Mappa Romana*; and Richard meant to place it, at the same commodious position, yet carried it to the issue of Loch-Lomond. Neither Gordon, nor Horsley, found any remains at Dunbarton; yet, Dr. Irvine, as we are assured by Sir R. Sibbald, found, about the year 1686, the Remains of a Roman fort, at Dunbarton, the *Alcluid* of the Britons.

subdued.

subdued. Even at that early epoch, the Roman navy, which surveyed the whole Forth, may have found a harbour, at Bruntisland, where nature had placed a commodious port. On the eastern base of Dunairn hill, a mile from the port, the Romans probably placed a camp, in early times (*t*). On the western summit of this height, the Horestii had a fort, which was thus strong from its position, and was made more defensible by art (*u*). This Roman camp remained very distinct to the days of Sibbald, who often mentions it; and speaks of the *prætorium*, as a square of a hundred paces diameter; and as called, by the country people, the *Tournament*, where many Roman medals have been found (*x*). On the left of this naval station, near Carnock, on the south, the Romans, had, in those times, a camp, the remains whereof may still be traced, though cultivation has done much to obliterate them. The existence of this camp will always be attested, by the name of its site (*y*). At Loch-Ore, ten miles from the frith, there was a Roman camp, which antiquaries suppose, with great reason, to have been the same camp, where the gallant Horestii attacked the ninth legion of Agricola (*z*). This camp, which, we have seen, was pitched among the strongest forts of

(*t*) It is popularly called *Agricola's* camp: but, this tradition is not older, probably, than the writings of Sir R. Sibbald.

(*u*) The area on the summit was surrounded by a rampart of stones; and lower down, in the face of the hill, another wall encompassed the whole. Sibbald's *Rom. Camps*, p. 5—15; *Stat. Account*, v. ii. p. 429. On the north, there was another fort on the summit of *Bonie hill*. In this vicinity, on the north-west, are there several sepulchral tumuli; wherein have been found urns, containing ashes, and stone chests, comprehending human bones. Sibbald's *Rom. Camps*, p. 9, 11, 18. The minister of Bruntisland also mentions several barrows on the heights of Orrock and Babie, half a mile, northward, from Dunairn hill, wherein human bones have been discovered by excavation. *Stat. Account*, v. ii. p. 429.

(*x*) Sibbald's *Rom. Forts*, p. 11—15: he also says, that Roman coins and sculptured stones have been discovered at Orrock. *Ib.* 9. A coin of Antoninus Pius has been found near Bruntisland. *Trans. Antiq. Soc. Edinburgh.* p. 70.

(*y*) It is called *Camps*: and two adjoining hamlets are named *East Camp*, and *West Camp*. *Anslie's map*; *Stat. Account*, v. xi. p. 497. In the vicinity of this camp, the Horestii appear to have had a fortress on *Carneil hill*; as, indeed, the British prefix, *Caer*, a fort, seems to intimate. *Id.* There are several sepulchral tumuli on *Carneil hill*, which have disclosed human remains; and which attest that some conflict had happened here. *Id.* Copper coins have also been found here. *Id.* On *Craigluscar hill*, north, a mile and a half, the British people had another fort. *Id.*; *Ib.* v. xiii. p. 453. From the Roman camp, at Carnock, north-west, three miles, the Horestii had another fortress, on *Saline hill*; and below, one of a similar form. *Ib.* v. x. p. 312.

(*z*) Of the existence of a Roman camp, at Loch-Ore, on the north-west side, there cannot be a doubt. The proprietor of Loch-Ore, having cut drains under the camp, found several Roman antiquities. On *Binartie hill*, which stretches from east to west, three miles, the Horestii had a great strength, which was fortified, by double ramparts, and ditches. Sibbald's *Rom. Antiq.* p. 37. He confounds this with the Roman camp. *Id.* From *Binartie*, a mile and a half, commences the range

of the Horestii, appears to have been afterwards converted into a permanent station; as its remains show it to have been secured, by three ramparts, with their accompanying fosses (*a*). The Romans had a small post upon the May water, at *Ardargie*, at the defile of the Ochil hills, which served, as a central communication, between their stations on the Forth, and Strathern, the great scene of the Roman operations. They had also a post at Hallyards, in the parish of Tulliebole (*b*). If we might give implicit credit to Sir R. Sibbald, we ought to suppose, with him, that the Romans had a road through every vale, and a camp on every height, within his native shire (*c*). That they had traversed, and subdued this great peninsula, between the Forth and Tay, where they long remained, is certain (*d*). The coins of such a succession of Emperors, which have been every where found, in this interesting ground, attest the fact, with full conviction (*e*).

Not only in Fife, which formed a considerable part of *Vespasiana*; but, every where beyond the wall of Antonine, the brave descendants of the Caledonian people, who had dared to act offensively against Agricola, were restrained under Lollius Urbicus, by the same means, which had subdued, and civilized, the Caledonian clans, within *Valentia*. Itineraries, with their accompanying posts, were carried throughout the ample range of *Vespasiana*; a road, as we know from remains, and as we have seen from examination, penetrated the greatest part of its long extent, from the wall to the *Varar*: and, fortresses, we shall immediately find, were erected near the commanding passes, from the Highlands to the low country. By a judicious arrangement, the Roman officers seem to have carried into effect two great objects: 1st, In order to command the low country, which lies between the long range of the Grampian hills, and the eastern sea, they established corresponding posts, at convenient distances; 2dly, With design, to protect the low-lands, along the coast of the eastern sea, from the incursions of the unsubdued Caledonians of the interior highlands, they settled, in every opening pass of the Grampian

range of Cleish hills, upon four different summits, on each whereof the Horestii had a fastness, which had been constructed with great labour. They have been mistaken for Roman works, which are quite different, in their location, and construction. In the low grounds, northward from this hill, there were discovered, in 1791, a number of sepulchral urns, containing ashes, human bones, with charcoal: these were, doubtless, Roman; as they were not covered with tumuli; and were of better workmanship, than those of the Britons. *Stat. Account*, v. iii. p. 561.

(*a*) Gordon's *Itin* p. 36; *Stat. Acco.* v. vii. p. 315. (*b*) *Stat. Account*, v. xviii. p. 470.

(*c*) See his *Rom. Enquiries*; his *Roman Forts and Colonies*; and his *Hist. of Fife*, throughout.

(*d*) *Id.* See the *Statis. Accounts of Fife*.

(*e*) Sibbald's *Rom. Antiq.* p. 51; *Hist. Fife*, p. 31; *Acco. of the Antiq. Soc. of Edin.* p. 41, 42, 74, and part ii. p. 63, 70.

hills, a suitable fortress. All those judicious arrangements of hostile policy may still be traced, by the obvious remains, both of the stations, and forts. And, a liberal curiosity may be gratified, by a brief review of those military dispositions, for enforcing the obedience of the gallant people, who then inhabited a difficult country.

That Camelon, which was situated about five furlongs, without the gate, where the Roman road issued from the wall, was a Roman town, is agreed by all the antiquaries (*f*). Its vestiges were apparent to the inquisitive eyes of Gordon, and of Horsley (*g*), though its object seems not to be so apparent, if it were not designed, for the useful purposes of treaty, and of traffic, the *Kiakta* of those times (*b*). Only one Roman road, as we have seen, conducted the Roman armies, from the wall to the Varar, though vicinal ways connected their outposts with their stations. From Camelon, northward, ten miles, there is reason to believe, that the Romans had a station, at Stirling (*i*). Along the same road, at the distance of twelve miles, north-north-west, from Camelon, was the Alauna of Ptolomy, and of Richard, which was situated on the kindred Allan, about a mile, above the confluence of this river, with the cognate Forth. The Alauna commanded the lower parts of Strath-allan, with the whole country, on both the banks of the Forth, and her associate Teith, for a considerable distance; having communications with Camelon behind, Lindum before, and with subsidiary posts, on those rivers above. The next station, along Strath-allan, and the course of the northern road, was Ardoch, at the distance of about nine miles, northwest, from the Alauna, on the east side of Knaig water. Here, was the celebrated scene of many Roman operations, from the great epoch of the Caledonian conflict with Agricola, till the final abdication of the Roman

(*f*) There is a plan of this town in Roy's Milit. Antiq. pl. xxix.

(*g*) Itin. Septen. p. 23; and Brit. Rom. p. 172. Yet, Horsley, mistakingly, placed Camelon immediately within the wall. See his map of the course of this fence from frith to frith.

(*b*) Sir R. Sibbald informs us that, "within a century of years hence, [1707], an anchor was "digged out of the ground near Camelon; and the surface of the ground between it and the water "of Carron, shews, that the sea, in ancient times, flowed up to it; so it seemeth to have been a "post. There are yet traced the vestiges of regular streets; and there are vaults under them; and "a military way passeth from it, south, to Carnwath; and Roman coins have been found in it." Rom. Antiq. p. 34. And, Roy intimates, that an anchor had been found; and that some traces of the Roman post are still visible. Rom. Antiq. 153.

(*i*) Sir R. Sibbald says, "upon a rock below the castle [of Stirling] this inscription was graven, "which was sent to me thus: IN EXCV. AGIT. LEG. II.: and seemeth to have been the chief "quarter of the second legion; this being the main pass to the north countries, was guarded by "it." Rom. Antiq. p. 35. It was obviously the ford on the Forth, at this passage, which the Roman post was here placed to protect.

power. The several works, which have been successively constructed, at Ardoch, by different commanders, with various views, are proofs of its advantageous position (*k*). Strath-allan, wherein it is placed, is the natural passage from the Forth, northward, into the heart of Perthshire, and into the interior of Caledonia. And this station, with its collateral outposts, commanded the whole extent of this interesting district, between the frith, and Strath-ern.

Next to Ardoch, in this chain of camps, at Strageth, about the distance of six miles, north-east, on the south side of the river Ern, was the Hierna of Richard. This station was advantageously placed on an eminence; and commanded the middle part of Strath-ern, lying between the Ochil hills, on the south, and the river Amon, on the north (*l*). On the moor of Gask, upon the communication between the stations of Hierna, and Orrea, there are, as we have already seen, two Roman posts, which were probably designed to protect the

(*k*) At Ardoch, there are the distinct remains of three Roman camps of very different sizes, which appear to have been constructed, at different periods. The largest was formed by Agricola, in his famous campaign of the year 84; and was of course the first. The second, in size, is on the west side of the former; and was undoubtedly formed, by a subsequent commander, who included within his entrenchments a part of Agricola's camp. The third, and smallest, camp, was constructed on the south side of the largest one, a part of which it comprehends. This last camp is surrounded by a much stronger entrenchment, than the other two. See the dimensions of those several camps, described in Roy's *Mil. Antiq.* p. 62, and pl. x. Besides these three contiguous camps, there is, also, on the south side of the last of them, opposite to the bridge over Knaig water, a very strong fort, surrounded by five or six fosses, and ramparts: its area is about 500 feet long, and 430 broad, being nearly of a square form. See a plan of this impregnable fort, in Roy's *Military Antiq.* pl. xxx.: see Gordon's *Itin.* p. 41, pl. vi.; and Horsley's *Brit. Rom.* p. 44, and pl. xlv. Gordon, and Horsley, only mention this fort: and they seem to have overlooked the three camps, on the north of it, which, with other small military posts, in the contiguous grounds, are equally important. For some other particulars of an interesting nature, see Sir R. Sibbald's *Rom. Antiq.* p. 37; his *Roman Colonies beyond the Forth*, p. 10; and the *Stat. Account*, v. viii. p. 495.

(*l*) On an eminence, at Strageth, upon the south bank of the river Ern, there was, till recent times, a pretty large Roman camp, the ramparts whereof have been completely levelled by the plough. When Maitland examined it, about the year 1749, there was enough of the rampart remaining to shew, that the camp had been of large dimensions, containing more than thirty Scots acres, according to the opinion of the farmer, who rented the ground. *Mait. Hist. of Scot.* v. i. p. 196. The remains of this camp were also noticed by Roy, *Milit. Antiq.* p. 128. On the east side of this camp, there was a Roman fort of less size, but of greater strength, surrounded by three rows of ditches, and ramparts, which inclosed a rectangular area of about four hundred and fifty feet long, and four hundred feet broad. See a plan of this fort, in Roy's *Milit. Antiq.* pl. xxxii.; and Gordon's *Itin.* p. 42, pl. vii. Gordon seems not to have been aware, that there had been a large camp on this site, of which the fort, described and represented by him, and by Roy, was merely an adjunct, in the same manner, as the fort of Ardoch forms only an inconsiderable part of the Roman fortifications, at that famous station.

Roman road, from the incursions of the tribes, on either side of this communication. But, Orrea, lying east-north-east, about fourteen and a half miles, from Hierna, as it was the most central station, was also the most important (*m*). Situated, as we have observed, at the confluence of the Amon with the Tay, Orrea commanded the eastern part of Strathern, the banks of the Tay, and the country, between this river and the Sidlaw hills (*n*). The Roman Orrea, like the modern Perth, was the central position, whence the Roman road departed, and to which it returned, through the interior highlands; as we learn from the ninth, and tenth, *Itinera* of Richard.

Thus much, with regard to the principal stations, which commanded the central country, between the Forth and Tay. It is now proper to advert, secondly, to that policy of the Romans, by which they guarded the passes, through the Grampian range, within the extent of Perthshire, to the districts below.

The first Roman strength, on the south-west, is the camp, that was strongly placed on a tongue of land, which is formed by the junction of the rivers Strath-gartney and Strath-ire, the two sources of the river Teith (*o*). The remains of this camp may still be seen, near Bochastle, about fifteen miles, west-south-west, from the station of Ardoch. The judicious position of the camp, at Bochastle, is very apparent; as it guarded, at once, two important passes into the west country; the one leading up the valley of Strath-ire, into Braidalban, and thence into Argyle; the other leading along the north side of Loch-Venachor, Loch-Achry, and Loch-Catherine, through Strath-gartney, into Dunbartonshire. Northward from Bochastle, the next passage from the Western Highlands, through the Grampian range, into Perthshire, directs its course along the north side of Loch-Ern, into Strath-ern. This defile was guarded, by the double camp at Dalgenross, the Victoria of Richard, near the confluence of the Ruchel

(*m*) See a plan of Orrea in Roy's Military Antiq. pl. xii.

(*n*) On the east Bank of the Tay, above Orrea, there was a large Roman camp, at Grassywalls, through which ran the Roman road. Ib. p. 65, pl. xii. As this camp was unnecessary, as a permanent station, it was probably thrown up to facilitate the march of some Roman army, towards the north, though not the army of Agricola, who never crossed the Tay, assuredly, as General Roy, and others, mistakingly suppose.

(*o*) This camp is distinctly laid down on Stobie's map of Perthshire, as a rectangular oblong, with an entry in the center of each of its sides. It is somewhat longer than the Roman fort, which is opposite to the bridge of Ardoch, and nearly double the size of the largest camp at Gask. On the top of the Dun of Bochastle, a little more than half a mile, west, from the Roman camp, there is a British fortress of an oval form: and about two miles east from it, on the farm of Achenlaich, there is a still larger British fortification of a circular form, upon an eminence. See Stobie's map of Perthshire; and the Stat. Account of Callander, v. xi. p. 607.

with

with the Ern (*p*). This station is more than thirteen miles north-east from the camp at Bochartle, and about eight miles north-west from the station at Ardoch (*q*). The camps at Victoria not only guarded the passage along Loch-Ern, but also commanded the western districts of Strathern. From Victoria, about ten and a half miles, north east, and from Hierna, about six and a half miles, north, there was a Roman camp at East-Findoch, on the south side of the river Amon. This important station guarded the only practicable passage, through the mountains, northward, in the extent of thirty miles, from east to west (*r*). Strath-ern, which anciently had a greater extent, than is now allowed it, appears to have been the peculiar object of the Roman care. On the eastern side of this great Strath, between it and the Forth, there are the remains of Roman posts, which were obviously placed here to overlook the passes of the Ochil hills, some of them as early, perhaps, as the winter of A. D. 83-4, while Agricola lay, in Fife: at Ardargie, where there seems to have been a conflict, there was placed a Roman camp, with the apparent purpose of guarding the

(*p*) See this camp, in Roy's Milit. Antiq. p. 63, pl. xi. which he erroneously calls the camp of the ninth legion. The plans of the camps of Dalgenross, in Gordon's Itin. pl. v. and in Horsley's Brit. Rom. p. 44, are not quite correct. Horsley mistakingly calls the camps, at Dalgenross, the Innerpeffery camp: but, it is the station of Hierna, and not Victoria, which is near Innerpeffery. The station of Victoria was probably connected with the post at Ardoch, and perhaps with that at Strageth, by means of a vicinal way: for, there is still to be traced the remains of such a way, leading from the gates of Victoria, a short distance, in a southerly direction; pointing to the pass, that leads to Ardoch. See Horsley's Plan, p. 44, and Roy, pl. xi. A few miles, north-east, from the station at Dalgenross, there are the remains of two Roman posts of observation: one of them is situated, so as to have a view of the station, at Dalgenross; and the other commands a more distant view of the station at Ardoch. Stat. Account, v. viii. p. 575.

(*q*) See Stobie's map of Perthshire.

(*r*) This camp is placed on a high ground, which is defended by waters on two sides, and by a moss, with a steep bank, on the other two sides. It is about one hundred and eighty paces long, and eighty broad; and it is surrounded by a strong earthen wall, a part whereof still remains, and is near twelve feet thick. The trenches are still entire, and are in some places six feet deep. A vicinal way diverged, from the great Roman road, at its passage of the river Ern, near the station of Hierna, and led across the country to this station, at East Findoch. Near this remarkable camp, there are many ruins, barrows, and cairns, some of which were found, when opened, to have been the graves of those warriors, who had defended their country against its invaders. About a mile and a quarter, northward, from the Roman camp, at Findoch, on the summit of Dunmore hill, there is a strong British fort, which had the complete command of the passage through those almost impervious hills. And, about the same distance, east-north-east, from the same camp, there are the remains of two other British forts, on the hill above Lethendy. Stobie's map of Perthshire; and the Stat. Account of Monzie, v. xv. p. 256—7. It thus appears, that both the Caledonian Britons, and the invading Romans, had guarded this important pass, from Strath-ern, through the hills, towards the north.

passage,

passage, through those hills, by the valley of May water (s) : and, the Roman policy placed another post at Gleneagles, which secured the passage of the same hills, through Glendevon. From the station at East-Findoch, the Romans appear to have penetrated, by the important pass, which it commanded, into the central highlands ; and, at the distance of about sixteen miles, in a direct line north-west, they judiciously fixed a post, at Fortingal ; with the obvious design, to guard the narrow, but useful, passage from the middle highlands, westward, through Glenlyon to Argyle (t). From the camp of Findoch, about fifteen miles, north-east, and from Orrea, eight and a half miles, north, the Romans placed a station at Inchtuthel, upon an eminence, on the north bank of the Tay (u). This advantageous position had been the previous site of a British fortress.

(s) The remains of this camp are still extant ; and have always been called, by the tradition of the country, the *Roman Camp*. It is situated upon an eminence, on the east side of May water ; and is of a square figure, each side of which is about ninety yards long. On one side, it is defended by a deep hollow, through which a brook runs, and on the other three sides, by trenches, which are ten yards wide, at the top, fourteen feet deep, on the side next the camp, and ten feet deep, on the outside. Stat. Account of Scotland, v. iii. p. 309 ; and Stobie's Map of Perthshire. About a mile north-east, from this Roman post, there is the remain of a British hill-fort of a circular form, on the summit of an eminence, called the Castle-law.

(t) This camp is situated on the north side of the river Lyon, at the eastern entrance of Glen-Lyon. The area contains about eighty acres. In many places, the rampart is broken down, and the ditch filled up, for the purpose of cultivation : the prætorium still remains complete. In digging for antiquities in it, there were found three urns, and a copper vessel, with a beak, handle, and three feet. Stat. Account of Scot. v. ii. p. 456 ; Roy's Milit. Antiq. v. ii. pl. xix. ; Stobie's Map of Perthshire ; Pennant's Tour, v. ii. p. 25. As Pennant calls it a *Castellum*, I suspect, he has considered the *Prætorium*, as the only work. Roman coins have been found, in different places of the adjacent country. Stat. Account of Scot. v. ii. p. 456. In digging the foundation of a tower, near Taymouth, about three miles east of this camp, there were found fourteen silver *denarii*, but none of them of a later date than the age of Marcus Aurelius. Pennant, v. ii. p. 25.

(u) The site of this station is a height, on the north side of the river Tay, in the parish of Caputh, the top of which forms a flat of about one hundred and sixty acres, raised about sixty feet above the surrounding plain, and of an equal height, and regularly steep, on every side. On this elevated plain, there is the remain of a Roman camp of a square form, about five hundred yards each way : at some distance, from this camp, on the east side, there is a redoubt on the edge of the height : on the western extremity of this height, which runs into a point, there is a strong entrenched post, fortified by five ramparts, and as many fosses, running across the point : at some distance eastward, between this entrenched post, and the camp, a rampart runs across the height from side to side. This level summit was fortified, by the British people, and they had a town here, before the Romans took possession of it. The dry stone rampart, which surrounded the margin of the height, and formed the defence of the British strength, remains, in several places, perfectly distinct. Pennant's Tour, v. ii. p. 67 ; Roy's Milit. Antiq. v. i. p. 75. and pl. xviii. ; *Munimenta Antiqua*, v. i. p. 42-3 ; Stat. Account of Scot. v. ix. p. 504-5. Inchtuthel, the present

fortress. This station, in conjunction with another Roman work, about four miles eastward, upon the Haugh of Hallhole, on the western side of the river Isla, completely commanded the whole of Stormont, and every road, which could lead the Caledonians down from Athol, and Glen-Shee, into the better countries below (*x*). The several stations, which, as we learn, from the tenth Iter of Richard, were placed at Varis, at Tuessis, at Tamea, on the waters of the Dee above, and in Glen-Shee, on the Isla, were all obviously intended to overawe the Caledonian people of the mountainous districts, which lie on the upper streams of the Spey, and the Dee. Thus much, then, with regard to the Roman posts, which were thus intended to command the passes of the Grampian mountains, through the whole extent of Perthshire; and to secure the country below, from the Forth to the Tay.

The low countries of Angus, and Mearns, were secured, as we shall immediately find, by Roman posts of a different location. From Inchtuthel, about seven miles east, at Coupar-Angus, on the east side of the Isla, and on the course of the Roman road, there was a Roman camp of a square form, containing within its ramparts four and twenty acres (*y*). This camp commanded the passage down Strathmore, between the Sidlaw hills, on the south-east, and the Isla on the north-west: in conjunction with the camp on the Haugh of Hallhole, on the west of the Isla, the camp of Coupar guarded the passages, leading down Strathardle, and Glen-Shee. From Coupar, about eighteen miles,

sent name of this place, is derived from the Scoto-Irish *Inishtuathal*, signifying the *North island*: this appellation was doubtless given, by the Scoto-Irish people, in more modern times, to the islet on the *north* side of the river Tay, at the base of the height, on which those ancient works are situated

(*x*) From this camp, a large wall of earth, called the *Cleaving dike*, twenty-four feet thick, with a ditch, on each side, sixty feet distant from the wall, runs out in a straight line, west-north-west, nearly two miles and a half; and is said to have joined the ancient course of the Tay. See Stobie's Map of Perthshire; and the Stat. Account of Caputh, v. ix. p. 506. If this last circumstance be true, this rampart, and those trenches, must have formed a very large defensible inclosure, in the form of a delta, six or seven miles, in circumference; having the river Isla on the east, and south-east, the Tay on the south, and west, and the *Cleaving dike*, connecting both these rivers, on the north.

(*y*) Stat. Account, v. xvii. p. 10. The camp at Coupar-Angus is represented by Maitland, Hist. of Scot. p. 199, "as appearing to have been an equilateral quadrangle of four hundred yards, "fortified with two strong ramparts, and large ditches, which are still to be seen, on the eastern, "and southern sides." Little more than a mile south from Coupar-Angus, there are, on Camp-moor, the remains of another Roman camp, of which Roy gives a description, and a plan. Milit. Antiq. p. 67, and pl. xiv.

north-east,

north-east, stood the Roman camp of Battledikes, as remains evince (z). This great camp was obviously placed here to guard the passages, from the highlands, through Glen-Esk, and Glen-Prosen; and at the same time, to command the whole interior of the lowlands, beneath the base of the Grampian mountains. From the camp at Battledikes, about eleven and a half miles, north-east, there was a Roman camp, the remains of which may still be traced, near the mansion-house of Keithock; and is now known, by the name of Wardikes (a). This camp was established, near the foot of the hills, whereon had been previously placed the Caledonian fortresses, which are known by the British name of *Caterthun*. This camp was here fixed, as a guard on the passage, from the highlands, through the Glens of North-Esk, and of the West-water: and it commanded a considerable sweep of the low country, lying between the mountains, and the coast. In the interior of Forfarshire, there was a Roman camp, which is now called Harefaulds, situated ten miles, north, from the frith of Tay, fourteen miles, south-south-west, from the camp of Wardikes, at Keithock, and eight miles, south-south-east, from the camp of Battledikes; with which last, it was connected, by a vicinal road, that still remains (b). The camp at Harefaulds was judiciously placed, for commanding a large extent of Angus, southward to the Tay, eastward to the sea; and northward, it joined its overpowering influence, with that of Battledikes. The country below the Sidlaw hills, on the north side

(z) The mean length of this camp is 2970 feet, and the mean breadth 1850. Roy's Milit. Antiq. p. 66, and pl. xiii. And see a description, and a plan of this camp, with the vicinal road, leading from it to the camp of Harefaulds, by the Rev. Dr. Jameson. Biblioth. Topog. Brit. No. xxxvi.

(a) The Roman camp near Keithock, which was formerly named War-dikes, and is now called Black-dikes, lying on the road to Gannachy bridge, two miles, and two thirds, north, from Brechin, has been elaborately described to me, by the intelligent Colonel Imrie: he states it "to be a *rectangular parallelogram*, whose sides are 395 yards, by 292 yards; comprehending 25 English acres. Upon the north-west, and south-west, sides, the vallum can be fully traced, except the spot, that is marked as ploughed. Upon the north-east side, a new boundary fence, between two adjoining proprietors, runs in the direction of the old wall, and has nearly destroyed every vestige of it. The south-east side has been for many years a part of cultivated fields; yet, the old dike is perfectly remembered; and a person, residing near the spot, says that, he assisted, in ploughing it up: but, as two of its sides are determined, and the entire angle is found, by measurement, to be a right angle, the camp has been ascertained to be of the figure, and dimensions, above mentioned." There is an imperfect sketch of this camp in Roy's Milit. Antiq. pl. xiv. In the Statistical Account, v. xxi. p. 123, this *rectangular parallelogram* of twenty-five acres is called a *Danish* camp!

(b) See a description, and a plan of this camp, and vicinal road, by the Rev. Dr. Jameson. Biblioth. Topog. Brit. N. xxxvi. And see Roy's Milit. Antiq. p. 67, and pl. xix. The site of this camp is eight miles, south-south-east, from the camp of Battle-dikes, and about ten miles, north, from the Tay.

of

of the Estuary of Tay, was guarded by a Roman camp, near Invergowrie, which had a communication, on the north-east, with the camp of Harefaulds (c). The Mearns was equally well protected as Angus. North-east, from Wardikes, about twelve miles, there was placed a Roman station at Fordun, which was of greater extent than its remains seem to evince (d). It was commodiously placed on the rise of the valley, that is known, by the appropriate name, of *the How* of the Mearns, which it protected, with the country, southward, to North-Esk, and eastward, to the sea. From Fordon, north-east, eleven miles, and from the passage of the Dee, at Mary-culter, south, six miles, was placed the great camp, called Raedikes, upon the estate of Ury(e). This station, which has been idly attributed to Agricola, but may pretty certainly be assigned to L. Urbicus, commanded the narrow country, between the north-east end of the Grampian hills and the sea, as well as the angle of land, lying between the sea, and the Dee. From Fordon, about four and a half miles, west-north-west, there was a Roman post, at Clattering-bridge, which is now known, by the name of the Green

(c) The remains of this camp are about two miles, west, from Dundee, and half a mile, north, from Invergowrie, on the Tay. Maitland says, it is about two hundred yards square, fortified with a high rampart, and a spacious ditch. *Hist. of Scotland*, v. i. p. 215. And see also the *Stat. Account of Liff and Benvie*, v. xiii. p. 115. The site of this camp still bears the name of *Cater-Mellie*; no doubt, from the British *Cader*, a fortress, a stronghold. This camp must also have answered the purpose of keeping up a communication with the Roman shipping, in the Tay.

(d) Near to the mansion-house of Fordon, and about a mile, south-south-east, of the church of Fordon, there was an extensive Roman camp, the ramparts, and ditches, of which remained pretty complete, till about fifty years ago. Since that time, a great part of them have been levelled, and the ground brought into cultivation. Parts, however, of two of them, still remain; these vestiges run at right angles to one another, and seem to have composed the west, and north sides of the camp. The Luther-water, which is here only a rivulet, ran formerly through the west side of this camp; and on the east side of it there are several springs. This strength is called, by the people of the country, the *West Camp*. At a little distance, eastward, there is a very complete Roman fort, which is supposed to have been the *Prætorium* of the West Camp. It is of an oblong rectangular form, surrounded by a ditch, and rampart. The ditch is eighteen feet wide, and is even now six feet deep; but it was formerly deeper, as the old people, who reside near it, assert. The area within is, from east to west, about 83 yards long, and about 38 yards broad; and contains about 3154 square yards. Very near the south-west corner is the gate of the width of 22 feet. About half a mile, north, of this camp, upon Drumsleid hill, there are the remains of a large British fortification, which is sometimes called the *Scotish camp*, by the people of the country. These notices are stated, from very minute descriptions, and mensurations, by the Rev. James Leslie of Fordon, and the Rev. Mr. Hutton of Edzel, which were made, in 1799.

(e) See an Account, and a Plan of this Roman camp, from an actual survey by George Brown, land-surveyor, in the *Bibl. Topograph. Brit.* No. 36; Gough's *Camden*, v. iii. p. 416. pl. xxviii.; Roy's *Milit. Antiq.* pl. 1. And see a Plan of this remarkable ground, in the *Transactions of the Antiq. Soc. of Scotland*, v. i. p. 565.

castle. It was advantageously placed here, for the obvious purpose of guarding the well-known passage, through the Grampian mountains, by the Cairn-o'mount, into the valley of the Mearns (*f*). At the distance of four miles, south-south-west, from the Green castle, and "about three quarters of a mile besouth of "Fettercairn," Maitland mistakingly supposed, that there had been "a beautiful Roman fort" (*g*). But, he merely mistook a British strength, for a Roman post; as a minute survey, in 1798, clearly evinced (*h*).

The whole coast of Caledonia, from the Deva to the Varar, comprehending the territories of the Taixali, and the Vacomagi, were secured by the commanding station, at Glenmailen (*a*), with its subsidiary posts; by the intermediate station of Tuessis, on the Spey (*b*); and by the impregnable fort at Ptoroton (*bb*). Such, then, is the review, which it was proposed to make, of the hostile arrangements, that the Romans established, for commanding the passes of the mountains, and securing the tranquillity of the low countries: and, they show distinctly how well they knew both the out-line, and interior of Caledonia; and

(*f*) I caused this remarkable post to be surveyed, in May 1798: it stands on a precipitous bank, on the north-east of the Clattering-burn; the area of the fort, within the ramparts, measures 157 feet, nine inches, at the north-east end, and at the south-west, 82 feet 6 inches: the length is 262 feet 6 inches. The ditch is 37 feet 6 inches broad, at the bottom. The rampart, which is wholly of earth, is in height, from the bottom of the ditch, 51 feet nine inches.

(*g*) Hist. Scot. v. i. p. 200.

(*h*) At my request, this fort, at Balbegno, was accurately examined, in May 1798, by James Strachan, who, inspecting it, with unprejudiced eyes, found it to be a *vitrified* fort of British construction. He says, "It is situated about seven hundred yards west of Balmain, and near a mile south-west from Fettercairn. It is of an oval form; and is surrounded by two ramparts. The outer rampart is built with dry stones, without any lime, or mortar, and without the least mark of any tool; and under the foundation are found ashes of burnt wood. The space betwixt the outer, and inner, rampart, measures 93 feet 9 inches. The inner wall is 30 feet thick, and has all undergone the operation of vitrification. The area within this is 140 feet long, 67 feet 6 inches broad at the east end, and 52 feet 6 inches broad at the west end. The elevation on the north side is about 40 feet, and full 60 feet on the south side, where it is all wet mossy ground." He calls it the *Green Cairn*, at Balbegno. Such is the description of James Strachan, the scientific gardener of my late worthy friend, Lord Adam Gordon, to whose zealous kindness, I owe much information. It is mentioned in the Stat. Account of Fettercairn, vol. v. p. 334. The minister says, "It is on the estate of Balbegno, and that tradition calls it *Finella's Castle*; and the people believe it to have been her residence: after the murder of King Kenneth, his attendants set fire to the building, and reduced it to ashes." Such is the legend!

(*a*) See before, and a plan of the camp, and grounds about Glenmailen, in Roy, pl. li.

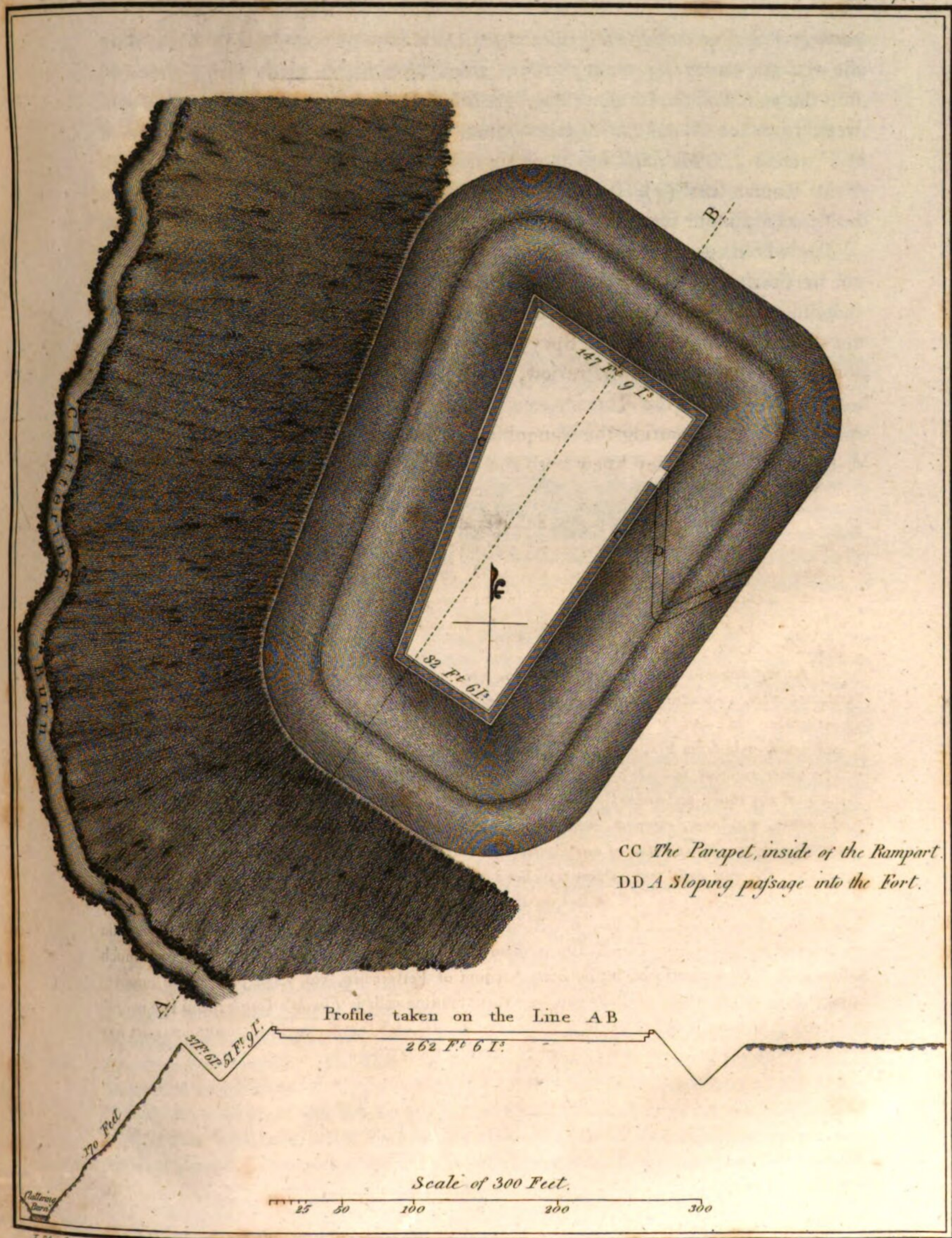
(*b*) See before, p. 129, and the description of the station of Tuessis.

(*bb*) See a survey of Ptoroton, or the Burgh-head of Murray, in Roy, pl. xxxiii, and xxxiv; and see a description of it, from a more recent survey, before, p. 130.

with

A PLAN & SECTION of the Roman Fort near Clattering Brig, in Kincardine Shire.

**to face p. 178.*



J. Strachan. Del.

Published for George Chalmers 1st Novem^r 1806.

J. Caldwell Sculp.

with what skill they employed that knowledge, for effecting their military objects (*c*). Whether those roads, and stations, were all constructed, in the same age, and by the same hands, may well admit of an historical doubt.

It has been the common error of modern antiquaries to attribute every Roman remain, in North-Britain, to Agricola. It is not possible, indeed, either from classic information, or from recent discoveries, to distinguish the several works of Agricola, from those of Urbicus, or of Severus, though the chronology of every road, and station, may be pretty certainly fixed, by circumstantial proofs. There is no evidence, that Agricola left any garrisons on the north of the friths ;

(*c*) Besides the Iters, and the roads, that traversed the province of Vespasiana, and the stations, which we have seen, were established by the Roman policy, for the command, and protection, of that province, we also find, from the discovery of coins, arms, and other remains, that the Romans, while they were in possession of this province, not only explored the shores of the Varar, a considerable distance beyond Ptoroton, but also penetrated the inmost recesses of Caledonia. At Inshoch, which is situated on the south coast of the Varar, or Murray-Frith, about fifteen miles, west south-west, from Ptoroton, and three miles, east, from Nairn, there were found in a moss, several remains of Roman arms ; two heads of the Roman Hasta, two heads of the Roman horseman's spear, as described by Josephus, lib. iii. c. 3 ; and a round piece of thin metal, hollow on the under side ; all of ancient Roman brass. These were presented to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, by the Reverend John Grant, in January 1783. Account of this Society, Part ii. p. 70. 135. Roman coins have been found, at several places, along the south coast of the same Frith, particularly, at Nairn, which is about eighteen miles, west-south-west, from Ptoroton. Near to Ardersier, which is situated on the southern shore of the Varar, twenty-four miles, west-south-west, from Ptoroton, there were dug up, more than twenty-five years ago, a very curious Roman sword, and the head of a spear. Roy's Milit. Antiq. v. i. p. 88. On the east side of the river Ness, five or six hundred yards below its efflux, from Loch-Ness, there are the remains of a military station, which exhibits, in its mode of fortification, the evidence of its Roman construction. It is of a square form, fifty-three paces long, and fifty paces broad : it is situated on a peninsula, having two of its sides protected by the river Ness, and by a loch through which it runs ; the other two sides are defended by a rampart, and ditch fourteen feet wide. It is judiciously placed, so as to command the only ford of the river Ness, which equally bounded the country of the Vacomagi, and the Roman province of Vespasiana. This passage is to the present day called *Bana*, *Bona*, or *Boness*. See Survey of Moray, p. 53 ; Roy's Roman map of North-Britain, in Milit. Antiq. pl. i. ; and Ainslie's map of Scotland. The similarity of the name, and the correspondence of the position, render it probable, that this was the site of the *Banatia* of Ptolomy, and Richard, a town of the Vacomagi, which Richard places, in his map, upon the south-east side of the chain of waters, that intersect the country, from Fort-William to Inverness, of which the Ness river, and lake, form large portions. The Roman name of *Bonatia* was no doubt formed, by giving a Latin termination to the British *Bon-nes*, which denotes its situation, at the lower end of Loch-Ness. The advantageous site of this Roman post recommended it, in an after age, for the position of a more modern fortification, which was doubtless constructed, for the similar purpose, of guarding the same passage. This work is said to be also of a square form, twenty-four paces on each side,

friths; it is certain, that Urbicus left Antoninus's wall guarded by the legions, and the province of Vespasiana covered with stations; and it is equally certain, from the informations of Dio, and Herodian, that Severus garrisoned, within the country of the Caledonians, forts, which remained to his son, at the epoch of his demise. So much mistake has hitherto existed, among antiquarians, as to the proper age, and appropriate author, of those several roads, and stations, that every attempt to fix their chronology becomes of great importance to the progress of truth.

The Itinerary of Richard, which, as we have seen, was drawn up, before the middle of the second century, must be the principal document, for the ascertainment of certainty. And, every station, which is called for, by its useful notices, must necessarily have existed, during the administration of Urbicus, while the Roman territories, in Caledonia, were carried to their greatest extent, and the Roman glory to its highest pitch. The stations Alauna, on the Allan; of Lindum, at Ardoch; of Victoria, at Dealginross; of Hierna, at Strageth; of Orrea, on the Tay; of Devana, on the Dee; of Ituna, on the Ithan; of Tuessis, on the Spey; of Ptoroton, on the Varar; are all recognized by the ninth Iter of Richard; and existed, consequently, during the able administration of Urbicus (*d*): and, as Agricola never attempted to penetrate to the northward of the Tay, it is equally certain, that this great officer does not merit the praise of conceiving the policy, or of erecting those commanding stations, beyond the Friths (*e*). These observations equally apply to Inchtuthel, which is called for, by the tenth Iter of Richard, if it formed the station *in medio*.

and built of rather modern masonry. Survey of Moray, p. 53. At Fort-Augustus, which stands at the south-west end of Loch-Ness, was discovered, in April 1767, by some labourers, in digging a trench, an earthen urn of a blue colour, with three hundred pieces of coin, which were of a mixed metal: they appeared to the officer, who gave this account, to be all of the emperor Dioclesian. Scots Mag. 1767, p. 326. In the highland country of Badenoch, in the interior of Caledonia, there is the appearance of a Roman camp, upon a moor, between the bridge of Spey, and Pitmain: near this, a Roman tripod was found, which was concealed in a rock; and an urn full of burnt ashes, was dug up, in clearing some ground adjacent. Stat. Acco. of Kingussie, v. iii. p. 43. In the highland's of Perth-shire, between the rivers Tay, and Tumel, a Roman medal of Trajan, was found, in the parish of Logierait. Ib. vol. v. p. 85. And see the map of Scotland, for the situation of those different places.

(*d*) Most of those stations are also mentioned by Ptolomy, who compiled his geography, before the middle of the second century.

(*e*) We have already seen, that the camps of Grassy-walls, Battledikes, Wardikes at Keithoc, Harefaulds, Raedikes of Ury, and that near Invergowrie, which have been ascribed to Agricola, by Roy, and others, were not in existence, at the time of making the ninth Iter, in the second century.

As

As the great northern road of the Romans, which we have lately traced, from the wall of Antonine, through the province of Vespasiana, to the post at Keithoc, in Forfar-shire, must have necessarily been formed, during the existence of that province; every station, which was placed upon this road, must have been co-existent with the road, and the province: it is thus more than probable, that the stations of Wardikes at Keithoc, of Battledikes, of Cupar-Angus, of Grassy-walls, the small post at Gask, the small post, called Kemps-castle; were all constructed by the masterly policy of Urbicus. The station of East-Findoch also owed its origin to the same officer; as it was usefully connected with the post at Hierna, by means of a commodious vicinal way, which diverged from the Roman road, at its passage over the Ern: the judgment, which placed the station at Findoch, for commanding the only practicable passage, from the central highlands into Strathern, equally evinces, that it owed its origin to the genius of Urbicus. From the post of Findoch, a detachment of Roman troops might have easily penetrated into the central highlands upon the Tay: and having surveyed this interior country, with their judicious eyes, they would see the utility of establishing a post, at Fortingal, which would at once guard the passage, eastward, from Argyle, through Glen-Lyon, and the passage, southward, from the wild countries of Rannoch, and of Athol. These views could have only been perceived, while the Roman garrisons guarded Vespasiana. A similar policy formed the camp at Bochastle, during the same age. This station answered the double purpose of guarding the only two passes, which led from the west Highlands into Monteith, and Strathallan, and even into the low country, on the Forth. In the establishment of both these posts, at Fortingal, and Bochastle, we see the predominating policy of guarding the passes, which led into the interior of Vespasiana (*f*).

It was the wise dictates of the same policy, that established the well-known camp at Harefaulds: connected as it was, by a vicinal way, with the station, at Battledikes, on the great Roman road, northward; and commanding, as it did, the center of Angus, we may equally presume, that it was constructed, by the masterly hand of Urbicus. The similarity of the structure, and the size, of the camp, which is called the Rae-dikes, at Ury, to the camp of the Rae-dikes, at Glenmailin, which we now know is the Ituna of Richard's ninth Iter; and its

(*f*) The reasoning, in the text, is confirmed by the discovery of coins: "In digging the foundation of a tower, about three miles east, of the camp at Fortingal, there were found fourteen *denarii*, but none of them of a later date than those of Marcus Aurelius." Pennant's Tour, v. ii. p. 25. The Stat. Acco. of Fortingal, v. ii. p. 456, speaks less distinctly of Roman coins having been found, in different places of the adjacent country.

likeness to the camps, at Battle-dikes, at Grassy-walls, and at Ardoch, may induce the inquisitive reader to conclude, that the camp at Ury was, in the same manner, formed by the policy of Urbicus (g). At Fordon, in the Mearns, there are the remains of a station, as we have seen, which was placed here, by the necessity of a post, for commanding the country; and we may infer, from the judiciousness of its position, in the center of the Mearns, that the original station was fixed at Fordon, during the existence of Vespasiana, and the command of Urbicus. It was probably the dictates of the same necessity, during the same period, which established the strong outpost, at Clattering-bridge, near the foot of the Cairn-o-mount, for checking the incursions of the mountaineers above, into the lowlands of the Mearns below.

Of the camp, at Invergowrie, it is more easy to determine its policy, which was intended to protect the northern bank of the Tay, than to fix its chronology, that probability places under the able command of Urbicus. The post of Ardargie, which stood on an eminence above the river May, was obviously designed to command the pass, from Fife into Strathern, through the Ochil-hills, by the valley of the May-water; as it thus formed one of the massy links of the chain of stations, which were placed by the policy of Urbicus, for guarding the defiles into Strathern, we may pretty certainly presume, that the post of Ardargie was also established with so many other Roman positions, while the Roman power was at its height, in Britain; while Vespasiana continued to occupy, and command, so large a portion of Caledonia. When the extent, and nature, of Vespasiana, with the positions of those several stations, are considered, the necessity, which demanded their establishment, and the utility, that localized each of them, will become apparent to the most inattentive eye. When the Romans evacuated Vespasiana, the stations, which formed its strength, and its security, would be naturally relinquished: when Severus, however, carried an army into that region, forty years afterwards, we may easily suppose, that he reoccupied, and refortified such of those posts, as promoted his vengeful designs.

The able transactions of Lollius Urbicus were at length to close, with the beneficent policy, which had given him the command of Britain. On the 7th of March 161, died Antoninus Pius; who was immediately succeeded, in the empire, by Marcus Aurelius (h). About that time, probably, Lollius

(g) See Roy's plates, and his accounts of those camps: Colonel Shand, in his letter to me, concerning the *Norman-dikes*, at Peter-Culter, says, "the profile; and all the other dimensions of the ditch, and ramparts, appeared to be, *exactly*, as they are at Glenmailen, at *Raedikes of Ury*, at Battledikes, at Grassy-walls, and at other places, in Strathmore."

(h) Tillemont's Hist. tom. ii. p. 323.

Urbicus ceased to be the Proprætor of Britain. The tranquillity of the tribes, which afforded no events, for history to notice, is the best proof of his talents, both for peace, and war, and of the wise measures that the Romans adopted, for effecting their ambitious purposes.

The demise of one emperor; the succession of another; and the absence of a governor, who knew how to conciliate, and to rule; all those events gave rise to some disturbance among the tribes. But, Calphurnius Agricola, being sent to Britain, as the successor of Lollius Urbicus, had the ability, or the address, to enforce submission, and to restore quiet (*i*). During the twelve years, which succeeded the year 165, no occurrences arose, for the notice of history. Amidst this tranquillity, which shows, distinctly, the power of the governors, and the weakness of the governed, the Romans evacuated the whole country, on the north of the wall, except perhaps Camelon, on the east, and Theodosia, on the west. The united force of the Caledonian tribes could not, perhaps, have removed the Roman troops from the Burgh-head, or from the numerous forts, which enforced their obedience. The Romans relinquished the country, which experience had taught them to regard, neither as useful, nor agreeable. The advice of Augustus, to set bounds to the empire; the reflections of Trajan, as to the inutility of distant territories (*k*); and the pressures of Aurelian, who was preparing for a war with the Germans; were the combined motives, which directed the evacuation of the country, beyond the wall, in the memorable year 170, A.D. (*l*)

(*i*) Horsley's Rom. p. 52; Tillemont's Hist. tom. ii. p. 346.

(*k*) In giving a general description of the Roman empire, under Trajan, Appian observes, in his Pref. p. 6, "that the emperor possessed more than one half of Britain; neglecting the rest, as "useless, and deriving no profit from what he possessed."

(*l*) Richard, p. 52; Tillemont's Hist. Des Emp. tom. ii. p. 361.

CHAP. V.

Of the Campaign of Severus.

WHEN the Romans abdicated the government of the greater part of North-Britain, by evacuating the posts, on the north of the wall of Antonine, the tribes, who ranged along the eastern coast, from the Forth to the Varar, resumed their independence. Yet, such is the effect of subjugation, that the Caledonian clans long remained tranquil. During the misrule of Commodus, some of those tribes are said to have passed the wall, in A.D. 183; and to have pillaged the country, within that strong boundary of the empire. But, Ulpius Marcellus, being sent against them, easily restored tranquillity, though he was ill requited, by his unfeeling master. It was more difficult to prevent the mutiny of the Roman army, under the unpopular command of Perennis. It was harder still to check the emulations of ambition, that led to those contests, for the empire, between Severus, Niger, and Albinus, which, after a bloody struggle, left Severus sole master of the Roman world. Britain adhered to Albinus; yet, amidst so much civil contention, on the neighbouring continent, this island remained, for some years, in a state of quiet.

Whether it were the defeat, and death, of Albinus, at the battle of Lyons, in 197 A.D.; or the division of Britain, which had hitherto formed one province, into two governments; or the distraction of the rulers, amidst so much contention for power; it is certain, that the Caledonians invaded the Roman territory, at the conclusion of the second century. Virius Lupus, the governor, brought them to wish for peace. And, while Severus was still occupied, in the east, with domestic insurrection, or foreign war, his Lieutenant, in Britain, entered into a treaty with the Mæatæ, and Caledonians, during the year 200 (a). But,

(a) Barbeyrac Sup. Acc. Corps Diplom. Part ii. p. 33, who quotes a fragment of Dion Cassius. Antiquaries have differed, in their opinions, whether the Mæatæ dwelt within, or without, the wall of Antonine: but, it is to be observed, 1st, That if they had lived within the wall, the Mæatæ would have been Roman citizens; 2dly, If they had been Roman citizens, the emperor's lieutenant would not have entered into a *treaty* with them; 3dly, If the Mæatæ had been Roman provincials, living *within* the wall, the Caledonians would not have assisted them against the Romans: and, the Mæatæ were, therefore, a Caledonian tribe, who lived *without the wall*, in the low country, in contradistinction to the proper Caledonians, who dwelt at a greater distance, in the northern coverts of the heights.

this

this treaty, which seems to have been dictated by the necessities of both parties, endured only till hostilities could be renewed, with more hope of success. Of this event, and the renewal of warfare, in 207, Severus rejoiced to hear; because he wished to carry his family from Rome, and to employ his troops. The emperor, with his usual promptitude, hastened to Britain, in the year 208. The hostile tribes, hearing of his arrival, sent deputies to sue for peace: but, Severus, who was fond of war, and looked for military glory, would not listen to their proposals; and he prepared for vigorous hostilities against the objects of his vengeance.

The classic authors, who have treated of the campaign of Severus, mistakenly, suppose, that the victorious ruler of the Roman world came into Britain, without any previous knowledge of its domestic affairs, or its geographical state. They wrote, like annalists, who knew nothing of the connection of the British story; either of what had certainly passed before, or what was likely to follow after, the emperor's exertions. They did not know, that the coast of Britain had been explored by the Roman fleet, under Agricola; that he had traversed the territories of the Ottadini, Gadeni, Selgovæ, Novantes, and Damnii, who, as they resided within the Friths, submitted wholly to his power: neither did the classic writers advert to the fact, that Lollius Urbicus had built the wall of Antonine, seventy years before; and had carried roads, and established stations, from the Wall to the Varar, both which remained, during thirty years, the envied memorials of his skill, and the certain monuments of the Roman authority. They probably intended to raise the fame of Severus, by supposing him ignorant of what undoubtedly he must have known, both as a soldier, and a statesman (*b*).

In

(*b*) Dio, and Herodian, who have written expressly of the campaign of Severus, speak constantly of *one wall*, without recollecting, that two walls had, in fact, been built. It has been even doubted, in modern times, whether Severus did erect a wall, though Spartian had positively said, that he did perform such a work, which was consistent with his genius, and worthy of his power. That he built a wall is certain; that he built it nearly on the site of Adrian's prior wall, on the north, is equally certain; as we know from ancient authorities, positive remains, and expressive tradition. See the map in Warburton's *Vallum Romanum*; and in Horsley's *Brit. Romana*; Tillemont's *Hist.* tom iii p. 462-64, who, in discussing this question, quotes, affirmatively, Eutropius, Orosius, Cassiodorus, and the Chronicle of Eusebius. The Britons of the middle ages called the wall *Gual-Sever*, and *Mur-Sever*; as we learn from Camden, and from H. Llwyd *Commentariolum*, edit. 1731, p. 612: From the informations of Dio, and Herodian, it appears more than probable; 1st, That one wall only, the wall of Antonine, existed, at the epoch of Severus's invasion, as the northern limit of the empire; 2dly, That the wall of Adrian, as it was no longer necessary, nor useful, had been long neglected; and as it had been formed from the matter, which had been thrown from its ditch, it had become

In the beginning of the year 209, Severus, after all those preparations, marched from the scene of his labours into the Caledonian regions. In the civilized country, which lay between the walls, and which was already opened by roads, and secured by stations, he must have met with every facility, that his judgment could direct, and his power command. He had his choice of two ways, for the easy march of his troops, the western, and the eastern: the western was the most commodious; but, considering the greatness of the army, which Severus led into the Caledonian territories, we may easily suppose, that he would divide his army into two columns; which would take their separate routes, each by one of those roads, for the convenience of subsistence, and with the policy of overawing the intermediate tribes. Along both those principal roads there were commodious posts, which greatly facilitated the march of the Roman troops through a settled country of more than eighty miles (c).

Being thus arrived at the wall of Antonine, Severus marched from this *Prætentura* into the country of the Mæatae, and even penetrated into the territories of the Caledonians, without meeting with much resistance. The classic authors magnify the difficulties of his march, without recollecting, that Agricola had penetrated into the same country, before him; that Lollius Urbicus had formed roads, and constructed stations, which pointed out his objects, and promoted his operations. The emperor is said, however, to have felled woods, drained marshes, made ways, built bridges; unnecessary works seemingly, which fatigued his troops, enured to hard labour as they were, and ruined his army, hardy as it must have been. Dion assures us, that Severus lost fifty thousand men, during this laborious campaign. If he marched such an army into the recesses of Caledonia, without a fleet to furnish them with supplies,

completely ruinous, by neglect, and time; 3dly, Severus knew its ruinous state, from inspection; and foreseeing, that a similar strength would protect his retreat, in case of accidents, he determined to build a stronger wall, on the same site, in the Autumn of 208, *before* he marched into the north; 4thly, Both Dio, and Herodian, inform us, that the unworthy son of Severus relinquished to the Caledonians the forts, which Severus had built in their country; 5thly, It is certain, that Severus knew, he had built forts among the Caledonian tribes, that the wall of Antonine was, in every respect, more commodious, as the limit of the empire, in that quarter, than a wall from the Tine to the Solway: And from those facts and circumstances, we may, therefore, infer, that Severus, as an officer, and a statesman, would have acted against his own conviction, and inconsistently with common sense, if he had erected such a wall, as the *Mur-Sever*, *after* his return from a campaign, which gave him a right to assume the title of *Britannicus*. See those reasonings completely supported, by an inscription, and a chronicle, which are quoted by Horsley, in his *Brit. Romana*, p. 63; and which attest, that the wall of Severus was built *before* he entered Caledonia.

(c) Roy's Milit. Antiq. ch. ii.

he

he might have lost a greater number, without feeling the stroke of an enemy. Yet, such was his obstinacy of perseverance, that he penetrated so far into the north, as to be enabled to take notice of the length of the days, and the shortness of the nights, which were both so different from those of Rome (*d*). Unable to resist his arms, the tribes sought for peace from his clemency. They surrendered some of their arms, and relinquished to him part of their country (*e*). After this success, which was thought at Rome to merit the title of *Imperator*, he returned within the Roman territories. But, he did not long survive this honour, or that success. Whether the Caledonian tribes had yet learned to consider a treaty as sacred; or had advanced far enough in civilization, to know how to derive an advantage from the distraction of courts, is uncertain: but, they had scarcely made their peace with Severus, when they renewed hostilities. Irritated by the odious attempt of his son, Caracalla, on his life; impatient, from declining health, at an advanced age; he issued orders to renew the war; and to spare neither age, nor sex. But, Caracalla, who was entrusted with conducting the hostilities, rather busied himself, in gaining over the army to act against his brother, and his father, than in executing the vengeful orders of the dying emperor. Severus expired at York, on the 4th

(*d*) This observation of Dion is strengthened, by an intimation of Richard, who has placed the *Ara Finium Imperii Romani* on the promontory separating the Cromarty, and Murray Friths, the former, the Loxa, and the latter, the Varar of that learned Monk. Yet, Roy has mistakingly placed the *Ara Finium Imperii Romani* on the more northern point of Tarbet-ness. Ainslie has copied the misconception of Roy; and the late survey of Murray has adopted the mistakes of both, with regard to the true site of the *Ara Finium Imperii Romani*. There are remains on the more southern promontory, which fortify the position of Richard. The Stat. Account of Cromarty, v. xii. p. 259, says that, “about three miles south of this place, there is a very distinct appearance of a camp in the figure of an oblong square, supposed to have been a Danish camp. At one corner of it, there is the appearance of a number of graves, which makes it probable, that many must have fallen in some attack upon it.” These graves may denote the site of the Roman cemetery. Mr. Robert Smith, the intelligent minister, adds that, “about a mile from the encampment, there is a very large collection of round stones, and hard by it a smaller one; some of the stones are of a great size, which must have cost great labour in gathering it:” there have also been some stone coffins found near these cairns, from which circumstance we may suppose these are sepulchral tumuli. The cairns on Tarbetness, which misled those, who placed the *Ara Finium Imperii Romani*, on that promontory, were found, when examined by my intelligent friend, the Reverend William Leslie of Lan-bridge, to be merely the beacons, which the fishermen of the adjacent coast had erected, for directing their devious course through a troublous sea.

(*e*) Barbeyrac Supl. Corp. Dipl. Part ii. p. 35. There has been found at the well-known Roman station at Cramond, on the Forth, a silver medal of *Severus*; having on the face the head of the emperor, with the legend *SEVERUS PIUS AVG.* on the reverse, *FUNDATOR PACIS.* Horsley’s Brit. Rom. p. 62; and Wood’s Hist. of Cramond, p. 5. This important medal is a strong confirmation of the general representations of history, on that memorable occasion.

of February 211, in the sixty-sixth year of his age; and in the third year of his administration in Britain (*f*).

Severus has been less fortunate, than Agricola, in his biographer. The emperor's transactions, in Britain, are less distinctly known than even those of Urbicus, either from the intimations of history, or from the inscriptions of monuments. And it is very difficult to ascertain the dates of events, that are themselves indistinctly known. The great work of Severus was the wall, which he constructed from the Tine, to the Solway, *before*, as we have seen, rather than *after*, he entered Caledonia. He repaired the roads, and refortified the stations, which his predecessors had left him, rather than formed new ones, which would have required consideration to contrive, and time to execute. In general, it may be observed, that those roads, and camps, which cannot be clearly assigned to Urbicus, and Agricola, may be attributed to Severus. It is certain, however, that Roman remains, which have been recently discovered, in Caledonia, confirm classic authorities, with regard to this memorable campaign of the emperor Severus (*g*).

Whether

(*f*) Tillemont's Hist. tom. iii. p. 82 : The last intimation shows, in opposition to Horsley, that Severus arrived, in Britain, during the year 208, and not in 206, as in Brit. Rom. p. 56-7. and his Chron. Tables sub. an. 206.

(*g*) A Roman causeway has been discovered, running in a direction from south-east to north-west, along the bottom of Moss-Flanders, which covers an extent of several miles, on the north side of the river Forth, about nine miles west from the station of Alauna on the great Roman road, northward. In the same moss, there were found, several years ago, a number of logs of wood squared, and lying across each other in the form of a raft, and the marks of the ax were visible on them. In the banks of Goody-water, which runs along the north-east side of this moss, several oak trees of a very large size, appear projecting about twenty feet below the surface : and, where this water joins the Forth, one of these trees, the trunk of which is near six feet diameter, appears, at the same depth, below the surface, projecting near twenty feet. Stat. Acco. v. xx. p. 91. In the moss of Logan, which lies in the parish of Kippen, on the south side of the river Forth, opposite to Moss-Flanders, a road has been discovered about twelve feet wide, and formed by trees, or logs of wood, laid across each other. Ib. v. xviii. p. 322. In the moss of Kincardine, which occupies an extent of several miles, on the north side of the river Forth, about midway between Moss-Flanders, and the station of Alauna on the great Roman road, northward, there has been discovered a Roman way twelve feet broad, and regularly formed by trees or logs of wood, laid across each other. Id. Recent improvements have discovered, that the clay surface, upon which this moss is incumbent, is every where thickly covered with trees, chiefly oak, and birch, and many of them of a great size : they are found, lying in all directions, beside their roots, which still continue firm in the ground, in their natural position, and they exhibit evident marks of having been cut with an ax, or some similar instrument. Ib. v. xxi. p. 154. And See Stobie's Map of Perthshire for the situation of those mosses. Modern science has even discovered, that the vast mosses, in this vicinity, owe their gradual formation to the direction of Severus, for cutting down the woods,

in

Whether the son of Severus ever fought with the heroes of Ossian, on the river Carron, admits of a similar doubt. It is demonstrable, however, that the language of the Caledonian Bard was not spoken, within the Caledonian regions, for three centuries, after the campaign of Severus had closed, with fruitless efforts, though with arrogated honours. But, heroic poetry requires not authentic history to support its elegant narratives, nor to justify its ingenious fictions. The language of Ossian became the vernacular dialect of North-Britain, at a subsequent period; and the Bard may have praised the valour, or deplored the misfortunes, of his countrymen, in Gaelic verses, which, as they delighted a rude people, were transmitted, by tradition, to their children, and the young repeated, in pleasing episodes, what were thus delivered to them by the old, as the oral communications of their remote ancestors.

in order that he might see the devoted objects of his warfare. *Encyclopedia Brit.* v. xii. p. 387-9: add to those intimations of Roman footsteps, and Roman arts, that in May 1768, there was dug up, from the bottom of Kincardine moss, a large round vessel of thin brass, twenty-five inches in diameter, and sixteen inches in height, the mouth sixteen inches and a half in diameter, which is supposed to have been a Roman camp kettle. It was found, lying upon a stratum of clay, beneath the moss, which is generally from seven to twelve feet deep. It was presented to the Antiquary Society of Scotland by John Ramsay, the laird of Auchtertyre, in April 1782. *Account of the Antiq. Soc. of Scot.* p. 94.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Treaty, which Caracalla made with the Caledonians; of the Picts; of the Scots; of the Abdication of the Roman Government.

THE demise of Severus, on the 4th of February 211, had scarcely delivered the empire to the government of his two sons, Caracalla, and Geta, when the eldest concluded a peace with the Caledonians. Caracalla relinquished, by this treaty, the territories, which they had recently surrendered to his father; and abandoned the forts, which he had ambitiously erected in their fastnesses (*a*). The very terms of the pacification suppose, that the wall of Antonine, as it had long been the northern limit of the empire, in Britain, was to continue to be the boundary of separation, between the Roman provincials, and the Caledonian tribes. The medals, which have been found, near the northern limit (*b*); and the stations, which were garrisoned, far beyond the southern walls; establish that important fact, in opposition to petty difficulties (*c*). The rival emperors hastened to Rome, the great scene of their ambition; taking hostages, from the Caledonian tribes, for their faithful adherence to the late treaty, which ensured, indeed, uninterrupted peace, for many years (*d*).

Such was the wise policy of the treaty with Caracalla, which resulted from an attention to the interest of both parties; and such was the threatening aspect of the northern wall; that the Caledonian tribes remained quiet, for almost a

(*a*) Barbeyrac's Corps Dipl. Part ii. p. 33, who quotes Xiphilin, for the fact. Herodian also gives the same account of this remarkable treaty, in b. iii. ch. 14.

(*b*) The coins of Antoninus Caracalla; and of the emperor Dioclesian, who ceased to reign, in 304, have been discovered at Cramond, where so many relicks have been found: they prove, that this commodious port, on the Forth, had continued a Roman harbour, till the Roman departure from Britain. See Wood's Hist. Cramond Par. p. 4, 5; and Gordon's Itin. Sept. p. 118.

(*c*) Horsley's Brit. Rom. 65; Whit. Manch. 8vo edit. v. ii. p. 262-65.

(*d*) Herodian lib. iii. ch. 14: Barbeyrac Sup. Corps Dipl. part ii. p. 33.

century;

century; if we may judge, from the continued silence of the classic authors, and from the effects, resulting from those salutary measures. As they had not much communication with the Roman provinces of the south, the Caledonian people seem not to have interested themselves, in the affairs of the Romanized Britons, within the Roman limits. As they had no knowledge of the ambitious scenes, which were, successively, acted on the theatre of Rome, the Caledonian clans appear to have been little affected, by the elevation of Cæsars, or the fall of tyrants; by the usurpation of Carausius; by the assassination of the usurper; or by the recovery of Britain, as a province of the empire. After the resignation of the imperial power by Dioclesian, and Maximian, in 305, Britain became an inconsiderable portion of the western empire, under the mild government of the virtuous Constance.

Meantime, the five tribes of provincial Britons, who lived within the northern wall, were too inconsiderable to be much interested, in the revolutions of the Roman world: but, they were not perhaps too poor to be the objects of envy to less opulent clans, who sometimes plundered what they wanted industry to acquire, and civilization to enjoy. To this cause it was probably owing, that Constance found it necessary to come into Britain, during the year 306, to repel the Caledonians, *and other Picts (m)*. This is the first time that the *Picts* appear in history. The Caledonian people had often been mentioned before, by classic authors, under other names. The *Caledonians* were, on this occasion, called *Picts*, owing to their peculiar seclusion from the Roman provincials, on the south of the walls: and they were often mentioned, during the decline of the Roman empire, by orators, historians, and poets, by that significant appella-

(m) *Caledones aliique Picti* are the significant expressions of Eumenius, the orator, who, in a panegyric, during the year 297, and again in 308, was the first, who mentioned the *Picti*, as a people. As the learned professor of Autun knew the meaning of his own language, we are bound to regard the *Caledonians*, and *Picts*, as the *same people*, at the end of the third century. Towards the conclusion of the fourth century, Ammianus Marcellinus, also, spoke of the *Caledonians*, and *Picts*, as the *same people*: “Eo tempore,” says he, lib. xxvii. ch. vii. “*Picti in duas gentes divisi; Dicaledones, et Vecturiones.*” On this occasion, poetry has also added her agreeable blandishments to the narratives of veracious history, in showing, that the classic authors supposed, perhaps mistakingly, the custom, among the Caledonians, of painting themselves, to be the reason, which induced those writers to speak of the Caledonian tribes, by the appropriate name of *Picti*. And, Claudian about the year 400, *De bello Gettico*, alluded to them in the following lines:

“ ——— ferroque notatos

“ Perlegit exanimos Picto moriente figuras;”

and, in his panegyric on Theodosius's victories, the poet again speaks thus of the *Picts*:

“ Ille leves Mauros, nec falso nomine Pictos

“ Edomuit ————

tion.

tion. The name of *Picts* has continued, to the present day, the theme of antiquarian disputes, and the designation of national history. That the *Picts* were Caledonians, we thus have seen, in the mention of classic authors, during three centuries: that the Caledonians were the North-Britons, who fought Agricola, at the foot of the Grampian, we know from the nature of the events, and the attestation of Tacitus: that the Northern Britons of the first century were the descendants of the Celtic Aborigines, who were the same people, as the southern Britons, during the earliest times, has been satisfactorily proved, as a moral certainty.

The inroads of the Caledonians, and other Picts, were soon repelled by the Roman legionaries, under Constantius, who did not long survive his easy, but decisive, success: for, he died at York, on the 25th of July 306 (*n*). The subsequent silence of history, with regard to the future conduct of the Caledonians, and other Picts, is the best evidence of the efficiency of his campaign. Almost forty years elapsed, before the Caledonians, and other Picts, again infested the territories of the provincial Britons, though civil wars had meanwhile raged; though the metropolis of the empire had been carried to Constantinople; though foreign, and domestic hostilities had ensued, upon the death of the great Constantine. In 343, Constans is said, on dubious authority, indeed, to have come into Britain; and by a short campaign to have repelled a feeble inroad of the Picts (*o*). A silence of seventeen years again inform us, with instructive evidence, that the provincials remained unmolested, and that the Picts were long quiet.

While Constance, the emperor, was fully occupied with the Persians, in the east, and Julian, the Cæsar, was equally employed with the Germans, on the frontiers of Gaul, the peace was broken in Britain, by the inroads of the Scots, and the Picts. The frontiers were wasted; the provincials were harassed; and they dreaded future mischiefs, from a recollection of the past. Occupied with the immediate defence of the Rhine, and meditating ambitious projects, Julian sent Lupicinus, a capable officer, with sufficient troops, to repel the savage incursions of the Scots, and Picts (*p*). But, his attention appears to have been too much occupied with the commencement of the civil war, between Constance, and Julian, to allow him to effectuate the object of his mission, at that troublous moment.

(*n*) Tillemont Hist. des Emp. tom. vi. p. 91.

(*o*) Tillemont's Hist. des Emp. tom. iv. p. 336; and Horsley's Brit. Rom. p. 72, who, mistakingly, supposes, that the Scots acted, on that occasion, in concert with the Picts.

(*p*) Ammian. lib. xx. ch. i; Tillemont Hist. v. iv. p. 447.

The year 360 is the epoch of the first appearance of the Scottish people, in the pages of the Roman annals. Ammianus, who mentions them, at present, joins the Scots with the Picts, as if they had formed one army, though they had no connection whatever, by lineage, or in neighbourhood, or in interests. The historian himself, indeed, speaks of the Scots, in the year 367, as an erratic people, who spread much waste by their predatory excursions (*q*). These descriptions do not apply, with any truth, to a tribe, who resided in Britain: and, indeed, the contemporary authors of that age speak of the Scots, as a transmarine people, who invaded the Roman provincials, from the sea; and who came from Ireland, which was their native isle (*r*). The *Scots* were unknown, as a people, during the first, and second centuries, if we may regard, as satisfactory evidence, the uniform silence of the classic authors of Rome, and Greece, during those learned ages. The *Scoticae gentes*, the Scottish people, were first mentioned by Porphyry, who flourished, at the end of the third century: yet, were not the *Scots* mentioned by Eumenius, the orator, though he was the first to notice the *Picts* of North-Britain, and to distinguish the *Hiberni* of Ireland.

(*q*) Scotti, per diversa vagantes, multa populabantur. Lib xxvii. ch. vii.

(*r*) In the successive panegyrics of Claudian, we may see the historical intimations of the courtly poet:

“ ——— Scottum que vago mucrone Secutus

“ Fregit Hyperboreas remis audacibus undas.

“ — — — — —

“ Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis *Ierne*.

“ — — — — —

“ ——— totam cum Scottus *Iernen*

“ Movit, & infesto spumavit remige Tethys.

If the context of Claudian be considered, it is impossible not to perceive, that he regarded *Ireland*, as the country of the Scots, at the commencement of the fifth age. A century and a half, afterwards, Gildas also mentioned Ireland, as the proper country of the Scots; a sentiment, which Bede delighted to repeat. Add to those proofs what appeared to Camden to be historical demonstrations of the following points: 1st, That ancient Scotland was an island; 2dly, That ancient Scotland, and Britain, were different countries; 3dly, That ancient Scotland, and Ireland, were *not* different countries. Camdeni Epistolæ, 1691, p. 70, and App. N° ii. Now, these points being true, it follows, that the Scots of Ammianus Marcellinus, and of Claudian, were not then settled, in Britain; but came from Ireland, when they invaded the Roman territories, during the period, from the year 360 to 446. Those proofs seem not to have been attended to by Gibbon, when he so *absolutely* decided, that as early as the reign of Constantine, the northern region was divided between the two great tribes of the *Scots*, and *Picts*. Hist. of the Decline and Fall, 8^e edit. 4th vol. 291—95. Orosius, who lived, during the 5th century, says expressly: “ Hibernia insula inter Britanniam & Hispaniam sita;—& à Scotorum gentibus colitur.” Ed. 1536, p. 20—1. These intimations of a contemporary author seem to be decisive.

The accession of Valentinian to the empire, in 364 A.D., is the epoch of a fresh attack on the Roman provincials, in Britain, by the Picts, who were, in that age, divided into two tribes, by the name of Dicaledones, and Vecturiones; of the Attacots, a warlike clan, who occupied the shores of Dunbarton, and Cowal; and of the Scots, who, as we have just seen, were an erratic tribe, from the shores of Ireland, and who wasted the coasts of South-Britain, by their successive incursions (s). The attack of 364 A.D. seems to have been more general, and destructive, than any former incursion, by the same people. After the appointment, and the recall of Severus, and of Jovien, as commanders of the Roman troops, in the British island, Theodosius, who had gained the greatest reputation, as an officer, was sent to Britain, in 367, to restore tranquillity to a very disturbed people. He is said to have found the Picts, and Scots, in the act of plundering Augusta, the London of modern times. But, this improbability was reserved for the ignorance, or the inattention, of modern writers to assert (t). The prudence, and valour, of Theodosius, however, restored, in the two campaigns of 368, and 369, the tranquillity of Britain, by suppressing domestic insurrection, and by repelling foreign invasion: by his prudence, he restored the cities, strengthened the fortifications, and repaired the wall of Antonine: and, by his policy, he added to the four provinces, which already existed, in Britain, the country, lying between the southern, and northern, wall, as a fifth province, by the name of *Valentia*, which Valentinian thus denominated, in honour of Valens, whom he had early associated with him in the empire (u). Poetry, and panegyric, equally bestowed their blandishments on the successful enterprises of Theodosius; but, the result of his measures has conferred, in every subsequent age, more honourable fame: the thirty years

(s) Am. Marcellinus, lib. xxvii. ch. vii: The Attacotti, as we know from Richard, inhabited the whole country, lying between Loch Lomond, on the east, and Loch Fine, on the west, during the second century: dwelling thus along the northern shore of the Clyde, they had only to cross the Frith, in order to attack the Roman provincials, who inhabited Renfrew, and Ayr.

(t) Ammianus Marcellinus, who gives a particular account of the expedition of Theodosius, lib. xxvii. ch. vii. says nothing of that improbability. Gibbon, who gives some countenance to what was too absurd, for positive assertion, states minutely the causes, which had diffused, through this island, a spirit of discontent, and revolt: the oppression of the good, and the impunity of the wicked, equally contributed, says he, to subvert the weak, and distracted government of Britain. Hist. of the Decl. and Fall of the Rom. Emp. 4th vol. 8vo edit. p. 296-7. Thus, domestic revolt, and foreign invasion, both concurred to ruin the provincials, and to call for the protection of such an officer, as Theodosius, whose talents were equally fitted for the legislation of peace, as for the struggles of war.

(u) Ammian. Marcellinus, lib. xxvii. ch. vii.

quiet

quiet of Britain, which ensued, bears the most indubitable testimony to the vigour of his arms, and the efficacy of his wisdom.

Yet, amidst an age, when the Roman empire was attacked, without, by the surrounding tribes, and enfeebled, within, by domestic parties, the Scots from Ireland, and the Picts from Caledonia, renewed their depredations on the British provincials, during the year 398. Stilicho, who supported a falling empire, by the strength of his talents, sent such effectual aid, as enabled the governors to repel the invaders, to repair the northern wall, and to restore general quiet (*). The grateful poetry of Claudian has preserved the great actions of Stilicho, which the historical coldness of Zosimus had consigned to oblivion.

The decline of the Roman empire brought with it every sort of disorder, in addition to its weakness. The revolt of the troops, in Britain, transferred, in 407, the government to Gratian; and after his death, to Constantine, who carried the army, that had conferred on him the purple, to Gaul; in order to maintain, however unsuccessfully, their own choice. The disgrace, and death, of Stilicho, in 408, augmented all those evils. While the empire was oppressed, by the invasions of barbarians, from every nation, and of every name, the British provincials, who continued to be harrassed by the Scots, from the west, and by the Picts, from the north, assumed a sort of independence, which was founded in the necessity of self-defence. Honorius, feeling his inability to defend this distant province, amid so many attacks, directed the British cities to rule, and defend, themselves (y).

But, their inexperience soon occasioned them to feel their own weakness. And, in 422, A.D. though the walls were then garrisoned by Roman troops, the provincials again applied for additional protection against the desultory attacks of predatory people, who could be more easily repelled, than tranquillized. A legion is said to have been sent, who chastised the invaders; and, for the last time, repaired the fortifications, that had long overawed the Pictish tribes (z). From this epoch, the pro-

(*) The verses of Claudian have been already quoted. From them, we may learn, with a little extension of his sense, that Stilicho had assisted the British provincials, who were attacked by the Scots, *that had armed all Ireland against them*: of the Scots, Tillemont remarks, “that they still, without doubt, dwelt in Ireland. Of the Picts, that critical historian observes, that they were the ancient inhabitants of North-Britain; but, as they had been repressed by Stilicho, they were no longer formidable to the British provincials.” The Saxons, also, who, in that age, began to infest the shores of Britain, as they had been lately chastised by Theodosius, were repelled by Stilicho. Tillemont Hist. des Emp. 4 tom. p. 503.

(y) Zozimus, lib. vi. ch. v.; Barbeyrac Supl. Corps Dipl. Part ii. p. 72.

(z) Barbeyrac Supl. Corps Dipl. Part ii. p. 77; and Pagi, sub. an. 422.

vincials enjoyed twenty years repose. The year 446, when Ætius was consul, for the third time, is the memorable epoch, when the British provincials acknowledged themselves to be Roman citizens, by their supplication to that able supporter of a degenerate state, for fresh assistance: but he was unable to gratify their desire of help; owing to the pressures of the barbarians upon Gaul. The provincials were again told, in a more desponding tone, that they must rely on their own efforts, for their future government, and effectual defence. The abdication, which Honorius seemed willing to make, in A.D. 409, Ætius thus more completely effected, in A.D. 446 (*a*).

(*a*) Some contrariety of opinions has arisen between ignorance, and refinement, with regard to the true epoch of the cessation of the Roman government, in the British island. The recal of the Roman legions, at particular periods of the fifth century, is supposed, by some, to give a limit to the continuance of the Roman power. But, the march of the legions, from one province to another of a most extensive empire, did not alter the nature of the government, any more than the change of quarters of a British regiment, from one American province to another, operates as a relinquishment of British jurisdiction over provinces, which were thus meant only to be relieved, or supported. The mere march of a legion, or a regiment, could produce no change in the jurisdiction, without the signification of the will of the government. The historian of the decline and fall of the Roman empire seems to be the first, who, from the intimation of Zozimus, and a passage of Procopius, settled the independence of the British cities, as early as the year 409. Hist. 8vo ed. vol. v. p. 364. But, his facts may be admitted, without acknowledging his inferences. Honorius, by his letter, directing the cities to defend, and govern themselves, did no more, in 409, than George II. did, in 1756, when he urged his American provinces to exert their own powers, in their own defence. The conduct of the Britons, from 409 to 446, confirms this reasoning. The “independent Britons raised 12,000 men for the service of the emperor Anthemius in Gaul.” Hist. of the Decl. and Fall, 5th vol. p. 364. “The independent Britons implored, and acknowledged, the salutary aid of Stilicho.” Ib. vol. vi. p. 94. These facts prove, with sufficient conviction, notwithstanding the blandishments of historical eloquence, that the *independent* Britons still thought themselves the *dependent* citizens of the Roman empire, who were bound to give assistance, and were entitled to receive protection. Forty years, afterwards, the Roman provincials applied to Ætius, for similar help, without receiving the same aid, because other concerns were more urgent. The account of this transaction, which has been transmitted by Gildas, is so circumstantial, that we cannot altogether disbelieve him, without doing violence to our historical faith. If what Gildas asserts be true, that the Britons applied to Ætius, during his third consulate for military protection, this fact would prove, that they still considered themselves, and were plainly regarded by others, as Roman provincials. The curious notices of Gildas, who died in 570, is confirmed, 1st, By the *Notitia*, which shows, that Roman troops remained, in the garrisons of the northern fence, till towards the middle of the fifth century; Whit. Hist. of Manch 8vo edit. vol. ii. p. 261—69; 2dly, By the long continuance of Roman stations, within the province of Valentia; Wood’s Hist. of Cramond, p. 1—12; 3dly, By the finding in England of the coins of Arcadius, Honorius, and Valentinian, the third. Horsley’s Brit. Rom. p. 75. Richard concurs with Gildas, in these important notices; p. 55.

The

The time was, at length, arrived, when the Roman empire, which was now pressed, on all sides, by irresistible hordes, was to shrink back, from the boundaries that, in her ages of ambition, she had fixed at too great a distance, for her own security, or repose. As the Romans receded, their numerous invaders advanced. New states were successively formed. And, Europe may be said, to have assumed, during the fifth century, new appearances, that are still to be discerned; and to have adopted various institutions, which continue to impart their influences to the present times, after the revolutions of many centuries.

B O O K II.

THE PICTISH PERIOD. 446 A. D. 843.

C H A P. I.

*Of the Picts ; their Lineage ; their Civil History ; and Language ;
with a Review of the Pictish Question.*

THE *Pictish Period*, extending from the abdication of the Romans, in A.D. 446, to the overthrow of the Pictish government, in 843 A. D., will be found, from its notices, to comprehend interesting events. At the epoch of Agricola's invasion, the ample extent of North-Britain was inhabited, as we have seen, by one-and-twenty Gaelic clans, who were connected by such slight ties, as scarcely to enjoy a social state. At the period of the Roman abdication, there remained, in North-Britain, only one race of men, the genuine descendants of those Caledonian clans: the sixteen tribes, who ranged unsubdued, beyond the wall of Antonine, under the appropriate denomination of *the Picts*; the five southern tribes of kindred people, who, as they remained under the Roman jurisdiction, seem to have been considerably civilized, by the adoption of Roman arts; but, the *Angles* had not yet arrived within the Ottadinian territories, on the Tweed; and, the Scots still continued, in Ireland, their original country. The sixteen tribes of proper Picts acquired, from their independence, higher importance, when they were no longer overawed by the Roman power; and they will be immediately found to have been the dominating nation, throughout four centuries of the North-British annals. The five Romanized tribes of *Valentia*, who had long enjoyed the instructive privilege of Roman citizenship, will soon appear to have assumed the character of an independent people, who established for themselves their own government. Two new races of men ere long arrived, within the Caledonian regions, who not only saddened the enjoyments, but at length eclipsed the glories of the Caledonian Britons. The *Angles* early settled on the Tweed; and erewhile obliged the Ottadini to relinquish for ever, as we shall see, their beloved domains. At the end of half a century, the *Scots* of Ireland colonized Argyle; and spreading themselves over the circumjacent districts,

superseded

superseded the Pictish government, as we shall perceive, after the bloody struggles of three hundred and forty years. It must be the business of this *Pictish Period* of the North-British annals, to trace the singular history of all those people; the *Caledonian Picts*, the *Romanized Britons*, the *Angles* of Lothian, the *Scots* of Argyle; throughout the various events of their obscure warfare, and the successive turns of their revolutionary changes.

The lineage of the Pictish people has been disputed, though without any valid reason, as if there could be a doubt, whether they were of a Celtic, or of a Gothic origin. But, their genealogy may be clearly traced, through three consecutive changes; from the Gauls to the Britons; from the Britons to the Caledonians; and from the Caledonians to the Picts; thus changing their names, but not their nature (*a*). During many an age, before our common era, Gaul was the splendid scene, wherein the Celts displayed, before the intelligent eyes of the Roman people, the peculiarities of their religion, the originality of their customs, and the singularity of their manners. The Gaelic Celts, who emigrated to Britain, brought with them, into this island, all those distinguishing features, with their original language (*b*). One of the most striking points of comparison, between Gaul, and Britain, was the geographical divisions of the country, and the civil institutions of the people. Gaul appears to have been, in every age, cantoned among many clans, who were each independent of the whole. South-Britain was, in the same manner, divided among many tribes. North-Britain, at the memorable invasion of Agricola, was cantoned among one-and-twenty clans, who seldom united, in any common measure, as they were involved in eternal warfare. In Gaul, in South, and in North-Britain, we

(*a*) Bede, who was contemporary with the Pictish government, speaks doubtfully of the Picts, as the second people, who came into this island, from Scythia; first to Ireland; and thence to North-Britain. But, though Bede states all this, rather as what he had heard, than as what he knew, his authority has deluded many writers, who did not inquire whether what he had said modestly could possibly be true. Bede, l. i. cap. 1. We now know, from more accurate examination, that the Picts were certainly Caledonians; that the Caledonians were Britons; and that the Britons were Gauls: it is the topography of North-Britain, during the second, and first centuries, as it contains a thousand facts, which solves all those doubts, and settles all controversy about the lineage of the Picts. See before, b. i. ch. 1, 2.

(*b*) J. Cæsar, and Tacitus, as already quoted; Schoepflin *Vindiciæ Celticae*, p. 97—115; Burton's Antoninus, p. 170; Monde Primitif. t. 5; Prelim. Discourse; and the Univer. Hist. v. xviii. with the map annexed; Camden's Brit. of the first inhabitants. A comparison of the names of places in Gaul, and in Britain, would add the demonstration of facts to the decision of authorities. Buchanan actually made such a comparison. Man's ed. p. 52—4. And he undertook to demonstrate the sameness of speech, and thence an affinity between the Gauls and the Britons, from the names of their towns, rivers, and countries.

may

may perceive a strong principle of division, the peculiar characteristic of the Celts; producing the direful effects of perpetual enmity, during domestic peace, and constant weakness, amidst foreign war. This common principle of the Celtic people, which prevented the association of large communities, and obstructed the establishment of a vigorous government, has continued to vex, and enfeeble, their descendants, in Gaul, and in Britain, even down to our own times.

There was another principle, which was peculiar to those Celtic people, and which has involved their affairs, both within Gaul, and throughout Britain, in lasting darkness. They made it a constant rule never to commit any thing to writing, according to a settled maxim, that it was more glorious to perform great actions, than to write, in good language (*c*). The observance of that rule, whether it proceeded from military ardour, or from superstitious observances, has covered the antiquities of their British descendants with undiminished mists.

We have, however, seen distinctly, during the first, and second, centuries, North-Britain inhabited by one-and-twenty distinct tribes (*d*). The most powerful of those clans, the *Caledonians*, seem early to have given a general denomination to the whole. In the succinct biography of Tacitus, those tribes, who opposed Agricola, are either denominated *Britanni*, or *Horestii*, or *Caledonii*, whose country was, analogically, denominated by him *Caledonia*. The origin of all those Roman names are to be found, as we have seen, in the language of the British people themselves. And, the celebrated appellation, *Caledonia*, was merely Romanized, from the *Celyddon* of the Britons, that owed its origin to the woods, which spread, in ancient times, over the interior, and western parts of the country, lying beyond the Forth and Clyde; and which were mentioned emphatically, before the age of Tacitus, by Pliny, as the *Caledonian forest* (*e*).

As

(*c*) Cæsar's Com. l. vi.; Univer. Hist. v. xviii. p. 539.

(*d*) Before, book i. ch. ii.

(*e*) Book i. ch. xvi. The distant source of all those distinctive appellations may be traced back to the appropriate qualities of the things signified. The most common, and early, distinctions of regions being the *open plains*, and the *woodlands*, or forests, those obvious qualities gave rise to the two leading appellations of *Gâl*, and of *Celt*; the first denoting the open country, and the second the *covert*. Of the same import with *Gâl*, and its derivatives, are *Gwal*, *Peithu*, *Gwynedd*, *Gwent*, and *Syllwg*; signifying *open*, or *clear regions*. With *Celt* may be classed *Celyddon*, *Gwyddel*, and *Tsgoed*; importing the *coverts*. See Owen's Dict. in vo. *Gâl*, *Celt*, *Celyzon*, *Peithi*, &c. As the interior, and mountainous, districts of North-Britain, were, in early ages, covered with an extensive forest, the British people, who colonized that part of our island, gave it the descriptive appellation of *Celyddon*, signifying, in their language, the *coverts*: the inhabitants of the forest were, according to the idiom of their speech, called *Celyddoni*, *Celyddoniad*: and the British terms *Celyddon*, and *Celyddoni*,

As other ancient people, both of Asia, and of Britain, had been marked, by very different appellations, while they appeared under various aspects to inquisitive geographers, and to subsequent writers, the Caledonians were also known, by very different names, during successive periods of their annals. Under the reign of Severus, the Caledonian tribes were noticed, by classic writers, under the names of *Mæatae*, and of *Caledonians*, as we learn from Dio, and Herodian; but, they intimate, at the same time, that other tribes also lived, in that age, within the Caledonian territories (*f*). The Caledonian people were called, by Ammianus Marcellinus, *Di-caledones*, and *Vecturiones*, with an eye to their appropriate site, or to the face of the country, when they invaded the Roman province, in 368 A. D. (*g*). The Caledonians, in the meanwhile, acquired, towards the conclusion of the third century, from an obvious cause, the comprehensive appellation of *Picti*, which, before the end of the fourth century, superseded every other name. It was, undoubtedly, the orator Eumenius, who, in his panegyric on Constantius, during the year 297, first called the people of Caledonia *Picti*; and who, certainly, speaks of the Caledonians, and *other Picts*, as the same people. The classic writers of that age seem, indeed,

Celyddoni, were merely latinized by the Romans, *Caledonia*, and *Caledonii*. As the division of the country was much the largest, to which the term *Celyddon* was properly applicable, this name, in its latinized form of *Caledonia*, was usually extended, by the Latin writers, to the whole peninsula of North-Britain, which lay northward of the Forth.

(*f*) Dio, book lxxvi; Herodian, book iii. The Picts were unknown to Dio, and Herodian, who lived, in the third century. As the *Mæatae* lived, immediately, beyond the wall of Antonine, and were known to the Roman officers from their frequent invasions of the romanized Britons, within Valentia, we may easily suppose, that they obtained their Roman-British name, from that striking circumstance: and, they were thus called *Meiadi*, which signified, in the British speech, the people, who take the field, or go out to war. See Owen's Dict. in vo. *Meiad*; signifying, in the British, *those going out to war*; *those taking the field*: and so *Meia* signifies to take the field, or to go out to war.

(*g*) As the *De* of the British speech signified merely a separation, or a parting, so the *De-Caledones* meant only the separated Caledonians, who lived without the Roman provinces, in the western, and northern parts, of Caledonia; and who were thus distinguished, from the *Vecturiones*, that dwelt along the eastern coast, from the Forth to the Varar. As this open country obtained, from the British provincials, the descriptive appellation of *Peithaw*, so the inhabitants of it were, consequently, termed *Peithi*, *Peithawyr*, and *Peithawyron*; all which terms denoted the people of the open country. The only difference, between the British words *Peithi*, and *Peithawyron*, is that, the former is a more general, and the latter a more special term, the same in import, as the *English*, and *Englishmen*. The British words *Peithi*, and *Peithawyron*, would naturally be latinized by the Romans into *Picti*, and *Pecturones*, or rather *Vecturones*: for, the (*th*) of the British are represented by the (*ct*) in the Latin, in such words as have an analogy; and (*p*) in the British also changes to (*f*), for which the Romans used (*v*); as Varar for Farar, and Varis for Faris.

to regard the *Picti*, as merely another name for *Caledones* (*b*). This position is fairly acknowledged by an enquirer, who had examined the point, and found it clearly proved, by classic authors, that the *Picti*, and *Caledones*, were the same people (*i*).

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(*b*) See this point ably discussed in Innes's *Critical Essay*, v. i. p. 42—57.

(*i*) Enquiry into the Ancient History of Scotland, 1789, v. i. part iii. ch. i. "Caledones *alique Picti*" are the significant expressions of Eumenius, the orator, who knew the meaning of his own terms. There is a third system maintained, by the ingenious editor of the *Scottish Songs*, 1794. *Hist. Essay*, p. 12. This system consists, in supposing, that a great part of North-Britain was, even before the invasion of Britain by the Romans, inhabited by a people called *Picts*, *Piks*, or *Pechts*, who are by some thought to have come from Scandinavia, and to have driven out the ancient inhabitants: but, let them come from where they would, he adds, they were still a Celtic colony, and spoke a dialect at least of the language of the original inhabitants. This was the system of Buchanan. For these assumptions, however, that a people called *Picts*, *Piks*, or *Pechts*, inhabited any part of North-Britain, even before the invasion of Britain by the Romans 55 years A. C., I have found, in the course of my researches, neither fact, nor authority, nor intimation: neither did Ptolomy, nor Richard, nor Camden, nor Selden, nor Innes, find any evidence for such a position, as that the *Picts* were known, by that name, three centuries and a half before Eumenius pronounced, in 297, A. D., his panegyric on Constantius. On the contrary, there is proof, that the *Picts*, who were then first called by that name, were merely Caledonians. Eumenius, who first spoke of the *Picts*, again mentions them in 308, as Caledonians. He adds, "*Non dico Caledonum aliorumque Pictorum.*" Ammianus Marcellinus, who died about the year 390, speaks still more distinctly on this head, l. xxvii. § viii.: "*Illud tamen sufficet dici, quod eo tempore Picti in duas gentes divisi Di-caledones et Vecturiones.*" And, Innes, who wrote, critically, on this subject, concludes, in v. i. p. 48; "from all this it seems clearly to follow, that the people, who began first, in the end of the third, and the beginning of the fourth century, to be called *Picts*, by the Roman writers, were not new inhabitants in the island, but the same ancient inhabitants of those northern provinces, so well known, in the former ages, by the name of Caledonians." The history of the fable, which traces the origin of the *Picts* to a Scandinavian, rather than a Celtic source, is very short. Tacitus talked about the origins of the Caledonians, and Germans, like a man, who was not very skilful, in such investigations; and who preferred declamation to inquiry. Cassiodorus, the secretary of a Gothic court, who undertook to write a history of the Goths, was the first theorist, that endeavoured, with preposterous industry, to derive every people from Scandinavia, which, at all times, was still more cold, and barren, and less populous, than it is at present. His example was followed by the puerile writers of the middle ages. The learning, and industry, of the last two centuries have failed, egregiously, in establishing the position of Cassiodorus; unless, indeed, we admit confidence for investigation, assertion for facts, and dogmatism for reasoning. The original colonists were demonstrably Gaelic Britons. Their descendants must be allowed to remain, in the country of their fathers, unless it can be proved, by evidence, which inquiry has not yet found, that they were dispossessed, by invading adventurers of a different race. And history, geography, and philology, all concur to attest, in opposition to conjecture, that the probability of the before mentioned deduction is carried up to certainty by the fact. There is a succinct history of the *Picts*, by Henry Maule, which was printed, at Edinburgh, in 1706; and which concurs, in all those points, with the foregoing intimations, without the same proofs. Camden, however,

The change, then, did not so much happen in the nature of the ancient tribes, as in the form of their name: and, it is, moreover, apparent, from the silence of history, that no people of a different lineage had yet settled, within the Caledonian regions (*k*). As the Greeks had been, in successive ages, called Pelasgians, Hellenes, and Achaïans; as the Latins had acquired various appellations, with their several fortunes; as the Goths had been denominated, from several changes, in their situation, Getes, Gaudæ, Daces, Tyrages; as the Saxons, who were unknown to Tacitus, by this celebrated name, had been, in the same manner, called by the very dissimilar names of Cimbri, Chauci, Suevi: so the northern Britons were denominated, from their significant language, by foreign writers, the Caledonians, and the Mæataë, the Di-caledones, and Vecturiones; and finally *the Picts*, a name, which has puzzled all the antiquaries. These distinguished descendants of the Caledonians, acquired their appropriate name, during the Roman period, from their relative situation, and local qualities, as compared with the Romanized Britons, who lived, in the province of Valentia, within the Roman wall: the Picts dwelt, without the province, and roamed free, from the Roman authority, and separated, from the Romanized tribes, within, who often felt their vigorous incursions, and frequently required the protection of the Roman government. In the British speech, the Picts were, from those distinctive qualities, called *Peithi*, which was naturally latinized by Roman writers into *Picti*, when they came, during the third century, to be the objects of Roman observation, by assimilating the British term to their own familiar word, *Picti*, which was descriptive of the custom of painting the body, that the Romans saw among the Northern Britons (*l*).

During

however, was the first great authority, who gave it as his opinion, that the Picts were the genuine descendants of the ancient Britons. And, Selden, after discussing what former writers had said, on the origin of the Picts, advises the reader, “rather to adhere to the learned Camden, who “makes the Picts very genuine Britons, distinguished only by an accidental name.” Polyolbion, p. 128. Camden, and Selden, both mean *Cambro*-Britons.

(*k*) Every research, by whomsoever conducted, has egregiously failed, in bringing any evidence to prove, that a Gothic people settled, in North-Britain, *before the arrival of the Anglo-Saxons*, during the fifth century of our common era. The topography of North-Britain demonstrates, that a Gothic people did not settle, in North-Britain, before the settlement of the Saxons. See before b. i. ch. i. ii. Learning, and diligence, cannot establish falsehood, in opposition to truth.

(*l*) *Peithi* signifies, in the British speech, *those that are out, or exposed*; the *people of the open country*; the people of the waste, or desert; also those, *who scout, who lay waste*. Owen’s Dict. In such Roman, and British, words, as have an analogy, the (th) of the British are expressed by the (ct) of the Roman, as we have observed: thus the Welsh *Peithin*, a weaver’s slay, is the Latin *Pecten*; and the *Effaith* of the Welsh is the *Effectus* of the Latin. It may be moreover observed: 1. The name

During the second century, Caledonia was inhabited by sixteen tribes, as we have seen, the genuine descendants of the aboriginal colonists. The eventful effluxion of three ages may have produced, undoubtedly, some changes, both in the position, and the power of tribes, who were restless, from their habits, and inimical from their manners. As a Celtic people, they inherited, from their remote ancestors, a strong principle of disunion. At the disastrous epoch of Agricola's invasion, they associated, indeed, together under Galgac, their *Pen-dragon*, as the British word implies. During successive eras of hostile irruptions,

of *Picti* first appeared in Roman writers, when the Romans had long relinquished their province of Vespasiana, the appropriate country of the Picts. 2. The *Peithi*, and *Peith-wyr*, are the usual terms for the Pictish people, in the oldest Welsh poets. 3. On the confines of Wales, those Britons, who threw off their allegiance to their native princes, and set up a *regulus* of their own, or adhered to the Saxons, were called *Peithi*, or *Picti*. Thus a Welsh poet of the seventh century, celebrating "mic (myg) Dinbich," "the renown of Denbigh," says, "addowyn gaer ysydd ar "glâs *Phichti*;" a fair town stands on the confines of the Picti. 4. In fact, the Welsh, to distinguish the northern, from the southern, Picts, called the Caledonian Picts, by the appellation of *Gwyddyl Pichti*, or *Gwyddyl Fichti*; the (p) of the British being frequently changed to (f). The Picts, like other ancient people, have received, in the progress of their affairs, and during their change of circumstances, other names. The ancient Welsh apply the term *Brython*, and *Brythonig*, to the Picts. Owen's Dict. in vo. *Brython*. And the ancient Welsh, by applying the terms, *Brython*, and *Brythonig*, to the Picts, show, that they considered them as Britons: from this application of *Brython* to the Picts, we may infer, that the earliest of the classic writers, in calling the Picts, by the name of Britons, merely adopted the British appellation. We may here discover, perhaps, the real origin of the term *Britons*, as applied to the most ancient colonists of our island, and not from the name of the country, as often is supposed. The Irish, at a much later period, applied to the Picts the name of *Cruithneach*, which O'Brien mistakingly supposes to be a corruption of *Brithneach*, from *Brit*, variegated, painted. But, the fact is, that the old Irish name, for the country of the Picts, is *Cruithin-Tuath*, and of the Pictish people *Cruithnich*, according to O'Brien, and Shaw: now, *Cruithin-Tuath* literally means *North-Britain*, as the Irish adjunct *Tuath* signifies *north*; and *Cruithnich*, or *Cruithneach*, denotes the *Britons*, or British people, being regularly formed from *Cruithin*, in the same manner, as *Erinach*, *Irsihmen*, is formed from *Erin*, Ireland, and *Albanach*, Scotsmen, from *Alban*, the British name of Scotland. The Irish terms, *Cruithin*, and *Cruithnich*, were borrowed from the British *Brythin*, and *Brythinyg*; the Irish substituting, according to their idiom, the initial *C*, for the *B* of the British: in many words of the same meaning, in these two kindred dialects, where the British has *P*, or *B*, the Irish have *C*, as the following examples show:

BRITISH.		IRISH.		ENGLISH.
<i>Pen</i> ,	—	<i>Cean</i> ,	—	a head.
<i>Pren</i> ,	—	<i>Cran</i> ,	—	a tree.
<i>Pryn</i> ,	—	<i>Crean</i> ,	—	a buying, purchasing.
<i>Pluv</i> ,	—	<i>Clumvb</i> ,	—	down feathers.
<i>Pasg</i> ,	—	<i>Caisg</i> ,	—	Easter.
<i>Bras</i> ,	—	<i>Craos</i> ,	—	fat, gluttony.

they

they were probably influenced, by similar motives, to renew their associations, and to choose a pendragon, whose authority was dictated, by the occasion, and whose power was supported, by the necessity. The Pictish ruler, at the epoch of the Roman abdication, was Drust, the son of Erp, who had long directed the Pictish expeditions against the Roman provincials; and who, from his frequent enterprizes, acquired, in the poetic language of the Irish annalists, the characteristic name of *Drust of the hundred battles*.

To the energetic principle of necessary union, we may trace up the obscure origin of their princes, whose jurisdiction must have been extremely limited, and whose office, in that age, was scarcely transmissible. Bede, amidst some fable, has transmitted a curious notice, with regard to the succession of the Pictish kings, which intimates, that when any doubt arose, the succession went rather to the *female*, than to the male, line(*m*). The fact, however, is, that the uncle was generally preferred to the son; because he was usually more fit for the government of such a people, in such an age. The irregularity of their successions attests the instability of their power. The authentic chronicles of the Picts at once confirm the fact, and show the names, and series, of the Pictish kings, with the extent of the reigns of each, from the epoch of the Roman abdication, to the sad era of the Pictish overthrow(*n*): And, I have thrown all those notices into the comprehensive form of

A CHRO-

(*m*) Hist. lib. i. cap. i.

(*n*) Innes merits lasting commendation, for being the first to discover, and to publish, in his *Critical Essay*, the *CHRONICA DE ORIGINE ANTIQVORVM PICTORVM*, from a MS. in the Colbertine library; which MS. had once belonged to Lord Burghley, and had, in that period, been seen by Camden. App. N ii. The authenticity of this Chronicon has not been questioned, even by scepticism. It may be supported, indeed, by collateral circumstances: Bede, Nennius, Hoveden, Simeon of Durham, and other English writers, recite facts, which confirm the authenticity of the Chronicon, and also support the succession of the kings. Innes, vol. i. p. 111—122, 137—9. For, as the facts coincide with the Chronicle, the coincidence demonstrates the truth. In giving the following Chronological Catalogue of the Pictish kings, I have adhered, as near as might be, to the series of the sovereigns, the spelling of the names, and the extent of their reigns, which appear in the Chronicle. There is nothing more authentic, or satisfactory, in the early annals of any country.

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE of the PICTISH KINGS:

Their Series.	Their Names, and Filiation.	Their Accessions.	Their Reigns.	Their Deaths.
1	DRUST, the son of Erp.			in 451 A.D.
2	TALORC, the son of Aniel.	in 451 A.D.	Dur ^g 4 yrs.	455
3	NECTON MORBET, the son of Erp.	455	25	480
4	DREST GURTHINMOCH.	480	30	510
5	GALANAU ETELICH.	510	12	522
6	DADREST.	522	1	523
7	DREST, the son of Girom.	523	1	524
	DREST, the son of Wdrest, with the former.	524	5	529
	DREST, the son of Girom, alone.	529	5	534
8	GARTNACH, the son of Girom.	534	7	541
9	GEALTRAIM, the son of Girom.	541	1	542
10	TALORG, the son of Muircholaich.	542	11	553
11	DREST, the son of Munait.	553	1	554
12	GALAM, with Aleph.	554	1	555
	GALAM, with Bridei.	555	1	556
13	BRIDEI, the son of Mailcon.	556	30	586
14	GARTNAICH, the son of Domelch.	586	11	597
15	NECTU, the nephew of Verb.	597	20	617
16	CINEOCH, the son of Luthrin.	617	19	636
17	GARNARD, the son of Wid.	636	4	640
18	BRIDEI, the son of Wid.	640	5	645
19	TALORE, their brother.	645	12	657
20	TALLORCAN, the son of Enfret.	657	4	661
21	GARTNAIT, the son of Donnel.	661	6½	667
22	DREST, his brother.	667	7	674
23	BRIDEI, the son of Bili.	674	21	695
24	TARAN, the son of Entifidich.	695	4	699
25	BRIDEI, the son of Dereli.	699	11	710
26	NECHTON, the son of Dereli.	710	15	725
27	DREST, and Elpin	725	5	730
28	UNGUS, the son of Urguis.	730	31	761
29	BRIDEI, the son of Urguis.	761	2	763
30	CINIOD, the son of Wredech.	763	12	775
31	ELPIN, the son of Bredei.	775	3½	779
32	DREST, the son of Talorgan.	779	5	784
33	TALORGAN, the son of Ungus.	784	2½	786
34	CANAUL, the son of Tarla.	786	5	791
35	COSTANTIN, the son of Urguis.	791	30	821
36	UNGUS, (Hungus), the son of Urguis.	821	12	833
37	DREST, the son of Constantine, and Talorgan, } the son of Wthoil.	833	3	836
38	UEN, the son of Ungus.	836	3	839
39	WRAD, the son of Bargoit.	839	3	842
40	BRED.	842	1	843 (o)

(o) This *Chronological Table* is amply supported, in Innes's Critical Essay, v. i. from p. 111 to 117. In the *Chronicon of Dunblain*, there is a genealogical series of the Pictish kings. Innes's MS. Collections; and, see the *Enquiry*, 1789, v. i. p. 295, for a series of the Pictish kings.

The

The names of those kings are, undoubtedly, Cambro-British; yet, is it not easy to regain their true appellations, which have been perverted by ignorance(*p*). But, it is vain to assign qualities to those kings, any farther than events ascertain facts, which will be hereafter stated, in their narrative order. The historians, who adorn them with virtues, or disfigure them with vices, without documents, to justify imputations, only show their own propensities, and delude the reader.

(*p*) The names of the Pictish kings have not any meaning, in the Teutonic; and, they are, therefore, Celtic. They are not Irish; and, consequently, they are British; as the following notes will show: In N° 21. we may see, in the British form, *Dyvnwal*, which, in the Irish, or Scoto-Irish, pronunciation, would be Donnel. In N° 30, *Cineod* is, merely, the Keneth of the Irish. (1.) Drust, or Drest, is probably the British name *Trwst*, which signifies *Din*. (2.) Talore, Talorg, Talorgen, Talorgan: Talarw, in the British, signified harsh-fronted; Talerg, dark-fronted; Talorgan, splendid-fronted: *Anail* signified *openness*. (3, 26.) Nechton was probably the Nwython of the British, signifying a person full of energy: there have been men among the British, who were called *Nwython*. (6.) Dadrest was, perhaps, the *Godrwst* of the British, signifying the beginning of tumult; the *g* in composition, or connection, was dropt. (7.) Giron was, probably, the *Grawn* of the British, which is often used as an epithet, that conveys the idea of stooping. (8.) Gartnach, Gartnaich, Gartnait: *Gwrchnwyd* meant one of an ardent temper; *Gwrchnaid* signified an ardent leap; *Gwrthnaid* meant an opposing leap. (9) Galltrain, in the British, signified any one, who prowled about. (13.) Bridei, Brid; *Bradw*, in the British, meant *treacherous*; *Brad*, *treachery*: *Mailcom*, or *Maelgawn*, was a common British name, which implied the origin of good. (16.) Cineoch, or Cynog, in the British, meant a forward person. (17.) *Gwernerth*, in the British, signified masculine strength. (21.) The *Dyvnwal* of the British, which is pronounced by the Scotch, and Irish, *Donnel*, meant what was of the weaned couch. (22.) *Drest* is, perhaps, the British *Trwst*, who is spoken of, in the old writings, as a warrior, that had the terrific name of *Trwst ail Taran*, that is, *tumult, the son of thunder*. (23.) *Bradw*, which is pronounced *Bridw*, or *Bradw*, means in the British *treacherous*: *Beli*, his father, is a common name, in the same tongue, signifying *Bellicosus*, warlike. (27) Elpin is the British Elfin, which means the same as the English *Elf*. There were, among the British Reguli of Strathcluyd, two named Elpin. (28.) Wrguist, or Urguist, is perhaps the Gorchest of the British, the *g* being dropt in construction; signifying the great atchievement: *Gwyr*, in composition *Wyr*, is the same, in British, as *Fear*, in the Irish, a man: so Wirgust, in the British, is the same as Fergus, in the Irish. (31.) *Wroid* is probably the British *Gwriad*, which is a common name. (34.) Canaul is perhaps the Cynwyl of the British, a proper name of men, signifying conspicuous: *Torlw* signifies oath breaking, in the British; *Twrlla* means a heap. (35.) Costantin, Constantin: the name of Constantin appears among the British Reguli of Strathcluyd, as we see in Langhorn's Catalogue. (37.) Wthoil, is the same, as the common name Ithel, signifying, in the British, knit-brow. (38.) Uven seems to be the well-known name of *Owain*; signifying apt to serve, or to minister; and appearing under this form, in the Welsh MS. Chronicle of the Saxons, in the British Museum; one of the British Reguli of Strathcluyd was named Uen, or Hoen. (39.) Wrad is, no doubt, the *Gwriad* of the British, the *G* being dropt in connection; and there was a chief, who was so called, in the battle of Cattrath: Bargoit, or Bargod, is also a name mentioned in the Triads. (40.) Brid, or Brâd, signifies, in the British, *treachery*: hence, *Bradog*, *treacherous*, the appropriate appellation of several ancient personages.

Those

Those Pictish kings, successively, governed uncivilized clans, during the rudest ages. In the third century, the Picts were sufficiently barbarous, if we may believe the uniform representations of classic authors. As the Greeks had improved themselves, from the vicinity of the orientals; and the Romans had derived refinement, from an imitation of the Greeks; the Picts, we may easily suppose, gained some improvement, from their intercourse, whether civil, or hostile, with the romanized Britons, or the Roman armies. The introduction of christianity among the Picts, in subsequent times, by inculcating new lessons, impressed more gentle maxims; and by teaching dissimilar habits, established among a rude people more humane practices: yet, while Europe was over-run by barbarism, it is not to be reasonably expected, that North-Britain would escape the contagion of illiterate ages, and much less would acquire the accomplishments of knowledge, or the softness of civilization.

The appropriate country of the Picts, like more celebrated regions, appears to have acquired different names, in successive periods. The mountainous part of it was denominated, by the first colonists, in their native speech, *Alban*, the *superior height*. This appropriate name, which was originally applied to the hilly region, that forms the west of Perth, and the north-west of Argyle, was, in after times, extended to the whole country. In the first century, the British term *Celyddon*, which literally signifies *the coverts*, was applied, by the Roman authors, to the whole country, on the north of the friths, though the same name was confined, by the Roman geographers, to the interior highlands, lying northward of Alban. Both of these well-known appellations were afterwards applied more laxly to North-Britain. The Pictish Chronicle, from the Pictish people, calls their country, by the analogous word, *Pictavia* (*q*). The annals of Ulster generally speak of this country, by the name of *Fortruin*, with a slight deviation from *Fothir*, the name of the Pictish capital (*r*). Saxo, the Danish historian,

(*q*) Innes's Crit. Essay, App. N^o iii.; Enquiry, 1789, v. i. App. N^o xi. In the tract, *De Situ Albanie* of Giraldus Cambrensis, ib. N^o i. and see Langhorn's *Antiquitates Albionenses*, who adopts the same name of *Pictavia*.

(*r*) Chron. N^o iii. in Innes's Appendix. This name is merely the British Faethir, [Faeth-thir], in Irish, Fothir, signifying *rich land*; and this is the characteristic of the plains about Forteviot. To the previous name of *Fothir*, the Scoto-Irish put the adjunct *tabhait*; hence the names of Fothir, Fothir-tabhait, which is now abbreviated Forteviot. Chron. N^o iii. in Innes's App.; Diplom. Scotiæ. This ancient capital of the Pictish kings was occasionally the residence of the Scottish sovereigns, as late as the reign of Malcolm IV. who dated one of his charters, from Fether-tevoit. Anders. Dipl. pl. xxv. Forteviot is situated, in Strathern, about half a mile, south, from the river Ern, on the east side of May-water. It is apparent, that Fortruin, in the annals of Ulster, has no connection with Forthrif on the Forth; as Fortruin applies merely to the seat of the Pictish

historian, speaks of the conquests of Regnar, in Scotia, *Petia*, and the He-budes (*s.*) The context plainly points to *Petia*, as the name of *Pictland*. Now, the *Petia* of Saxo approaches the nearest to the British term *Peith*, or *Peithw*, which the British people applied to the open country, lying along the east coast, on the northward of the Forth.

The history of the Picts is only accompanied, by such glimpses of the moon, as show it to be little more than a tissue of domestic strife, and foreign war; of violent successions, in the series of their kings, and some changes of religion. Drust, the son of Erp, who is chronicled, as the fortunate leader of a hundred battles, had the honour to contribute his efforts to produce the abdication of the Roman government, if we may credit Gildas's declamations, and the Irish annalists (*t*). More than a century elapsed, and a dozen successions ensued, without any interesting event to recount. The Saxons, who invaded the Ottadinian district, on the Tweed, are said to have made a treaty with the Picts. The Scoto-Irish colonists settled on their western territories, in 503 A.D. Ida, who founded the Northumbrian monarchy, in 547 A.D. appears to have been diverted, by other objects, from making the Picts feel the vigour of his genius. In A.D. 556, succeeded to the unsteady government of the Picts Bridei, whose fame reached even to the east (*u*). In the subsequent year, he defeated the Scoto-Irish, and slew Gauran, their king, if we may credit the Ulster annals. But, the great glory of the reign of Bridei was his conversion to christianity, by the worthy Columba, in 565 (*x*). From this epoch, the Picts may be considered, as christians, a circumstance, which seems not to have much changed their principles, or much altered their customs.

A petty warfare of many ages succeeded the demise of Bridei, in A.D. 586; owing to the defect of the government, and the accustomed habits of a rude people. Bridei was contemporary with the Northumbrian Oswy, who made him feel the weight of his character, if not acknowledge the superiority of his power (*y*).

Pictish government, in Strathern. Yet, has Mr. D. Macpherson fallen, with others, into this error: for, he says that, *Fortren*, in the Ulster Annals, seems an error for *Fortrev*. Illustrations of Scot. Hist. in vo. Fortren.

(*s*) Lib. ix.

(*t*) See, however, Bede, l. i. cap. xii.

(*u*) The accession of Bridei is recorded by the contemporary Count Marcellin, in his Chronicon, Ed. Sirmondus, p. 78: Ind. V. P. C. Basil V. C. xvi. which date corresponds with A. D. 556. See the foregoing Chronological Enumeration of the Pictish kings.

(*x*) Bede, l. iii. cap. 4.

(*y*) See the doubtful intimations of Bede upon this point, l. ii. cap. v.

There was a domestic conflict, at Lindores, in 621, under Cineoch, the son of Luthrin (*z*). In 663, ensued the unimportant battle of Ludho-feirn, among the Picts (*a*). Drest, who reigned from 667 A.D. to 674, was expelled from his kingdom (*b*). Far different was the battle of Dun-Nechtan, in 685, when the Pictish Bridei, the son of Bili, defeated, and slew the Northumbrian Egfrid (*c*). The Saxon king appears to have attacked the Picts, without provocation, and against advice. In pursuit of his object, whether of possession, or of plunder, he proceeded from Lothian, the *Bernicia* of that age, across the Forth, into Strathern. He thus plunged into the defiles of Pictavia. The torch lighted his march to the Tay. He burnt, on his flaming route, Tula-Aman, and Dun-Ola, before the Picts could meet him in conflict. His imprudence pushed him on to his fate. And he crossed the Tay into Angus, while the Picts were collecting around him. Yet, he pressed forward to Dun-Nechtan, the hill-fort of Nechtan, the Dunnichen of the present times (*d*). And near the neighbouring lake, which was long known, by the analogous name of Nechtan's mere, Egfrid, and his army, fell before the valourous Bridei, and his exasperated Picts (*e*). This event, as it enfeebled the Northumbrian power, proved as fatal to the Saxon policy, as it was felicitous to the Pictish independence (*f*). Yet, the Northumbrians under Berht, their powerful leader, tried their strength against the Picts, in 699, when they were defeated by Bridei, the son of Dereli, who had just assumed the Pictish sceptre (*g*). The Saxons, under Beorthfryth, avenged those repulses, by defeating the Picts, in Mananfield, and killing Bredei, their king, in 710, A.D. (*h*).

(*z*) An. Ulster.

(*a*) Id.

(*b*) The Ulster annals place this event in 671 : but, these annals are sometimes, one or two, or three years, behind the true dates.

(*c*) Bede's Hist. l. iv. xxvi. p. 248, 12 ; Saxon Chron. Gibson, p. 45.

(*d*) In a charter of William, the Lion, to the monks of Arbroth, this place is actually called Dun-Nechtan. At this seat, there was anciently a Pictish hill-fort, which was named, from one of the Pictish kings, Din-Nectan, signifying, in the Pictish speech, the fortress of Nectan, the Duin-Nectan of the Irish annalists. The remains of this ancient fort may still be seen, on the southern side of the hill of Dunnichen. Stat. Account, v. i. p. 419.

(*e*) For the site of this important field, see book ii. ch. iii.

(*f*) Bede, l. iv. cap. 26 ; Sax Chron. 45. Trumwine, the bishop of the Picts, retired, on that occasion, from Abercorn, "in vicinia freti quod Anglorum terras Pictorumque disternat," says Bede : this shows distinctly the contiguous limits of the two people, in that early age.

(*g*) Bede, l. v. cap. 24 ; Sax. Chron. 49.

(*h*) Ulster Annals ; the Saxon Chron. under the year 710, states this battle to have been fought between Hæfe and Cære, on the Northumbrian Tine. Sax. Chron. 50 ; and Gibson's Map, for the site of this eventful conflict.

Between

Between those conterminous people ensued more pacific scenes. The learned Ceolfrid instructed Nechtan, the Pictish sovereign, concerning the epoch of Easter, and the nature of the tonsure, in 715 (*i*). Ciniod gave an asylum, within his kingdom, in 774, to Alcred, the Northumbrian king, when he was expelled by the anarchy, which at length became predominant, in Northumberland (*k*).

Meantime, after various contests for power, which were attended with great violences, a civil war began, among the Picts, about the year 724 (*l*). In 727 A.D. was fought the battle of Moncrib, in Strathern, which ended, as favourably for Ungus, as it proved fatal to the friends of Elpin. A more bloody battle was soon after fought, at Duncrei, when Elpin was again obliged to flee from the fury of Ungus. In 728, followed the battle of Moncur, in the Carse of Gowrie, between Nechtan, and Ungus, wherein Nechtan was defeated, and many of his friends were slain. In the same bloody year, was fought, between Drust and Ungus, the battle of Drumderg, an extensive ridge, on the western side of the river Ila; where Drust, the associate with Elpin, in the Pictish government, was slain. This domestic warfare still continued, with greater bloodshed. In 730, Brude, the son of Ungus, defeated Talorgan, the son of Congus (*m*). In 730, the fugitive Elpin sunk before the superiority of Ungus; and met his fate at Pit-Elpie, within the parish of Liff, which is, at no great distance, from the scene of Elpin's flight, in 727. The Scottish fablers have confounded the death of the Pictish Elpin, at Pit-Elpie, in 730, with the fall

(*i*) Bede, l. v. cap. xxi. : yet, we must infer from the context, that the Pictish Nechtan did not understand the language of the Saxon Ceolfrid.

(*k*) R. Hoveden; S. of Durham; Ciniod is mentioned in the Welsh MS. Chron. of the Saxons, in the Brit. Museum, by the name of Cemoyd, the king of the Picts, as having died in A. D. 774: Bu varw Cemoyd brenin y Phictiaid.

(*l*) From the Annals of Ulster, we learn, that in 712 Ciniod, the son of Derili, and brother of Nechtan, the reigning king, and also the son of Mathgenan, were assassinated. In the same year, Talorg, the son of Drostan, was imprisoned by his brother Nechtan. In 718, Drostan, the father, was assassinated. In 724, the son of Drust was imprisoned. In 725, Nechtan, who reigned from 710 to 725, was dethroned, by Drust. From this time, Drust, and Elpin, reigned, conjointly, till they both fell before the superior power of Ungus, in 728, and 730, A. D.

(*m*) From the Annals of Ulster, it appears that, in 733, Talorgan, the son of Congus, was overcome, in a family feud, by his brother; and being delivered into the hands of the Picts, was by them drowned. About the same time, Talorgan the son of Drostan, was taken prisoner, near the castle of Olio; and afterwards fled to Ireland, from the power of Ungus. The same Annals state that, in 738, Talorgan, the son of Drostan, the chief of Athol, was drowned by Ungus, a mode of punishment, which seems to have been common among the Picts.

of the Scottish Alpin, at Laicht-Alpin, in 836 A. D. (*n*). Ungus, who is honoured, by the Irish annalists, with the title of Great; and who appears, by the same annals, not to have been very scrupulous, in pursuit of his greatness, now reigned triumphant over all his opponents. He carried savage hostilities into the rugged country of the Scoto-Irish, in 736. It appears, however, that soon after, Muredach, the Scottish king, invaded the Pictish territories, in his turn, when he was defeated by Talorgan, the brother of Ungus, in a bloody conflict, wherein many chieftains were slain (*o*). Ungus again worsted the Scoto-Irish, in 740; and he seems to have repulsed the Northumbrians, during the same year, when he was attacked by Eadbert (*p*). In 750, he overpowered the Britons of the Cumbrian Kingdom, in the well-fought battle of Cath-O; in which his brother Talorgan, however, was slain (*q*). After so many conflicts, the great Ungus died, in 761 A. D. by a quiet expiration (*r*). He appears, from his history, to have been the ablest, and the most powerful, of all the Pictish kings. Among the Picts, who were seldom at rest, another battle was fought, in 767 A. D. between their ruler Ciniod, and Aodh-fin, the Scottish king. Ciniod only survived his doubtful victory till 775. Canaul, the son of Tarla, was, in 791, vanquished, by Constantin, who succeeded him, in the unstable throne of the Picts (*s*).

While the Pictish people were thus afflicted with civil war, they were exposed to the destructive incursions of their enterprising neighbours, on the north-east. The anarchical governments of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, during the middle ages, produced the pirate kings of the northern seas. The *Vikingr*, if we except the fictitious kings of the Greeks, are unexampled, in the annals of the world. The Goths, the Vandals, the Huns, are recorded, as the scourges of the human race, by land. The pirate kings were long the scourges of the

(*n*) See ch. iii. of this book.

(*o*) Annals of Ulster.

(*p*) Smith's Bede, 222; and Savile's Chronologia.

(*q*) Ulster Annals. The Welsh Chronicles mention this battle, in 750, by the name of Maes-ydaoc, Magedawc, Metgadawc. Chron. of the princes in the Welsh Archaiolog. v. ii. p. 391; Chron. of the Saxons, and Caradoc, Ib. 472-3.

(*r*) Smith's Bede, p. 224, which speaks, without qualification, of his tyranny, and his crimes. The short chronicle, which is annexed to Bede's Ecclesiastical History, states: "A. D. 761, "Oengus Pictorum rex obiit, qui regni sui principium usque ad finem facinore cruento tyrannus "perduxit carnifex." Id.

(*s*) For all those conflicts, see the Ulster Annals, as they have been published by Johnston, and by the author of the Enquiry, 1789. It is to be remembered, however, that the dates, in the extracts from these annals, in the British Museum, are generally one year behind the date, which is stated by Usher, from the original Annals of Ulster, and also behind the Annals of Tigernach.

shipmen,

shipmen, who sailed from every nation, on the European seas. Till the eighth century, however, the Vikingr confined their odious piracies to the Baltic. They now pursued their destructive courses on every sea, and on every shore, in Europe. They first appeared, distinctly, on the east coast of England, during 787 A.D. (a). They were felt on the Caledonian shores, some years afterwards. They made the Hebrides deplore their barbarities, throughout the ninth century, while they burnt the religious houses, which the pious hands of the Columbans had built. In 839, the Vikingr landed among the Picts. Uen, their king, hastened to defend his people. A bloody conflict ensued. And the gallant Uen fell, in defending his country against those ferocious invaders: with him, also, fell his only brother *Bran*, and many of the Pictish chiefs (b). Distracted by domestic strife, and enfeebled thus by wasteful invasion, the Picts were little able to resist the arms, or to defeat the policy of Kenneth, the son of Alpin, when he acquired their distracted government, in 843 A.D. If it were asked, why the name of *Scotland* was not applied to the Caledonian regions, for several years, after that memorable epoch, the answer must be, that the *Picts* remained in possession of them, as the predominating people (c).

The Picts, who had the honour to be celebrated by classic authors, and remembered for ages, after their fall, have been so much misrepresented, or neglected, by modern writers, that it must gratify a reasonable curiosity to inquire, a little more minutely, about their language, and religion; concerning their customs, and antiquities (d).

In

(a) The energetic writer of the late *history of the Saxons*, vol. ii. gives the best account of the *Vikingr*, which I have any where met with. The historians of the three northern kingdoms, as they want chronology, want every thing, which is valuable in history: till the ninth, and tenth centuries, those historians contain nothing but gross fictions, ridiculous stories, and absurd pretensions. From Andreas, we learn that, *Vijkingur* signifies *Latro*, from *Vijg*, vir militaris; or from *Vigg* navis: and, from the Lexicon, vocum antiquarum Arij Polyhistoris, that *Sækongr* signifies *Rex classis* in mare, nunc admiral. And see Ihre, in vo. *konung*, rex, *sio-keonung*, signifies *Dux piratarum*.

(b) For those dates, see the Ulster annals; and the Pictish chronicle.

(c) Camdeni Epistolæ, p. 362.

(d) It is unnecessary to argue the question with Innes, whether the Picts, after their conquest, were destroyed, or preserved. He observes, that Kenneth, the son of Alpin, after he had acquired their government, in 843 A.D., was called *rex Pictorum*, and not *rex Pictavia*. The Saxon Chronicle, p. 83, and Ethelward, fol. 481, speak of Halfdene, the Dane, as wasting the country, lying between the Picts, and Strathclyde Britons, in 875 A.D. Asser, a still earlier author, mentions the *Picts*, on the same occasion. The continuator of Nennius, and the Ulster annals, speak of the *Picts*. That the proper Picts still existed, in the tenth century, we may infer from the intimations of Ethelred, fol. 483, and from Ingulfus, p. 37, ed. 1684. Before the twelfth century, the

In tracing the origin of a language, it is only necessary to ascertain the descent of the people. When it is once settled, that the Picts were merely the Cambro-Britons, who appeared, at various periods, under a new, and lasting name, the inquiry, with regard to the Pictish language, must soon terminate, in the conclusion, that the speech of the Britons, and the Picts, was the same. As the language is the true genealogy of nations, so, the genuine history of nations is the most certain means of tracing the analogy of languages (*e*). But, this inquiry is not to be now made. The history, and the lineage, of the Picts, have been very fully investigated. And, we have clearly seen, that the northern parts of our island were settled, as well as the southern, by the same British tribes, who imposed their significant names on the promontories, harbours, and hills, and on the rivers, rivulets, and waters, whose appropriate appellations

the Picts seem to have been so completely merged with the Scots, their conquerors, as no longer to be distinguishable, as a people. Their ancient name was now transferred to the Galloway Scots. Radulph, the Archbishop of Canterbury, in a letter to Pope Calixtus, in 1124, applied the name of Picts to the men of Galloway. Richard Prior of Hexham, a contemporary with David I. speaks of *the Picts*, as composing a part of the Scottish army, at the battle of the standard, in 1138 A.D.; "*Picti que vulgo Galweyenses dicuntur*," says he. X Script. Col. 316, n. 34. Huntington, soon after, considered *the Picts*, as a *lost people*. The proper Picts were the descendants of the Cambro-Britons of old: but, the *Galweyenses* were the descendants of the Scoto-Irish settlers of the ninth century: It is, indeed, true, that the proper Picts, who had long lived beyond the Friths, were called the *Cruithnich*, by the Scoto-Irish; and so were the Galloway-Irish called the *Cruithnich*, before their migration: the Strathclyde-Britons, who were confounded with the Galloway men, were of the same lineage, as the proper Picts; yet, as they remained, within the Roman limits, they were not denominated Picts. The name of the Picts has, however, been applied popularly to various objects. The wall of Severus is known, in the tradition of the country, as the *Picts-wall*. The vast fosse, which runs athwart the country, from Galashiels to Lidisdale, is called traditionally the *Picts-work-ditch*, as well as the *Catrail*. An ancient way, in the Merns, is called by the country people, the *Picts-road*. Several round forts, in Lidisdale, are still called the *Picts-works*. Stat. Acco. v. xvi. p. 84. A hill, where there is the remain of a British fort, in Garwald parish, is called the *Picts-hill*. Armstrong's Map of the Lothians. In Buchan, there are a number of *hiding holes*, which are called the *Picts-houses*. Several circular buildings of stone, in Cathness, and in Orkney, are called the *Picts-houses*. And the frith, which separates Cathness, and Orkney, was of old called "*fretum Picticum*," though now the Pentland Firth. Gordon's *Scotia Antiqua*, in Blaeu's Atlas. In a charter of Alexander II. to the monks of Kinloss of the lands of Burgie, the "*runæ Pictorum*," or water-course of the Picts, is called for, as a boundary.

(*e*) "I am not very willing," saith one of the wisest of men, "that any language should be totally extinguished. The similitude, and derivation of languages, afford the most indubitable proof of the traduction of nations, and the genealogy of mankind. They add often physical certainty to historical evidence; and often supply the only evidence of ancient migrations, and of the revolutions of ages, which left no written monuments behind them." Johnson's letter to Drummond, in Boswell's life of Johnson, v. i. 488. The President des Brosses, and, indeed, our own Camden, concur with Johnson, in his judicious observations.

are

are all significant, in the British language, as we may learn, from the Welsh dictionaries. We have perceived, that the Picts of the third century were merely the descendants of the Britons, during the first, though the Picts appeared to Roman eyes, under new aspects, and to the Roman understanding, in more formidable shapes (*f*). We have already seen, that the names of the Pictish kings are significant neither, in the Teutonic, nor Irish, but only in the British speech. And we shall find, that Aber-nethy, the metropolis of the Pictish kingdom, also derived, from the British language, its appropriate appellation, which it retained till the recent period of the Pictish government (*g*).

The most ancient repertory of the Pictish language is the topography of North-Britain (*b*). In it, may even now be traced the copious, and discriminating speech of that ancient people. Several of the towns, in North-Britain, have derived their descriptive names from the Pictish speech: such as Eccles, Lanerk, and Strivelin, Peebles, and Perth, Forfar, and Aberdeen. Some of the parishes also enjoy the honour of Pictish names: such as, Llan-bride, and

(*f*) See before, Book i. ch. vi.

(*g*) See Book i. ch. i. and the topographical dictionary in vo. *Aber*. The late Dr. John M'Pherson, who was praised by James M'Pherson "as a master of the Celtic, in all its branches," wrote an express dissertation, the fifth, on "the Pictish language." In this, he attempts, with a feeble voice, indeed, to confute Innes, as well as Camden, who were of opinion, "that the Picts spoke the British language." In this hopeless task of writing down the truth, he objects to the British word *Aber*, which they had considered, as Pictish. He cannot admit this; because the word (*Aber*) is found in some parts of North-Britain, to which the Pictish empire never extended; as in *Loch-aber*. He did not know, that every part of North-Britain was once inhabited by British tribes, who left the word *Aber* behind them, during a thousand years, before the Scots came into that country, from Ireland. He intimates, indeed, that the Irish may have had the word *Aber*, from some of their progenitors: yet, he durst not claim it, as an *Erse* word. And, he did not know *the fact*, about which he had never inquired, that the word *Aber* is neither in the Irish dictionaries, nor to be found in the Maps of Ireland. By the Pictish tongue, he meant, as he says, the language of the old Caledonians; who, according to *this master of every dialect of the Celtic*, spoke *Erse*! It did not escape the acute penetration of Whitaker, that neither Dr. John, nor Mr. James M'Pherson, understood one word of *the British*. "It is impossible to prove," says Dr. John M'Pherson, "from any faithful record, that Kenneth M'Alpin introduced a new language among his new subjects, after he had united the Pictish kingdom with that of the Scots." Yes: the chartularies prove, that the Scoto-Irish people did change the British speech, for their own: the chartularies show the Scoto-Irish, in the very act of converting the British *Aber* into their own *Inver*. It has been demonstrated, in Book i. ch. ii. that the names of places, in North-Britain, during the second century, were British: the *Topographical Dictionary* will equally evince, that the names of places, in the same country, became *Scoto-Irish*, after the conquest of the Picts, by Kenneth M'Alpin.

(*b*) See before, Book i. ch. i. and ii. where the most ancient names of places, in the first, and second, centuries, are shewn to be British, that is, Pictish.

Llan-

Llan-morgan, from the British *Llan*, a church; Liff, from the British Liff, a flood; Pennycuick, Ochiltre, Ayr, and others. Many other names of places may be traced up to the same ancient source: such as *Arran*, a height; *Cove*, a creek; *Heugh*, a height; *Pen*, a head; *Ram*, a promontory; *Tryn* or *Troon*, a point of land; *Pill*, a strength; *Tre*, a vill; *Cader*, a fortress; as *Cater-thun*, *Carse*, and *Kerse*, a swampy ground; *Granbain*, the Grampian range; *Noeth*, a hill; and almost all the rivers, and waters (i).

Next to the notices of topography, with regard to the Pictish language, we come to the authority of Bede. Amidst his penury of topographical intimations, the learned monk does recollect one Pictish word (k). In the like manner, Nennius informs us, that the Scoto-Irish called the same *head of the wall*, *Cen-ail*, which is known at this day, by the familiar name of *Ken-neil*: now, the *pen* of the British being equivalent to the *cen* of the Irish, this coincidence of the kindred languages confirms the opinion of Bede; and, adds certainty to truth.

The Pictish language may also be found in the vernacular language of North-Britain, even at this day (l). The inhabitants of Edinburgh use the language of

(i) See the comparative topography in Book i. ch. i.

(k) Bede, speaking of the wall of Antonine, the obvious vestiges of which remained in his time, remarks: "Incipit autem duorum ferme milium spatio a monasterio *Abercurnig* ad occidentem, in loco qui sermone Pictorum *Peanfabel*; lingua autem anglorum *Penneltun* appellatur." Bede, edition Smith, p. 50. We thus perceive that, in the age of Bede, and during the Pictish period, the end of the wall was named by the Picts *Pen-fael*, or *Pen-vahel*, the (f) and (v) being convertible: a fact this, which proves, additionally, that the Picts, and Britons, spoke the same language: for, *Pen-wal*, and *Pen-y-wâl*, mean the same thing, under different constructions; as *Pen-wal* is Wall-end, and *Pen-y-wal* is the end of the wall: now, one dialect might more commonly use the one form, than the other: and, Bede only showed, by writing *Pen-fael*, instead of *Pen-y-wal*, which is still prevalent among the northern Britons, the habit of giving double sounds to the single vowels, which are used, in the Welsh. The *Penel-tun* of the Saxons, as recorded by Bede, is merely the *Penwal* of the Britons, contracted, by the Saxon pronunciation, into *Penel*, with the affix *tun*, signifying the town, or hamlet, at *Penwal*. The intimations of Bede attest, what all historians seem to acknowledge, that the languages of the Picts, and the Saxons, were quite different; Enquiry 1789, v. i. p. 365; and that the Pictish *Penwabel* preceded the Saxon *Penel-tun*. We are told, however, by the same enquirer, v. i. p. 46. that *Pana*, in the Suio-Gothic of Ihre, signifies *extendere*, to extend: but, if we change the terms of a proposition, and alter the orthography of words, it were easy, no doubt, to convert the *Pen* of the British, and the *Cen* of the Scoto-Irish, into the *Pana* of the Suio-Gothic. In true etymology, when applied to the names of places, the construction, the spelling, the sense, and the sound, ought all to concur together.

(l) There is a vast body of the common speech, both of England, and of Scotland, borrowed from the noble language of the ancient Britons. See the vocabulary, British, Scoto-Irish, and Scottish, in the introduction to the topographical dictionary. Take the following specimens:

Arles, earnest-money, from the British *Arles*.

Bugabo,

of the Picts, as often as they speak of some of the North-British towns, or of many local objects around them.

The municipal law of North-Britain has even borrowed several of its significant terms from the Pictish speech. The subjoined specimens may suffice, for the present :

Clep and *call* of the Scottish law, from the British, *Clep*, and *Clepian*. *Galnes* of the Scottish law, from the British, *Galan*, Galanes. *Kelchin* of the

Bugabo, from the British *Bug*, a hobgoblin; and *Bo*, a bugbear, an interjection of terror.

Owen's Dict. and Lhuyd's Arch. 214.

Bung, a bung-hole. Lhuyd 214; Owen.

Batie, a boar from *Baedd*, British; *Bahet*, Cornish. Davies, and Pryce.

Brisket, the breast of a slain beast, from the British *Brysced*. Richards.

To *Cleck*, from the British *Cleca*. Owen.

Cowl, from the British *Cuvyl*. Owen.

Cach, dung, from the British *Cach*. Owen and Lhuyd, p. 198.

Cummer, a godmother, also *Cummerwife*, from the British *Commaer*. Lhuyd, p. 183; and Borlase, p. 422.

Cawke, or *Chalk*, from the British *Calch*. Owen.

Claver, and clish-ma-claver, from the British, *Clebar*.

Clap, from the British *Clep*.

Darn, to mend, or piece. Owen.

Dub, from the British *Dwb*. Owen.

Dad, a father, from the British *Tad*.

Earnest, the pledge-money of an agreement, from the British *Ern*, and *Ernes*.

Gridle, or *Girdle*, from the British *Greidell*, or Irish *Greidal*.

Glos, a slumber, British *Gloes*, Corn. *Glos*. Owen, and Pryce.

Gus, A sow; Corn. *Guis*; Arm. *Gues*. Pryce, and Lhuyd, p. 183. 204.

Hether, from the British *Eiddiar*, (Eithiar). Owen. The aspirate H, being prefixed by the Saxons, changed the word to *Hether*.

Hem, a border seam, from the British *Hem*. Owen.

Hut, *Hoot*, an interj. from *Hwt*, British. Owen.

Knoc, a rap, from the British *Cnoc*.

Knoll, pronounced *Know*, from the British *Cnol*. Owen.

Knell, the stroke of a bell, from the British *Cnul*. Owen.

Kebar, a rafter, from the British *Ceber*. Lhuyd, p. 214; Owen and Pryce's Arch. in vo. Keber.

To *Kemp*, from the British *Camp*, Campiau. Owen.

Mammy, from the British *Mam*, a mother. Davies, and Richard.

Marl, from the British *Marl*. Id.

Pez, Pease, from the British *Pys*; Cornish *Pez*. Richards, and Pryce.

Park, a field, or enclosure, from the British *Parc*; Cornish, *Park*.

Paw, the foot, from the British, Cornish, and Armoric, *Paw*, and Pawen. Pryce, and Lhuyd, p. 208.

Ruth, plenty, from *Rhwth*, British; *Ruth*, Cornish. Davies, and Pryce.

Saim, Lard, from the British *Saim*. Richards.

Withy, a twig, from the British *Wydd*, (Wyth); Cornish *Withen*. Richards, and Pryce.

Scotish law, from the British, *Cylch. Merched*, or *Mercheta Mulierum*, of the Scotish law, from the British *Merched. Ocker* of the Scotish law, from the British *Ocyr* (*m*).

The Welsh archaiology has, at length, furnished the curious inquirers after a language, which has been supposed, by the English chroniclers of the middle ages to be lost, with some admirable poems, in the Pictish language. The Caledonian Myrddin, or *Merlinus Caledonius*, who was born on the north of the Clyde, and flourished about 560 A.D. has left an elegant specimen of Pictish poetry, in his *Avallenau*, wherein he speaks of Caledonia, as his native soil (*n*). The *Gododin* of Aneurin, who wrote his elegant poem, about 540 A.D. may also be justly deemed a specimen of Pictish poetry; as it was composed, in the kindred language of the Romanized Britons of the Ottadinian country (*o*). In fact, the Picts being merely the descendants of the British settlers of North-Britain, and the British names of waters, both in North, and South, Britain, being significant in the Welsh dictionaries, the Pictish language must be sought for, in the Cambro-British word-books, as its genuine depositories.

The language of the Britons, and Picts, has been considered, by judicious writers, as masculine, copious, and poetical. Indeed, from not seeing it, in its primitive orthography, it seems to be harsh, in its sounds, to the ears of strangers: yet, when it is put into verse, and is read, with its genuine pronunciation, it is, like the Greek, and the Hebrew, melodious, and strong (*p*).

As

(*m*) Owen's, and Davies's Dict.; and Skene, *De verborum significatione*.

(*n*) Welsh Arch. v. i. p. 150; Lhuyd's Arch. p. 263:

Ni neuav; ni chyscaf; ergrynaf fy nragon,
Fy arglwydd Gwenddolau, am browy frodorion!
Gwedi porthi heint, a hoed, amgylch *Celyddon*,
Bwyf was gwynfydig gan Wledig Gorchorddion!

I sigh not; I do not sleep; I am agitated for my chief,
My Lord Gwenddolau, and my genial countrymen!
After bearing of affliction, and mourning about *Caledonia*,
I pray to be a blessed servant with the Supreme of supernal circles!

(*o*) See the Welsh Arch. v. i. p. 1.

(*p*) Ancient Univ. Hist. v. vi. p. 31. The topography of North-Britain alone exhibits abundant proofs of those several characteristics of the British, and Pictish, languages; while it shews the barrenness of the Gothic speech, and the want of taste, for descriptive appellations of the Saxon people. The Celtic names of promontories, mountains, valleys, lakes, rivers, and other natural objects, display a vast variety of descriptive, and metaphorical terms, which must give great delight to all those, who are capable of understanding them. The strength of the Gaelic speech arises from the brevity, and force, with which it conveys to the mind the meaning of the speakers,

and

As the Celts were the original settlers of western Europe, they transmitted to their posterity an energetic passion, for imposing their own significant names on all the prominent objects of nature. In exercising this peculiar prerogative of first discoverers, they displayed those appropriate qualities of their language, which have been remarked; its strength, and discrimination; its copiousness of epithet, and its frequency of metaphor (*q*).

and writers. Its copiousness is seen, in the great variety of its appropriate appellations: the Gaelic language has no fewer than fifty different terms, for hills of various kinds, from the *Bein*, for the highest mountain, down to the *Tom*, for the smallest hillock, while the Gothic has scarcely half a dozen, for the same objects. See Shaw's Gaelic Dictionary, Hicks's Thesaurus, and other Gothic word-books, for the facts.

(*q*) See Lhuyd's *Adversaria*, which are annexed to Baxter's Glossary; and the following topographical dictionary, which displays a thousand examples of the *strength*, and discrimination, of the British, and Pictish languages. It were endless to enumerate the great variety of descriptive appellations, which the Celtic people have given to the mountains, rivers, and other natural objects, in North-Britain: they may be seen, as well in the Comparative Topography, book i. ch. i. as in the Topographical Dictionary. The Gaelic settlers, in North-Britain, seem to have had a singular disposition to suppose the heights of their mountainous country to resemble different parts of the human body, in various attitudes; and to apply metaphorical names to those heights, in allusion to those fancied resemblances: the British *Truyn*, and the Scoto-Irish *Sron*, which signify the *nose*, are often applied to promontories, and to projections of hills; the British *Pen*, and the Scoto-Irish *Cen*, the *head*; the British *Bron*, the *Breast*; the Gaelic *Druim*, the *Back*; *Ton*, the *back-side*; *Lurg*, the *leg*, or *shank*; *Aodan*, the *forehead*; the British, and Scoto-Irish *Ton*, a *belly*; and many other similar expressions, were all metaphorically applied, by the Gaelic settlers, as the names of hills. Many of the appellations of rivers, lakes, and waters, in North-Britain, also evince the liveliness, taste, and discrimination, of the Gaelic colonists of North-Britain, in imposing their lasting names on the various waters of that country: such as *Avon*, *Uisge*, *Easè*, *Dur*, *Tain*, *Guy*, *Wy*, or *Uy*, *Aw*, *Awdur*, *Ey*, *Dobhar*, *Sruth*, *Ad*, *An*, *Ean*, *Oiche*, *Bir*; and for smaller streams, the Celtic appellations are, *Carrog*, *Nant*, *Gover*, *Ald*, *Sruthan*, *Loin*, *Gil*, and others. We may perceive, in the maps of Wales, the same descriptive, and metaphorical names of hills, rivers, and other such objects. See the *Adversaria* of Lhuyd before quoted. On the contrary, the only Saxon appellative for a river, which appears in the topography of North-Britain, is the *Fleot*, or *Fleet*; and which occurs but twice, in the *Fleet* in Galloway, and the *Fleet* in Sutherlandshire: the only Scoto-Saxon name for a rivulet is *Byrn*, or *Burn*, which has passed into common speech. Here, then, are additional proofs of the copiousness of the Celtic, and of the barrenness of the Gothic. Take an example of the discriminating faculty of the Celtic language: many streams were called *Duglas*, from the *dark blue* appearance of the water: there is in the vicinity of some of these, the epithet *Finglas*, appropriately applied to some streams, having a *light blue* colour. See the Map of Dunbartonshire. In the topography of North-Britain, there are a thousand names, which evince the nice discriminations of the Celtic colonists: the *Eden*, and *Ithan*, denote, in the British, a gliding stream; the *Alwen*, and *Alan*, in the British, and Scoto-Irish, signify a bright, or clear stream; *Uisge-du* signifies a black, or dark-coloured stream; *Iligh*, or *Ila*, denotes a floody stream; the *Carrons* derived their names, from their distinguishing quality of *Curvatures*, and the *Levens*, from their appropriate smoothness of surface, or flow.

As the Celtic tongue abounded with indigenous elements, the Celts borrowed little from foreign languages, whatever they may have lent, from their own abundance to succeeding people. The Celtic, indeed, did not stand in need of foreign aid; as the ingenuity of the Celtic people, from the copious roots of their own tongue, formed, and multiplied, terms, as occasion demanded, and invention dictated. The Celts enjoyed, from their earliest progenitors, an invincible attachment to their own language which naturally produced a strong antipathy to innovations, in their ancient tongue, or adoptions, from the speech of those, whom their hatred viewed, as invaders, or oppressors. Though the Romans were, for centuries, mixed with the Britons of the south, and the Caledonians of the north, and taught them some of their arts; yet, the British, and Pictish, people, did not adopt any of the Roman language, except the names of art, or of persons. Such words, in the British, and Pictish language, as seem to the eye of cursory observation to exhibit some analogy, in their form, and meaning, owe such appearances to their formation from roots, which sprung originally from a common source. It cannot, then, be said, with truth, or propriety, that the Celts borrowed, from the Latins, or the Latins, from the Celts. Not a Latin expression is to be found, in the ingenious poetry of the ancient Britons, during the sixth, seventh, and eighth, centuries, while the vulgar languages of Europe had not yet been formed (*r*). The speech of the Romanized Britons remained, after the retreat of the Romans, the same as the language of the extraprovincial Britons of Caledonia. The tongue of the Caledonian Myrddin is exactly the same with the speech of the southern poets, who wrote, in the same age, among the Romanized Britons. The Britons even applied terms, from their own copious language, to the Roman walls, to the Roman roads, camps, stations, and other Roman works, in this country, instead of adopting Roman terms, for Roman labours. Neither the lapse of time, nor the change of circumstances, have at all diminished the strong attachment of the Celtic people to their own language, or their aversion from the intrusion of hostile tongues. These passions form a striking feature, in the character of their undoubted descendants, in the present age. It was one of the fundamental maxims of the Celtic Bards, to preserve their own language. Actuated by this principle, the ancient Britons, in Wales, and the Scoto-Irish, in North-Britain, tenaciously maintained their own speech, and obstinately resist the adoption of the English language, whatever may be its improvements, or its use (*s*).

In

(*r*) See the *Welsh Archaeology*, v. i. throughout.

(*s*) Major takes notice of this aversion of the Scoto-Irish, in his time. *Hist.* 4to edit. p. 34.
The

In the subsequent progress of the Gothic tribes over Europe, wherever they occupied countries, which had been previously occupied by the Celts, the Gothic intruders not only adopted the names of the rivers, mountains, and other places, that the more lively genius of the Celts had imposed, from a more energetic, and descriptive, speech; but, the Gothic colonists borrowed many terms from the more opulent language of their Celtic predecessors. The Goths, who, in late times, intruded upon the Celtic people of Germany, borrowed much of their language, and adopted many of the Celtic names of places, in that ample region: hence, we find, in the excellent glossaries of the German language, by Wachter, and by Schilter, a numerous body of Celtic words, which they fairly state, as derivations from a Celtic origin (*t*). The candid statements of both might be confirmed from the German topography, if the names of rivers, and of places, were traced up to their Celtic sources. The Saxons, who settled in Britain, were prompted, by their poverty of speech, to follow the example of their Gothic fathers. They adopted the Celtic names of rivers, many of the names of hills, as well as other places; and they appropriated a number of terms, from the more copious, and expressive, speech of the Britons, both of

The numerous roots, and the great variety of the Celtic tongue, may be seen in Bullet's *Mem. Sur la Langue Celtique*, tom. ii. iii.; in *Geb. Monde Prim.* tom. v.; and in Owen's *Welsh Dictionary*. The British dialect of the Celtic contains a copious, energetic, and expressive language, which was early formed from its native riches, without the help of foreign adoptions: see also the Gaelic vocabularies of M'Donald, and M'Farlan, and Shaw's *Dictionary*, for the copiousness of the Scotch-Irish dialect of the Celtic. On the other hand, the comparative barrenness of the Gothic language may be seen clearly in the *Monosyllaba Islandica*, in Andreas's *Islandic Dictionary*, in the *Vocabularium Dacorum*, 1510, and in Hicks's *Thesaurus*. The barrenness of the Anglo-Saxon language may be seen in the fewness of its synonyma: it has only four, or five appellatives for a hill; as *Berg*, *Hleaw*, or *Law*, *Dun*, and *Tor*; and of these four, the two last are borrowed from the Celtic; for the *Dun*, and *Tor*, only appear in the Anglo-Saxon, and in the German, but not in the other dialects of the Gothic; and indeed Wachter, with his usual candour, states the *Dun*, and *Thor*, to be Celtic words: in the whole of the Islandic, Norwegian, Danish, and Swedish, dialects of the Gothic, there are only about nine, or ten, appellations, for a hill; as *Berg*, *Fell*, *Backe*, *Klett*, *Holl*, *Hoi*, *Lid*, *Lie*, *Bla*; while one dialect of the Celtic alone has more than fifty different appellatives for the same objects. The poetical nature of the Celtic language may be inferred, not only from its aptness for poetry, as we may see, in the *Welsh Archaiology*, but still more, from the lively, metaphorical, and descriptive epithets, which the Celtic people applied to the various objects of nature, wherever they colonized.

(*t*) The most ancient specimens of the German, and French, tongues, are the oaths of Louis le Germanique, and his brother Charles le Chauve, which they took, in 842 A.D.; and which consist of a rude mixture of Latin, Celtic, and Tudesque. Bullet's *Mem.* tom. i. p. 23; and *Geb. Monde Prim.* tom. v. p. 103. At that epoch, when the Picts ceased to be an independent people, both the Britons, and Picts, spoke a highly cultivated language, and possessed many specimens of the finest poetry, from a long succession of elegant poets. See the *Welsh Archaiology*, v. i.

the

the south, and the north. Many of the Celtic words, which had been thus adopted, from necessity, or convenience, have maintained their places, in the English language, through successive ages, from their usefulness. These adopted words form a considerable proportion of the English language, even at the present day (*u*). The greater number of those adopted words is so little altered, in their form, and meaning, as to give little exercise to the ingenuity of the etymologist, in tracing them to their true originals. But, our lexicographers, from their unskilfulness, in the language of the Britons, and unacquaintance with the history of the Goths, have stated many of the adopted words, from the original language of our island, as of unknown origin: and they have traced many words to a Saxon source, without knowing, that the Saxons had themselves borrowed their adoptions, from the British Aborigines.

It was owing to that barrenness of speech, and dullness of apprehension, that we see so little description, or variety, in the names of places, in the countries, which were settled by the Gothic colonists (*x*). The Anglo-Saxons, who, in more recent times, acquired settlements, in North-Britain, adopted, in the same manner, the Celtic names of waters, of heights, and of other great objects of

(*u*) See Whitaker's *Manchest.* v. ii. p. 238—40; and see the introduction to the following topographical dictionary, for "a specimen of a vocabulary, British, Scoto-Irish, and Scottish." The intelligent writer of the late Welsh dictionary has carefully investigated the origin of the several words, which begin the letter *B*, in the English language; and according to his result, there may be referred to the Saxon

	1101	
Of these, 165 words were obviously borrowed, by the Saxons, from the British	165	
	—	hence 936
Words certainly derived from the British, including the above 165	—	905
Uncertain Words	—	126
Words from the French	—	541
— from the Latin	—	461
— from the Greek	—	164
— from the Italian	—	60
— from the Dutch	—	135
	—	3328

In several of the other letters of the English dictionary, this ratio of adoption will be more in favour of the British speech; as the words, in this language, beginning with *B*, are few in number, compared with several other letters of the Cambro-British dictionary: and, considering the connection of the French, the Latin, the Greek, and the Italian, with the Celtic, we may see the great preponderance of the Celtic, in the English language.

(*x*) See satisfactory proofs of this, in Jonas's "*Specimen Islandiæ Historicum, et magna ex parte Chorographicum.*" Amstel. 1643. See annexed to Gibson's *Sax. Chron.* his "*Regulæ Generales ad investigandas origine Nominum Locorum.*" And see also, the following topographical dictionary, in the Saxon names of places.

nature.

nature. They adopted a greater number of the Celtic names of places in North, than in South-Britain; because their settlements were made, in the north, at a later period, and in a different manner. The Anglo-Saxons, also, borrowed many words, both from the British, and Scotch-Irish, which have maintained their place; and give strength, and copiousness, and ornament, to the Scotch-Saxon of the present times. In allusion to that want of fertility, in the Anglo-Saxon speech, Verstegan has recorded a *saw*, which Somner was studious to copy:

“ In Ford, in *Ham*, in *Ley*, and *Tun*,

“ The most of English surnames run (y).”

To the language of a people, which is, of all their antiquities, the most interesting, the next object of curiosity is their *religion*; as it shows a progress of sentiment, and may evince an analogy of lineage. The religion of the Gauls, and the Britons, as we have seen, was the same: the religion of the Britons, and the Picts, was the same; as we know they were the same people, from the identity of their speech, the sameness of their topography, and the identity of their monuments. The tenets, and the form of the Pictish religion, were Druid, till the sixth century; as we know from a thousand relicks of stone, that are still the wonder of inquisitive eyes, within the district of the Pictish country (z). The modes of sepulture among the Picts were the same, as those of the Caledonians, as the sepulchral rites of the Caledonians were the same, as those of the Britons (zz). Their hill-forts, their weapons of war, their ornaments, and their modes of life, were the same, as those of the Caledonian Britons, of whom the Picts were the immediate descendants (a).

Whatever portion of the Pictish history we discuss, whether their origin, annals, or their language, or religion, their manners, or customs, it is repeatedly asked, whether the Picts were a *Celtic*, or a *Gothic* people? In order to close an inquiry, which embarrasses, by the frequency of its recurrence, the history of this people, it is proposed to review, briefly, the *Pictish question*, as it has been discussed, by inquisitive men, at different periods, under various aspects.

If facts had been ascertained, or regarded, it is impossible, that such an inquiry could have been ever made. That Britain was gradually colonized, from the nearest coast of Gaul, is an historical fact, which seems to be agreed

(y) Versteg. Restitution of decayed Intelligence. But, both Somner, and Verstegan, should have considered the *surnames*, as derived, secondarily, from the Saxon topography, wherein the defect originally arose.

(z) See before, those curious objects investigated, in book i. ch. ii.

(zz) Id.

(a) See all those objects of rational curiosity fully treated of, where we speak of the Caledonian tribes, in book i. ch. ii.

upon, by scholars, from J. Cæsar, and Tacitus, Buchanan, and Camden, to Stillingfleet, and Schoepflin (*b*). That the several districts of the same island should be peopled, by the same tribes, is a probability, which may be carried up to certainty, by the satisfactory evidence of the perpetual resemblance of the same language, religion, and manners. Yet, paradox supposes it to be more likely, that the northern parts of our island were planted, by migrants, from beyond the ocean, than from beyond the Tweed, during ages, when the art of ship-building was unknown. For maintaining that certainty, proofs, which come near to demonstration, have been submitted to the reader, that every part of this island was settled, originally, by the same Gaelic tribes. It is a *truism*, then, that our whole island was planted, by the same British people. And, against this *truism*, and that demonstration, Tacitus cannot be allowed to make his conjectures, nor Bede, to inform us, *from the report of others*, that the second people, who settled, in this island, came from Scythia. Subsequent writers, who raised a superstructure of sentiments on the *opinion* of Tacitus, and the *hearsay* of Bede, appear thus to build on a very slight foundation (*c*).

The British tribes cannot be dispossessed, unless by the introduction of a new people, whose arrival, and conquests, must be evidenced by stronger proofs, than paradoxical theories. The British people, in fact, remained undispossessed of their ancient land, during the first, and second centuries. The pristine topography of North-Britain, as it is exhibited, by Ptolomy, and Richard, ascertains that decisive truth. In them, we see a thousand traces of a Celtic people: but, of a Gothic people, it is impossible to perceive a single trace. While topography speaks thus to the conviction of every reader, history is silent, concerning Gothic migrations, in those times, into the British islands, or even into western Europe (*d*).

The *Caledonians* were the inhabitants of North-Britain, during the first century, as we learn from Tacitus. It was the Caledonians, who fought Agricola, at the foot of the Grampian. It was the Caledonians, who finally repulsed the Roman legions. If the inhabitants of North-Britain, during the first century, were British tribes of a Celtic lineage, the Caledonians must necessarily have been Celtic Britons. And, the context of Tacitus attests, that the Britons of North, and South-Britain, were, in that age, the same people.

(*b*) See Gibbon's Hist. 8vo edit. v. iv. p. 291, who says, the present age is satisfied with the rational opinion, that the British islands were gradually peopled, from the adjacent continent of Gaul.

(*c*) It was the deliberate opinion of Tacitus, or rather of Agricola, says Gibbon, that the Gauls, the Britons, and the Caledonians, were a kindred people. Ibid. p. 292.

(*d*) See before, book i. ch. i.

The Caledonians were immediately succeeded by the Picts; or rather, the Picts were the old Caledonians, under a new name. The classic authors, who lived during the third century, when the Caledonians first appeared, under the appellation of Picts, are so positive, that they were the same people, that even polemicks have acknowledged this significant truth. The stoutest supporters of the Gothic system, concerning the Pictish lineage, are forced to confess, that the Caledonians, and Picts, were the same people (*e*). The acknowledgement, which has just been made, of the *sameness* of the Picts, and Caledonians, is fatal to the *Gothic system*: for, as it has been settled, by a thousand facts, as a moral certainty, that the North-British tribes were a Celtic people, during the second, and first centuries, the Caledonians of those times must, necessarily, have been British Celts: a system, which pretends to outface a thousand facts, involves in it a million of absurdities: the fundamental truth, that the Picts, and Caledonians, the Britons and Gauls, were the same Celtic people, is strongly supported by moral certainties; while the Gothic system is made to stand on unauthorized assertion, and unavailable inference.

The Scottish chroniclers, Fordun and Wyntown, Boece and Major, copying the obscure intimation of Bede, trace the Picts, by successive migrations, “from Scithy to Ireland, and from Ireland to Brytayne.” We may easily suppose that, in their conceits, the Picts were a Scythic people. Against such history, and such an inference, Buchanan, at length, made a stand. This acute writer

(*e*) “That the Caledonians, and Picts, were one, and the same people, is now universally allowed: Buchanan, Camden, Lloyd, Innes, Whitaker, the M’Phersons, O’Conner, D’Anville, Stillingfleet, though differing widely on other points, all join here.” Enquiry, 1789: the first chapter of Part iii. of this book has this significant title, “The Caledonians, and Picts, the same.” The motive, for this alacrity, in bringing so many scholars to acknowledge the sameness of the Picts, and Caledonians, appears to be this: During the three centuries, which elapsed, after the invasion of North-Britain by Agricola, the Greek, and Roman authors, would have so firmly opposed the notion of a *Gothic* conquest over Caledonia, that it became necessary to go back into darker ages, as much more commodious, for fabulous assumption. *The fact* required, that the original colonization of North-Britain, by the Cambro-Britons, should be acknowledged: the classic authorities demanded, that the sameness of the Picts, and Caledonians, should also be acknowledged: and, nothing remained, in *this strong dilemma of a desperate case*, but to assert, without proof, and against probability, that the Caledonians were a Gothic colony, who conquered North-Britain, in some unknown age; two, or three centuries, perhaps, before our common era. He who goes back to those distant times, for proofs of a Gothic conquest of North-Britain, must show what the most erudite scholars have not yet shown, when the Gothic people came into western Europe; except the conquering Goths be brought indeed from the Danube, through the Hellespont, into the ocean. But, of such expeditions, in such an age, history is silent: and of such conquests, there does not remain, in North-Britain, the smallest trace, while there exist a thousand proofs, that such Gothic conquests were never made.

now insisted, that the Picts of the third century were the descendants of the Caledonians, in the first, who spoke the Celtic tongue. After proving, from an accurate comparison of the names of places, in Gaul, and in Britain, that the Gauls, and Britons, were the same people, he erred, with the vulgar, in supposing, that either the Picts, or Caledonians, were migrants from abroad, rather than descendants of the first settlers, from South-Britain. By thus admitting what was untrue in argument, and false in fact, he was obliged to derive the Picts, and Caledonians, from the Gothini, a Gaulic people, in Germany (*f*). Buchanan was obviously misled, by his enmity to Humphry Lluyd, the Welsh antiquary, to derive the Caledonians from any people, rather than the Cambro-Britons.

In this track of inquiry, Buchanan was soon followed by Camden, the Strabo of England, who originally offered his *Britannia* to the antiquarian world, in 1586 (*g*). After stating the opinions of others, this modest, and judicious writer, gave his own judgment, “ that the Picts were very Britons, indeed, by “ the demeanor, name, and speech of the Picts.” He argues the question, like Buchanan, from classic authors ; like him, he shows the conformity of the names of places ; and he concludes a learned disquisition, without dreading the charge of absurdity, “ that the Pictish, and the British language, differed not ; “ and, of consequence, the nations were not divers (*h*).” With this judgement of Camden, concurred Selden, who advised others to follow his example (*i*). Speed, when he came to exhibit a *prospect* of Scotland, gave it, as his opinion, “ that *the Picts*, anciently inhabiting a part of that kingdom, were the *inborn* “ *Britons*, whose names began first to be distinguished under Dioclesian ” (*k*).

(*f*) See Buchanan’s *Hist. lib. xi. § 18. to 27.* This able man assures us that, before the arrival of the Saxons, none of the British nations, when conversing with each other, used an interpreter ; that there are no traces of a foreign tongue, in the peculiar country of the Picts ; that the names of districts, and of towns, which they once inhabited, are still significant, in the ancient language. It is curious to remark, that these notions of Buchanan are confirmed by the fact. In this work, book i. ch. i. may be seen, from an elaborate comparison of the names of places, that North-Britain must have been settled, by the same Gaulic people, who colonized South-Britain. In book i. ch. ii. it is evinced, by similar comparisons, that the names of tribes, and of places, were still Celtic, in the *second*, and *third*, centuries, without a single trace of any Gothic tongue : and hence, the instructive inference, that a Gothic people had not yet arrived, within the Caledonian regions.

(*g*) The first edition of the *BRITANNIA* is an 8vo volume of 560 pages : of these, he dedicated four pages to the *Picti* ; nine to the *Scoti* ; and eight to *Scotia*.

(*h*) *Ib. § 8. Picti.*

(*i*) In his notes, on the *Polyolbion* of Drayton.

(*k*) *Prospects*, B. iii. ch. i. The geographer du Chesne concurs with Camden, Selden, and Speed ; adding new authorities, and additional facts. *Histoire D’Angleterre, D’Ecosse, et D’Irlande. Liv. iii.*

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When Usher was collecting materials, however, for his *ecclesiastical antiquities*, he thought fit to follow the intimations of Bede, rather than the judgement of Camden, by supposing, that the Picts were Cimbric-Germans, and not *inborn Britons* (l). Yet, with Usher, did not concur Lloyd, the learned Bishop of St. Asaph, who was an original thinker, rather than the collector of the opinions of others: according to this eminent scholar, the *Picts* were anciently called *Caledones*, and were not of a different language from the Britons; nor were called, by any other name, that we read of, till about three hundred years, after Christ (m). This explicit judgement of Lloyd, did not, however, prevent Stillingfleet, when he came out to defend this learned prelate against Sir George M'Kenzie, from attempting a confutation of Lloyd, on this *Pictish question* (n). The notions of Stillingfleet are chiefly derived from Tacitus, who had not influenced Buchanan, nor Camden, nor Selden, nor Speed, nor DuChesne, to think, absurdly, on so obvious a point. In 1706, was published the *History of the Picts*, which had been written a century before, by Henry Maul, who concurred with Camden, and argued, from the North-British topography, that their language was British. This Pictish history was followed, in 1707, by Lhuyd's *Archaiologia*: this learned writer now delivered it, as his judgment, "that the Picts were Britons, without question; as appeared from the names of the mountains, and rivers, in the *Lowlands* of Scotland, where they inhabited." After reviewing such contradictory opinions, it is curious to remark that, those scholars, who formed their judgements, from reading books, without attending to circumstances, considered the Picts, as a *Gothic* people; while those scholars, who weighed circumstances, examined topography, and adverted to language, regarded the Picts, as *inborn Britons*, whose tongue was Cambro-British: it will be found, from the most elaborate researches, that facts must necessarily prevail against opinions.

At length Innes appeared with his *Critical Essay*, in 1729, which he had elaborated, during twenty years. Like Lloyd, Innes is an original thinker, who forms his own opinions. He now reviewed, with an elaborate pen, the

(l) Eccles. Primord. ch. xv.

(m) Hist. Acco. of Church Gov. 1684, ch. i. § 3.

(n) Origines Brit. 204-6: When Gibson republished the *Britannia*, in 1695, he referred, in a note to Usher's *Primordia*, for the origin of the Picts; and added, that "Stillingfleet proves them to have their original from Scandinavia." It is quite wonderful, that Gibson should have opposed the loose collection of Usher, and the learned impertinences of Stillingfleet, to the solid sense of Camden, which will remain for ever. When Gibson had the rashness, to attempt a confutation of Camden, he seems not to have known, that Camden had been supported, by the concurrence of Selden, of Burton, in his *Antoninus*, and of Sir William Temple, in his *Introduction* to the history of England.

several sentiments of those, who had before him discussed the *Pictish question*. He reconciles the conjecture of Tacitus (*a*); he explains the *bearsay* of Bede; he concurs with Lloyd; he confutes Stillingfleet (*b*): and, he at length declares it to be more natural, as well as more probable, that the Caledonian Britons, or Picts, were of the same origin, as the Britons of the South, who came certainly from the nearest coast of Gaul; and who gradually advanced northward; carrying with them the same customs, and the same language, which they had themselves derived from the Gaulish Celts (*c*). The *Critical Essay* of Innes made a great impression on the antiquarian prejudices of those times, though he was encountered by opponents (*d*). But, every research, which has yet been made, evinces, that Innes was accurate, in his authorities, founded, in his facts, and right, in his conclusions.

The next, in succession, though not in merit, who discussed the *Pictish question*, was Sir John Clerke, who died, in 1748 (*e*). The *Critical Essay* was too recent, for the perusal of such an antiquary; and the opinions of Buchanan, and Camden, had been too little considered, in his judgment, to merit refutation: nor, can he allow to Davies, and Lhuyd, that the speech, which they had cultivated, was once the *Lingua Britannica*, or the universal language of Great Britain. But, he who speculates on languages, which must have existed, before the waters, in the same country, had received their names, only plunges into *the dark, unbottomed, infinite abyss, whence none can find his uncouth way, through the palpable obscure* (*f*). Yet, our antiquary appears to have never inquired,

(*a*) Gibbon concurs with Innes, in the sound construction, which he gives to Tacitus's sentiments, as to the question, who were the first inhabitants of Britain. In fact, Tacitus, after idly supposing, that different tribes may have had a different origin, at length gives his deliberate judgment: "On a general survey, however, it appears probable that, the Gauls originally took possession of the neighbouring coast. The sacred rites and superstitions of those people are discernible among the Britons. The languages of the two nations, (the Gauls, and Britons), do not greatly differ." Yet, Sir John Clerke insisted that, Tacitus had said, the languages of the Gauls, and *Germans*, did not widely differ: he must have hastily written from faint recollection.

(*b*) Ledwich, the Irish antiquary, observes, that Stillingfleet had never been confuted: Ledwich, perhaps, never saw Innes's work.

(*c*) Crit. Essay, v. i. p. 41 to 166.

(*d*) The Rev. Dr. Free tried to confute Innes's judgment, concerning the *Pictish question*, in some dissertations, which are now forgotten.

(*e*) He compiled, for the private hearing of a literary society, in 1742, his "Inquiry into the ancient languages of Great Britain," which was published, in the *Reliquiæ Galeanae*, p. 362; and which was opposed even, by its publisher, who saw its manifold defects.

(*f*) We have seen before, in b. i. ch. i. that the names of the waters, within North-Britain, are significant, in the Cambro-British speech, as explained by Davies, and Lhuyd.

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who were the first inhabitants of Europe ; or when the Goths came, originally, into Western Europe : but, he is sure, in opposition to authorities, and facts, that the German nations were the first, who peopled the greatest part of this island ; he is clear, that the Saxon speech was heard, throughout this land, before J. Cæsar had defiled its shores, with his ambitious feet ; he is certain, that “ the Saxon language was what the Picts spoke ;” and he knew that, “ the true ancient Scots-Saxon language continues in the Orkneys, to this day (g). The true friends of so worthy a man, must lament, that his *Inquiry* should have been exposed to the eye of criticism ; because it must lessen his fame, as an antiquary, and disparage his character, as a scholar.

We are now advanced, in reviewing the *Pictish question*, to the present reign. Guthrie published his history of Scotland, in 1767. He professes to write, without regard to former systems of Scottish antiquities ; he considers ancient languages, as more instructive, because they are founded upon facts, than the wild dreams of Irish, or of northern antiquaries ; he thinks, that the speech of the Celts was perhaps the mother language of the dead tongues, in every part of Europe : and, after some obliquities, he comes, at length, to conclude, that the Picts, who were the unsubdued part of the Belgic-Britons, in the end, merged the very name of Caledonians (b). It is apparent, from Guthrie’s arguments, that he relied more on Welsh philology, than on the more instructive inferences of local facts.

We now enter on the Polemick scene, wherein the Macphersons, and Whitaker, played conspicuous parts. In 1768, appeared *Critical Dissertations* on the ancient Caledonians, their posterity, the Picts, and the British, and Irish Scots (i). In proving what cannot, indeed, be denied, that the Picts were the posterity

(g) Galeanæ, p. 362-3 : it is demonstrably certain, that the first stratum of names on the map of North-Britain is Cambro-British ; that the second stratum which, within *Pictinia*, was superinduced upon the former, was the Gaelic ; that the topographic language of the Orkneys, *Norse* as it is, is as different, from the Anglo-Saxon, as any two languages can be, that have a common origin. See before b. i. ch. i. ii. ; b. ii. ch. iii. The inferences, which necessarily result, from the demonstrations, which those Books supply, are very obvious to all, who can reason, without regard to previous opinions ; that the Cambro-Britons were the first colonists, who imposed those names on places ; that the Gaelic-Scots were the second settlers, in the *lowlands*, who imposed their peculiar names ; but, that there was no room left, for the intrusion of Gothic appellations. The Teutonic names of places, in the lowlands, are Anglo-Saxon, and English, which were imposed, during recent times ; and of course do not apply to the *Pictish question*. It is singular to remark that, the name of Pen-y-euik, whence Sir John Clerke dated his Inquiry, can only be rationally explained, from the British speech, and not from the Gothic, or Gaelic.

(b) See his Introduction, throughout.

(i) By John Macpherson, D. D. the minister of Slate.

of the Caledonians, he confutes some positions of Stillingfleet, and concurs with the opinion of Camden (*k*). After refuting the learned Polemick, our Dissertator is so weak, as to deny the existence of the Pictish monarchy: he reads the *Pictish Chronicle*, in Innes: he sees the Pictish kings, in Bede; acting in their proper characters, both ecclesiastical, and civil; yet, cannot he perceive the Pictish monarchy, whatever Innes may prove, by the most satisfactory evidence. The blindness of prejudice carries our Dissertator even beyond this incredulity: he admits the existence of the Picts, as a people, yet denies the entity of their speech, as a language (*l*): and, his ardour of *Scoticism* hurries him headlong, from the paths of truth, which lay directly before him, into the obliquities of error, that have consigned his *Critical Dissertations* to long-enduring oblivion. These *Dissertations* were immediately followed, throughout their whole course of inquiry, by the *Introduction to the History of Great Britain, and Ireland* (*m*). His precursor had already done so much to annihilate *the Picts*, that it did not require much effort, in our *historical introducer*, who affects “to look upon antiquity through the medium of the ancients,” to *adjudge the Picts to death, and hell, by doom severe* (*n*). The arrogance, which attempted to blot, from our history, the genuine descendants of the first colonists of North-Britain, was

(*k*) Stillingfleet had been so unguarded, as to argue, that the Caledonians, having been wasted by war, left an opening for the Gothic Picts to come in upon them, from Denmark, during the *third century*. Our Dissertator opposes such groundless suppositions, by the improbability of such a migration, and the silence of ancient writers. The total absence of Gothic names of persons, and of places, during that age, in the North-British topography, is decisive proof, that no such emigration took place.

(*l*) He contends, he says, for the identity of the Pictish, and Scottish tongues; as the Picts, and Scots, were genuine descendants of the old Caledonians. It is, however, apparent, that those tongues were not *identical*, but were distinct dialects of the Celtic. The Scots were not genuine descendants of the Caledonians, and did not speak the Caledonian language. The topography of North-Britain attests the distinctness of the two people, and the difference of their tongues.

(*m*) By the well-known James Macpherson, who supplied the *Preface*, and other helps, to the *Critical Dissertations*. It was the great object of those two writers, to revive the fabulous conceits of the ancient priority of the Scots, in North-Britain, which critical controversy had driven into *obscure darkness*.

(*n*) The Picts are not so much as mentioned, in Macpherson's ample Index, nor in his copious titlepage, which specifies the Britons, the Irish, and the Anglo-Saxons. The painful reader, after turning over a hundred and twenty-nine pages, will find the Picts cursorily mentioned, as having once existed, in the historic pages of Ammianus Marcellinus. But, whether they spoke the Gaelic language, or the British, he could not tell. I have been assured, that James Macpherson tried, throughout his life, though without success, to discover the etymon of the name of Spey, the outrageous river, on whose banks he was born: now, this appropriate appellation is merely the Cambro-British *Espeye*, which denotes the qualities of this overflowing stream.

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soon severely chastized. Every branch of the British root found a potent prop in Whitaker. The *Genuine History of the Britons* appeared, in 1772; which undoubtedly is what it professed to be, "A Candid Refutation of Mr. Macpherson's Introduction." It may be said of this powerful assertor of the British history, that "his words are smoother than oil, and yet be they very swords." Macpherson fled from *the words* of Whitaker. The refutation of this ardent Polemick evinces, in opposition to the mistatements of Macpherson, that the Picts were Caledonians, and that the Caledonians were Britons.

This conflict had scarcely ceased, when there appeared "An Enquiry into the History of Scotland, preceding 1056 (o)." By a meretricious display of authorities, etymologies, and topography, he professes to show the opinions of those erudite writers, Camden, Selden, and Lloyd, to be false, ignorant, and childish (p). In order to fasten this censure upon such scholars, he dedicates a whole chapter to prove that, "the Northern Britons, Caledonians, and Picts, were one and the same people (q)." A superficial reader would necessarily suppose, from this proof, that our Inquirer coincided, in opinion, with those learned men, who are said to talk falsely, ignorantly, and childishly: for, they maintained, that the Northren Britons were the same people, as the Southern Britons; that the Caledonians were the descendants of the British colonists, from South Britain; that the Picts were merely the offspring of the Caledonians, under a new name, and a different aspect. He has, however, a thousand distinctions, to shield himself, from the charge of contradiction. The Northern Britons were not, in his opinion, Cambro-Britons (r). The Caledonians, and Picts were, indeed, the same people; but, they were Goths, from Scandia, who expelled the Cambro-Britons, about two centuries before Christ (s). But, the research, and learning, of two centuries, have not brought yet any proof of the migration of a Gothic colony into North-Britain, till the fifth age, when the Angles arrived upon the Tweed. Every attempt to prove this improbability has

(o) By John Pinkerton, in 1789. (p) Enquiry, v. i. p. 163. (q) Ib. part iii. ch. i.

(r) The demonstrations, in the first chapter of the first book of this work, confute this conceit.

(s) Enquiry, v. i. p. 132, 146–160. The author saw, that Stillingfleet's position of a Gothic migration into North-Britain, during the *third century*, could not be maintained against the classic writers; and he chose a darker age, for his unauthorised assertion: let any fair inquirer after truth run backward, through the history of Europe, from the epoch of Christ, two hundred years, and downward, from the same epoch, two centuries, and he will satisfy himself of the impossibility of such a migration, during such times. The Gothic people, who finally overthrew the Roman empire, did not begin to move till 250 A. D. The topography of Scotland, during the two first centuries of our common era, as it contains not a particle of Gothicism, evinces incidentally, that such a migration of Goths could not have taken place.

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egregiously failed ; because falsehood cannot be proved : Stillingfleet had learning, and our Inquirer exerted his diligence ; but they failed, in establishing their Gothic migrations ; because such migrations never happened. Suffice it to say, adds our Inquirer, “ that every writer, who mentions the origin of the Picts, till 1707, when Lhuyd’s *Archaiologia* appeared, derive them from Scandinavia, excepting *Camden alone*, who was himself far from learned (*t*).” The writers, who are thus opposed, by our Inquirer, to Camden, who is mistakingly supposed to have stood alone, in maintaining the Cambro-British origin of the Picts, are Nennius, the Saxon Chronicler, Geoffry of Monmouth, Giraldus Cambrensis, O’Flaherty, Usher, Stillingfleet, and Sheringham (*u*). Our Inquirer was immediately opposed by Ritson, who maintained, with equal learning, and labour, the *Celticism* of the Picts ; yet, acknowledged that, it would require a volume, to expose the errors, to exhibit the contradictions, and to confute the system of *the Enquiry*, 1789 (*x*).

The next writer, who pretended to answer the *Pictish question*, was Sibbald, who published, in 1802, “ *A Chronicle of Scottish Poetry*.” He adopts, as he tells the reader, “ the principal arguments of Sir John Clerke, and Mr. Pinkerton,

(*t*) *Ib.* 198-9 : our author had done well, to have also excepted Buchanan, in 1582 ; Selden, in 1613 ; du Chesne, in 1614 ; Speed, in his *Prospects* ; Maul, in his *History of the Picts* ; Burton, in his *Antoninus* ; Sir W. Temple, in 1695 ; Bishop Lloyd, in 1684 ; Bishop Kennet, in his *Complete History of England*, 1706 ; and last, though not the least, Bochart ; who all concurred with “ the far from learned Camden !”

(*u*) *Ib.* 193-9 : to this motley list, our author might have added that curious chronicler Robert of Gloucester, who gives a very interesting account, which is obviously copied from Bede, “ how “ the *Pycars* out of the lond of *Scitie* atta laste came to Yrlonde’s north ende, and then into the “ lond of Scotland.” It is quite allowable, for the chroniclers of the middle ages to romance, in this manner. But, who would quote such chroniclers, or even Bede, upon such a point, which demands research, and reflection ! Yet, our inquirer, afterwards, does admit, that Camden is supported by Lloyd, Innes, Guthrie, Hume, Whitaker, Gibbon ; and to these, he might have added, Henry, the historian. *Enquiry*, v. i. p. 200. By such assertions, however, and contradictions ; by such sins against truth, and confessions of error, are childish writers, and elderly readers, imposed upon. Our inquirer, 1789, might have found a coadjutor, in the late Rev. Dr. Walker, the professor of natural history, in the university of Edinburgh, who tried to support the doctrines of Stillingfleet, by a series of assertions, which are not very consistent with facts. See his letter to Dr. Lyttelton, the bishop of Carlisle, dated the 28th of April 1767. *Archaiolog.* v. i. p. 231. He has one passage, which merits recollection : “ One of our best Scots antiquaries, with whom “ I lately conversed, Lord Achinleck, one of our judges, was plainly of your lordship’s sentiments, (Bishop Lyttelton), in questioning, if such people (as the Picts) ever existed, I mean, “ distinct from the British, and Caledonians.” We have already seen, that Bishop Lyttelton, and Lord Achinleck, thus concurred with Camden, Selden, and other great antiquaries, and historians, on the *Pictish question*.

(*x*) See the *Historical Essay on Scottish Song*, 1794.

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“ to prove the *German* origin of the Caledonians.” As their several systems have been already surveyed, the Gothic lucubrations of this shallow Chronicler need not be awakened, from their *quiet slumbers* (x).

In the progress of inquiry, the next writer, who speculates on the origin, and language of the Picts, is the recent biographer of the Scottish poets. He thinks it extremely probable, that Scotland was originally peopled, by a colony of *Cumri*: but how this Celtic race was superceded, by invading Goths, who never invaded them, is the very question, which the erudition of Europe cannot answer. He thinks, however, “ it may be conjectured, that the *Cumri* were “ subjected by some new settlers,” from some Gothic shore. And, he presumes, that the *new settlers*, who settled, according to conjecture, might have perpetuated the names, which their predecessors had applied to mountains, rivers, and other external objects: yet, he hazards no opinion, as to the cause, why there should be found no traces of such settlers, in the North-British topography, during the first, second, and third centuries. He is positive, however, that if the Picts were Goths, they must have spoken Gothic; and if they were Celts, they must have used the Celtic speech. This writer may be said, in the language of Shakspeare, “ to win us with *honest trifles*; to betray us, in *deep consequence*.”

The latest investigator of the *Pictish question* is the erudite Edward King, the curious author of the *Munimenta Antiqua*. After investigating the stone monuments, and the hill-forts, the ancient castles, and the barbarous manners of North-Britain, he gives it as his judgment, “ that the Picts were descended “ from the aboriginal Britons (y).” This profound antiquary concurs with the late Doctor Henry, in saying that, “ we hear nothing of any invasion of the “ Caledonians, by any such distinct people, as the Picts:” and he, therefore, concludes, as Innes had inferred before him, “ that this denomination was “ merely a *new name*, which was given to the *old settlers* (z).”

The Caledonian descendants of the Celtic aborigines of North-Britain must, therefore, be allowed to possess their native land, till it can be clearly shown, when, and upon what occasion, they were dispossessed by Gothic intruders. This has not yet been done, either by the labours of learning, or the diligence of research, either by the dexterities of sophistry, or the perversity of design. Possession, in common life, is never changed, whatever may be the claim,

(x) His system is confuted, in the *Prolegomena*, and Glossary, to the Poetical works of Sir David Lyndsay.

(y) *Munimenta Antiqua*, 1804, p. 181—5.

(z) *Ib.* 179. Such, then, is the final answer to the *Pictish question*, which has been so much investigated, by learned men, and so perplexed by paradoxical writers.

without establishing a better right, not by presumptuous surmise, but by satisfactory proofs.

The one-and-twenty British tribes, who occupied North-Britain, during the first century, remained for ages, in their ancient settlements. Five of those tribes were subdued, by the Roman arms, and were civilized, by the Roman arts. After the Roman abdication, those five tribes continued, in their appropriate country, on the south of the friths, distinguished by no other circumstance, than their civilization, from the sixteen tribes, who equally remained unsubdued, on the north of the same friths, and who obtained the name of *Picts*. The descendants of those Romanized Britons enjoyed their ancient possessions, on the south of the friths, by the various names of *Cumbrenses*, and *Wallenses*, which denote their lineal descent, from the *Cambro-Britons*, whose language they spoke. If they were five of the pristine tribes of Caledonian Britons, however they may have been civilized, by subduction; it follows, as a consequence, that the sixteen tribes of Caledonians, who remained unsubdued, under the name of *Picts*, were as much the descendants of the *Cambro-Britons*, as their southern neighbours of *Strathclyde*, who were noticed, till recent times, as genuine Welsh (*a*).

(*a*) The only difference between the Britons, who lived on the north of the friths, and the Britons, who dwelt in *Strathclyde*, consisted merely in this; that the last were subdued, and civilized, Britons; while the first had remained unsubdued, and uncivilized: and consequently, they both equally spoke the *Cambro-British* speech; since they were all derived, from a *Cambro-British* origin. As the writers, who strenuously insist, that the *Picts*, and *Caledonians*, were *Goths*; yet acknowledge, that the Britons of *Valentia* were *Celts*, who spoke the *Cambro-British* language; it follows, that such writers are chargeable with inconsistency, in maintaining such contradictory opinions, upon such obvious questions. The *Inquirer*, 1789, says, "that when the *Picts* seized on the south of Scotland, the Britons of *Valentia* seem to have retired to the western parts." V. i. p. 82. "When the *Dalriads*, in 503, settled in *Argyle*, they became next neighbours to those Britons; and they seem to have naturally formed alliance, from proximity of speech; both speaking the Celtic, though in different dialects." Id. The *Picts* rather wished to have the *Strathclyde* Britons, in their amity: it would have been folly, in the *Picts*, to have attacked the *Strathclyde* Welsh. Id. And see p. 98-9, for the *Welsh of Strathclyde*. "Aneurin, the author of the *Gododin*," says our *Inquirer*, ib. 98, "was of the north; and, perhaps, from Welsh manuscripts we might learn, whether of *Strathclyde*, or *Cumbria*. *Merlin, the Wild*," he adds, "was of *Strathclyde*, as is clear, from his life by *Geoffrey*, compared with *Adamnan*, and *Jocelin*." Id. The poems both of *Aneurin*, and of *Merlin*, have been lately published, in the *Welsh Archaology*; and show to every eye, that the language of both is *Cambro-British*. The context of several pages of *Merlin* evinces, that his country was *Caledonia*, the land of the *Picts*. Our *Inquirer* also shows, that *Gildas*, the British *Gildas*, was born at *Alcluyd*, or *Dunbriton*; and that his father *Caunus* was king of that country, who was also the father of *Aneurin*. Ib. 63. *Bede*, he says, p. 62, mentions *Alcluith* as remaining, in his time, (731 A. D.), in the hands of the Britons. Such is the power of truth, that it generally prevails, in the end, over the inconsistencies of prejudice: this clue leads inquiry through the mizmaze of opinions, and authors, to knowledge, and certainty.

CHAP. II.

Of the Romanized Britons of the Cumbrian Kingdom, in North-Britain.

AT the period of the Roman power, in the British island, that extensive country, from the rampart of Severus to the wall of Antonine, was inhabited by the five British tribes of *Valentia*; the Ottadini, the Gadeni, the Selgovæ, the Novantes, and the Damnii; who, as they were Roman citizens, were entitled to Roman privileges (*a*). During the decline of the imperial power, the Romanized Britons, within the province of Valentia, were often attacked by the Scots, from *the west*; and by the Picts, from *the north*; but, were as often defended by the Roman armies, till the final abdication of the Roman government (*b*).

The Romanized provincials were, by that event, acknowledged to be an independent people. As they had been often urged to govern themselves, they naturally assumed such forms, as the occasion dictated, and established such authorities, as necessity required. The appointment of a *pendragon*, when danger approached, was a policy, which was very familiar to all the descendants of the British tribes. The practice of an enterprising age, perhaps, pointed to the fitness of such an officer, whether he were intended, for the energies of attack, or the resolutions of defence. In every district of Britain, at the memorable epoch of the Roman abdication, we behold princes, playing their parts, in the busy scene. In the country of Valentia, which had been attacked, and was to be defended, we equally see kings acting, in their appropriate characters, at the head of their affairs; protecting the land, during the struggle of war; and ruling their people, amid the enjoyments of peace (*c*). Yet, their authority appears

(*a*) I do not concur with Innes, *Crit. Essay*, v. i. p. 29—32. that the Maeatae, who were subdued by Severus, inhabited the country of the five tribes, on the *south* of the wall of Antonine: they, obviously, lived on the *north* of the same wall; were confederated with the Caledonians, a kindred people: and, as an independent tribe, the Maeatae entered into treaties with Severus, and Caracalla, as we have already seen.

(*b*) *Ib.* 22—24; and see the preceding book, ch. 6.

(*c*) Innes, *Crit. Essay*, vol. i. p. 32—6. Whitaker's *Manchester*, vol. ii. p. 92. Langhorn has, indeed, given us, in his *Chronicon Regum Anglorum*, a series of the kings of Cumbria, and Arclude: whether they can all be supported, by sufficient evidence, may well be doubted: some of

appears to have been extremely limited. The chiefs of the various clans, which occupied the several districts, exercised such unbounded power, as to end often in their own ruin. The jurisdiction of the prince, and the pretensions of the nobles, often clashed. And, during an age of commotion, when the safety of all required the strength of union, and the concert of co-operation, the people were distracted by domestic contests; the chiefs raised the dagger of resentment against each other; and the land was exposed, by continual anarchy, sometimes to invasion, and at length to conquest.

At the epoch of their independence, the Romanized descendants of the five tribes were attacked by the Picts, with a view to plunder, more than to subjection (*d*). The northern Caledonians continued to act, on that occasion, from the constant habits of two centuries. When they envied the steed of the strangers, they no doubt gratified their propensities. But, from the state of their civilization, of their manners, and of their agriculture, they could neither raise, nor maintain, considerable armies. Their incursions were made by few men, who could soon do much mischief, without many means. Their warfare consisted of sudden invasions, and of hasty retreats, when danger approached, and hostility pursued. They crossed the two friths, in their canoes, or their currachs, and infested either side of Valentia; they may have even passed the northern fence, when it was no longer defended by men, who had arms in their hands, and resolution in their hearts: but, we have no historical notices, which would show, that the Pictish invaders either formed settlements, within the wall, or claimed rightful possession of that ancient dominion. The notion, which attributes such pretensions to the Picts, is unfounded, in its principle, and is modern, in its application. The descendants of the five Caledonian tribes, who had been subdued by the arms, and civilized by the arts, of the Romans, had the best right, from possession, and descent, to the whole country, which lay between the two walls. This ample range of *debatable ground*, the Picts are said to have taken possession of, *as their own*, after the final retreat of the Roman forces (*e*). But, what of *his own* can an individual enjoy

those princes, however, as his first, Caun, his second, Hoel, his fourth, Marcen, his seventh, Ryderych, and his twelfth, Constantine, we shall hereafter find, in the obscure narratives of contemporary writers.

(*d*) Gildas offends, by declamation, rather than informs, by a connected narrative of facts, and circumstances, with regard to the events, which happened on the obscure irruptions of the Picts, and Scots, during the eventful years 446, and 448, A. D.

(*e*) Innes's Crit. Essay, vol. i. p. 32: North-Britain was, by the retreat of the Romans, left under "the dominion of the Scots, and Picts," says the late royal historiographer. Hist. of Scot. v. i. p. 3. This assertion is faulty, in two respects: (1.) It is demonstrably certain, that the Scots did

enjoy till he exist? How can a nation, consisting of many individuals, be entitled to rights, till its formation, as a community? The Picts of that age ought to be considered, as a congeris of clans, who, as they were connected by very slight ties, may have enjoyed many separate pretensions, rather than a people, who, having been formed into a body politic, or nation, were entitled to public rights.

Meantime, neither history, nor records, nor tradition, intimates, that the civilized descendants of the two British tribes, the Ottadini, and Gadeni, associated themselves into a community, at the era of their independence, or formed the country, extending from the Tweed to the Forth, and from the east coast to the midland mountains, into a dominion. The silence of all those instructors seems to speak, what events will show, that they were early invaded by a people, from the sea, by the Anglo-Saxons, who came to settle, rather than to plunder. When the day of trial arrived, the Ottadini, and Gadeni, acted, like the descendants of the Britons: they defended themselves, when they were attacked, by ferocious invaders, with more bravery than skill, and with more skill than concert. The battle of Cattrath decided the fate of the country, which the disunion, and ebriety, of the Ottadini, and Gadeni, could not defend against the union, and fortune, of the Saxon intruders (*f*).

The Romanized posterity of the Selgovæ, the Novantes, the Damnii, with the fugitive children of the Gadeni, and Ottadini, associated themselves, for their common defence, as misfortune drew near; and they erected their paternal territories into an appropriate community, which was sometimes called *Regnum Cambrense*, or *Cumbrense*, and oftener, the kingdom of *Strathclyd*, according to the usual inaccuracy of the middle ages. This Cumbrian kingdom of the Romanized Britons extended, from the Irthing, the Eden, and the Solway, on the south, to the Upper Forth, and Loch-Lomond, on the north; and from the Irish sea, and the frith of Clyde, which washed its western shores, it ranged, eastward, to the limits of the Merse, and Lothian. It included, within those ample bounds, Lidsdale, Teviotdale, Dumfries-shire, all Galloway, Ayrshire, Renfrewshire, Strathclyde, the middle, and west parts of Stirlingshire, and

did not then inhabit North-Britain; see the proof of this position, in the subsequent chapter: (2.) The Picts, who were not, at that epoch, formed into a community, never enjoyed the dominion of the Roman province of Valentia: for proofs of this position, see book ii. ch. 4.

(*f*) Aneurin laments, in pathetic strains, throughout his *Gododin*, the free use, which his British countrymen had made of the bewitching mead, before they entered into the conflict of Cattrath.

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the greater part of Dumbartonshire (g). The metropolis of this kingdom was Alcluyd, which they still retained, when the pen dropt from the venerable hand of Bede, in 734 A.D. : and which is situated on the north bank of the Clyde, at the influx of the Leven. The descriptive name of *Alcluyd*, which signifies, in the British language, the *rocky height on the Cluyd*, was applied to this bifurcated rock, on the commodious summit whereof, those associated Britons had a very strong hill-fort, which they called *Caer-Alcluyd*, and which formed a secure residence for their reguli (h). To this fortress, the Scoto-Irish subsequently applied the name of *Dunbriton*, signifying the *fortress* of the Britons ; and this appropriate appellation has, in modern times, by an easy transition, been converted into *Dunbarton*.

Such was the outline of the Cumbrenian kingdom of the five British tribes, during the more early period of its insecure existence. But, the constant encroachments of the Saxons, laid open its ancient boundaries, on the south-east. The open country of *Teviotdale*, which formed the eastern extremity of the *Cumbrian* kingdom, though it was protected by a natural barrier of mountains, on the south, yet on the east, its facility of access invited the inroads of the Saxon invaders, who already possessed Northumberland, and the Merse. The rugged country upon the west, and south-west, formed a powerful boundary to the associated Britons. To this natural defence, they do not seem to have altogether trusted. Antiquarian research has discovered the remains of an arti-

(g) The tradition of the people, as stated, on oath, in the *Inquisitio Davidis*, 1116 A.D. gave those limits to the Cumbrian kingdom. *Cumbria* is therein said to lie “inter Angliam et Scotiam.” Now, England was then bounded, on the north-west, by the Solway, the Esk, and the Kershope ; and the *Scotia* of that age was confined to the north of the Friths. The fact is, that, in the age of David I. the whole bishoprick of *Glasgow*, which then comprehended all those countries, was called *Cumbria* ; as we learn, from the chartulary of Kelso, No. 1. ; and from several charters, and bulls, in the chartulary of Glasgow. On the river Annan, in Dumfries-shire, there is an extensive hill, which was called, in Pont’s Map, *Druym-Brettan*, in the Scoto-Irish tongue, and is named, in Ainslie’s map of Scotland, *Drum-Brettan*, the ridge of the Britons.

(h) *All*, *Allt*, and *Alt*, in the Irish, as well as in the British, signify a rocky cliff, or rocky height. The prefix *Caer*, means, in the British, a fortress, a fortified town. Davies, Owen, O’Brien. “I know not why,” saith Foujas de St. Fond, “Mr. Pennant should say, in speaking of the rock, on which Dumbarton castle stands, that its height is *stupendous* : I found, that it did not exceed two hundred and fifty feet. Travels, v. i. p. 228. When Harding visited this rock, in 1434, the tide regularly flowed around it. In his Chronicle, fol. ccxxxi. he says,

“ That mai been hold out long, when ye begyn,
 “ Save *Dumbretain*, the sea aboute dooth ryn,
 “ Eche daie and night, twice, withouten daubte,
 “ Whiche maie bee woone, by famishyng aboute.”

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ficial safeguard, which is known, in the country, by the several names of the *Catrail*, and of the *Pictsworkditch*. The *Catrail* is the British name of ancient times; and signifies, in the British language, what distinctly intimates the purpose, for which it was made, the *dividing fence*, or the *partition of defence* (i). The name of the *Pictsworkditch* was applied to this remarkable fence, in more modern times, by the same people, who called Severus's wall the *Pictswall*, and other objects, by the same well-known name. The *Catrail*, consisting of a fosse, and a double rampart, runs through the shires of Selkirk, and Roxburgh, from Galashiels, on the north, to the Peel-fell, at the eastern extremity of Lidsdale, on the south.

The *Pictsworkditch* first appears, on the north, at a farm, called Mosalee, a mile westward from Galashiels, near the obvious remain of a British fort. From Mosalee, it runs, southward, by the west side of Boghall; and, at the end of two miles, arrives at the Rink-hill, on the summit of which, there are the remains, as the name implies, of a British hill-fort, that is of an elliptical form, and is defended by two ditches, and two ramparts of earth, and stone (k). From the Rink-hill, the *Pictsworkditch* proceeds, in a south-west direction, across the Tweed, near the influx of the Howdenpot-burn; and continues its course to a British fort, on the west side of this stream (l). From this fort, the *Pictsworkditch* passes Cribshill; and is again discovered several miles, westward, passing along the south-east declivity of Minchmoor, whence it passes Henhillhope, where it is distinctly seen, in its obvious course, for a quarter of a mile. It afterwards clearly appears, as it ascends the Swinebraehill, above Yarrowkirk; and passing the Yarrow river, near Redhawse, it is again observable several miles, southward, near Delorain-burn, on the south side of Ettrick river. From this position, it has been traced across Coplaw; and thence, southward, by the base of Stanhopelaw, where its singular remains are pretty distinct. For

(i) In the British speech, *Cad* signifies, a *striving to keep*, or to *defend*; an engagement, a battle: and *Rbail*, in the same tongue, means *what divides*, or *parts off*, a *division*. Owen's Dict. In British composition, the (d) changes to (t).

(k) Ainslie, in his map of Selkirkshire, has given this part of the *Pictsworkditch* a wrong direction, and the British fort, on Rink-hill, an improper position; placing it more than half a mile too far eastward; and he mistakingly calls the *Catrail* a Roman road, and the British fort a Roman camp.

(l) This fort is of the same form, but of smaller dimensions, than the British strength on the Rink-hill. It should be represented just above the letter (p) in Howdenpot-burn, in Ainslie's map of Selkirkshire, saith the Rev. Dr. Douglas at Galashiels. It is to this very intelligent, and obliging, minister, that the public are indebted, for these accurate statements, with regard to the *Catrail*, which he kindly communicated to me, after the most minute inspection.

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some distance, southward, of Stanhopelaw, it cannot now be traced, owing to the swampiness of the country ; but, the Pictworkditch again appears on Hen-woody common ; whence it proceeds, in a south-west direction, across Borthwick water, past a farmstead, called Broadlee, where the remains of it become very distinct, for the course of a mile and a half, till it reaches Slatehillmoss. From this position, it proceeds forwards, in a south-east direction, across Teviot river, through the farm of North-house to Dockcleugh-hill, where its remains are very distinct : from Dockcleugh-hill, it continues a south-east course, in a slaunting form, across Allan-water, to a place, named Dod, passing two hill-forts, on the left (*m*). From Dod, where its remains are distinct, the Pictworkditch proceeds eastward, past another British fort, called Whitehillbrae ; and it there ascends the Carriage-hill, on which its remains are very perfect. From Carriage-hill it proceeds across a rivulet, called Langsidé-burn ; and here, says Gordon, the tourist, “ it becomes the land-mark betwixt the Duke of Buccleugh’s estate, and Sir Gilbert Elliot of Stobs.” From Langside-burn, its remains appear very distinct, as they pass along the northern base of the Maiden Paps to the Leapsteel ; and thence passing Robertslin, it traverses a tract of boggy ground, called Cockspart : crossing the hills into the upper parts of Lidsdale, the remains of it again appear on Dawstane-burn ; and thence passing the Abbey, it goes on to Dawstane-rig : from this position, faint vestiges of it were traced nearly to the Peel-fell, which is one of the chain of mountains, that forms a natural barrier, between Northumberland, on the south, and Teviotdale, and Lidsdale, on the north (*n*).

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(*m*) These British strengths are placed, as usual, on the tops of heights, which are surrounded by fosses, and ramparts ; and appear, in elliptical forms : one of these is called Dockcleugh-castle : the other stands on an eminence, which is called Burgh-hill, and is situated on the east side of Allan-water.

(*n*) After bringing the Catrail to the Peelfell, Gordon says, “ but, a more distinct track of “ it afterwards appeared to me in another journey near Langham (Langholm) ; whence it runs “ towards Canoby, on the river Esk.” *Itin. Septent.* p. 103. This cannot be connected with the end of the Catrail, that he left at Peelfell, which is more than eighteen miles, north-east, from Langholm and Canoby, having the whole extent of Lidsdale between them. A Roman vicinal road, indeed, led past Canoby, and Langholm, up Eskdale to Castle-Over. Gordon, perhaps, from a superficial view of this way, has supposed it to be the continuation of the Catrail, though it must be confessed they are very much alike. As the Catrail, at Peelfell, reached a strong barrier of mountains, it was probably discontinued, at this natural termination. If it ever extended further, it probably ran along the heights, which separate Lidsdale and Northumberland, to the top of Kershope ; and from thence southward to the Roman wall. The accurate Dr. Douglas says, “ when at Gillsland, in 1789, I thought, I could perceive traces of the Catrail, leaving the Roman “ wall about five or six miles to the west of this place, at a station upon the wall.” This useful notice

The whole course of the Catrail, which has been thus traced, from the vicinity of Galashiels to Peel-fell, is upwards of forty-five miles (*o*). The most entire parts of the Catrail show, that it was originally a broad, and deep fosse; having on each side a rampart, which was formed of the natural soil, that was thrown from the ditch, intermixed with some stones. Its dimensions vary, in different places. This variation may be partly owing to its remains being more, or less perfect. In those parts, where it is pretty entire, on the north of the Rink-hill, on Dockcleugh-hill, on Carriage-hill, at Leapsteel, and at the Abbey, the fosse is twenty-six, and twenty-five feet broad: in one place, which was measured by Dr. Douglas, the fosse was twenty-seven and a half feet broad. But, in those parts, where the rampart has been most demolished, the fosse only measures twenty-two and a half feet, twenty, and eighteen, and in one place, only sixteen feet wide (*p*). In some of the most entire parts, Gordon found the ramparts, from six to seven, and even nine, or ten feet high; and from eight to ten and twelve feet thick. The accidents of time, and the improvements of tillage, have, however, destroyed much of them, and lessened the height of those, which remain, the singular objects of rational curiosity (*q*).

In its original state, the Catrail must have formed a connected chain of defence, along its extended course; being only interrupted, in some parts, by the channels of rivers, or by impassible swamps, which formed themselves a sufficient fence. Along its ample extent, there are several forts of the British people, which were built, either on the contiguous hills, or on the neighbouring heights. But, there are not upon the Catrail, as some antiquaries imagine,

notice he stated to me, in his letter, dated the 7th January 1796. This could not be the *Maidenway* which Dr. Douglas thus saw: for, the Maidenway leaves the wall a considerable distance, eastward, of Gillsland, and proceeds, northward, along the eastern extremity of Cumberland, to the top of Kershope, which separates Lidsdale and Cumberland. It is called, by the historians of Cumberland, a Roman road. Gough's *Camden*, v. iii. p. 177, says, it is eight yards broad, and is paved with stones: it cannot, of course, be connected with the *Catrail*.

(*o*) Gordon, indeed, limits its extent to two-and-twenty miles: but, this limitation was merely conjecture. Mensurations on the maps of the shires of Selkirk, and Roxburgh, evince its real length, to have been more than five-and-forty miles, exclusive of its windings.

(*p*) In several parts, which were measured by Dr. Douglas, the fosse was twenty and twenty-two and a half feet wide. Gordon says, it was only eighteen feet broad on Swinebraehill, and only sixteen feet broad, near Stanhopelaw. As the ramparts sloped on the inside, it is obvious, that in proportion as they were demolished, the width of the fosse within would be diminished.

(*q*) Dr. Douglas found, that in many parts, the ramparts do not now much exceed three feet high. Some old farmers, in Eterick forest, informed him, that the remains of the Catrail have been much diminished, in their remembrance; and that the traces of it are becoming less visible every day.

a regular series of redoubts, such as gave strength, and ornament, to the Roman walls (*b*).

Gordon, who has the merit of having first brought this curious remain into notice, absurdly supposes it to have been a *limes*, or boundary, which the Caledonians established, after their peace with the emperor Severus (*c*). He ought to have recollected, that this work is in the country of the Romanized Britons of Valentia, and lies far from the land of the Mæatae, and Caledonians. Maitland, with equal absurdity, has converted the Catrail into a Roman road. If he had only examined it, he would have seen, that it is as different from a Roman road, as a crooked is from a straight line, or as a concave work is from a convex. The able, and disquisitive Whitaker was the first, who applied the Catrail to its real purpose, by referring it to its proper period (*d*). There can hardly be a doubt, whether the Catrail was once a dividing fence, between the Romanized Britons of the Cumbrian kingdom, and their Saxon invaders, on the east. It cannot, indeed, be fitly referred to any other historical period of the country, which is dignified by the site of this interesting antiquity. The Britons, and the Saxons, were the only hostile people, whose countries were separated by this warlike fence, which seems to have been exactly calculated to overawe the encroaching spirit of the Saxon people (*e*).

(*b*) Much of the description, and many of the particulars, which have now been stated, with regard to the Catrail, are given, from the mensurations, and observations, of the very intelligent Doctor Douglas. Gordon's *Itin. Septen.* p. 102-3; *Stat. Acco.* v. viii. p. 554; v. xi. p. 545; v. xvii. p. 92: Stobie's Map of Roxburghshire, and Ainslie's Map of Selkirkshire, have supplied their several aids. The correct information of Dr. Douglas, with the county Maps, have helped to correct some of the inaccuracies, and to illustrate some of the obscurities of Gordon's account of the Catrail. Pennant has given, from Gordon, an abridged, and loose, sketch of the course of the Catrail. *Tour in Scot.* v. ii. p. 264.

(*c*) *Itin. Septen.* 103-4.

(*d*) *Hist. Manch.* v. ii. p. 93, 4to edit. The Catrail, however, does not run from Canoby, on the Esk: it is not a breast-work; nor is it lined all the way, on the west, with forts, like the Roman walls: it does not continue itself, by an additional chain of castles, along the Gala-water. The Catrail is certainly a work of great extent, and of immense labour; but, it shows more perseverance, than skill: though it appears to have been constructed, for a similar purpose, with the Roman walls; yet, in point of strength, regularity, and completeness, it is far inferior to those noble examples of ancient art. In extent, only, the Catrail exceeds the wall of Antonine.

(*e*) The Catrail cannot be referred to a more early period; for, it runs through the middle of the country, which had previously been possessed by the Gadeni; and could not, of course, have been constructed, as a boundary by them: nor, can it be referred to a more recent period; as there could be no reason, for forming such a warlike fence, after the Saxons had intruded upon the whole country, which the Catrail divides. There is a similar work, near the Eldon-hills, which has been already described, as pointing to the Tweed, and which is an additional evidence of the struggles of the Britons, in that period, against their powerful invaders. See book i. ch. iv.

Of

Of this curious remain, no traces have been ascertained beyond Mosalee, on the north. It is, however, probable, that it may have proceeded, as, indeed, some antiquaries have supposed, in a north-east direction, across the Gala-water into Upper Lauderdale; and thence athwart the country to the eastern sea. The separate remains of such a work, proceeding eastward to the sea, have been discovered, by different persons, at several times. The very accurate Kinghorn, who surveyed for me the Roman remains, in Lauderdale, during November 1803, informed me that, he had traced a high earthen rampart, and large fosse, running off, from a British fort on a height, near Channel Kirk, on the west, in a north-east direction, across the highest source of Leader-water, for the extent of a mile; and thence eastward through the Lamermoor-hills: and the inhabitants, on its tract, assured this ingenious surveyor, that the remains of this singular work may be traced, at intervals, throughout Lamermoor, to the neighbourhood of Dunbar. Upwards of fifty years ago, the intelligent John Spottiswoode, the old Laird of Spottiswoode, traced a similar rampart, and fosse, from a British strength, called the *Haerfaulds*, on a hill, two miles north-west of Spottiswoode, throughout the country, to the vicinity of Berwick-on-Tweed. In that age, it was, in various places, very discernible; and was known to the people by the name of *Herrit's-dike* (*f*). In the ascertained track of this ancient fence, there are several British strengths, situated as usual on their several heights (*g*). Whether those several ramparts, which traversed Berwickshire, be the same as the Catrail, is not quite certain: but, there cannot be any reasonable doubt, whether they were all made, by the same British hands, for the same purpose of defence, during the same obscure age of hostile intrusion.

The most early reguli of the Cumbrian kingdom, after the Roman abdication, of whom any notice remains, is Cawn, or Caw, that is mentioned by his son Gildas, who, if we may credit the Welsh genealogists, is but another name

(*f*) I owe the communication of his father's survey of this curious remain to the kindness of my late worthy friend John Spottiswoode of Sackville Street. The minister of Greenlaw said, in 1795, that the remains of an earthen mound, with a ditch, called *Herrit's-dike*, ran across his parish, passing about a mile, northward, of Greenlaw: it could formerly have been traced fourteen miles, eastward; and tradition attests, that it proceeded, in the same direction, as far as Berwick. Stat. Acco. v. xiv. p. 512.

(*g*) At a hamlet, called *Chesters*, the sure intimation of an ancient strength, there are the remains of a British fort, in the west of Fogo parish; ib. v. xx. p. 276; wherein, this is mistakenly supposed to be a Roman camp. See Armstrong's Map of Berwickshire. Near Dogden-moss, where *Herrit's-dike* appeared remarkably distinct, there was another British fort, called *Black-castle-rings*: and, in that vicinity, there is another British fort. Id. Old John Spottiswoode says, in his manuscript account of that rampart, "he had heard, when a boy, that a silver chain was found at it, opposite to Greenlaw, and was given to the Earl of Marchmont."

for Aneurin, the Cambrian Poet. Caw was driven from his kingdom, with his numerous issue, at the close of the fifth century, by the envy of the Picts. Caw found an asylum, and lands, among his countrymen, in Wales, where his name is still revered, as the fruitful progenitor of many monks (*b*).

At the commencement of the sixth century, Caw was succeeded, in his authority over the Cumbrian kingdom, and in his misfortunes, by his son Huail, the Hoel, or Coyle, of the chronicles. Huail began to exercise his feeble powers, at the same time with the Arthur of history, who was called, by the distresses of his country, to the supreme command over jealous chiefs. Huail had the unhappiness to attract the notice, or to provoke the enmity, of that powerful *pendragon*. The hostility of Arthur obliged Huail to flee from Strathcluyd into Anglesey, where he was put to death, amidst the tears of his relations (*i*). Henry of Huntingdon, in relating the conflicts of those times, remarks that, among the Britons, the cessation of foreign war was merely the signal for domestic hostilities. Arthur thus established his power over Strathcluyd, and even fixed one of the seats of his authority, at Alcluyd, which thenceforth was called *Castrum Arthuri* (*k*). If we may believe the Welsh chronicles, he even pursued the neighbouring Picts beyond Lochlomond; as they had pressed upon the Britons of Strathcluyd. The authority, and influence, of that uncommon character, extended from A.D. 508, when he was chosen *Pendragon*, to 542, when he received his death's wound, in the fatal battle of Camlan (*l*). The valourous Arthur of history, or the redoubtable Arthur of romance, has supplied the topography of North-Britain with such significant names, as seem to imply, either that the influence of the real Arthur was felt, or the remembrance of the fictitious Arthur was preserved, for many ages, after the *Pendragon* had fallen, by the insidious stroke of treachery, from the kindred hand of Modred (*m*).

The

(*b*) Langhorn's Chron. Appen.; Lhuyd's Com. ed. Williams, p. 42; and the Welsh Triads.

(*i*) Usher states the death of Howel, in Anglesey, anno 508. Primord. 677-8, 1123; Langhorn's Chron. p. 29. In the Welsh Triads, as quoted by Owen, in his Dictionary, in vo. *Penteyrnedd*, it is said, "Arthur yn benteyrnedd yn Mhenryn Rhionydd yn y gogledd, Cyndeyrn "Garthwys yn benesgyb, a Gwrthmwl wledig yn benhynaiv." Arthur, a supreme of princes, at the promontory of Rhionyth, in the north, and *Cyndeyrn* Garthwys [Kentigern] archbishop, and Gwrthmwl wledig chief of elders.

(*k*) Parliamentary Record, Temp. Dav. ii.

(*l*) Ush. Prim. p. 1123—1137: *Ære Camb.* apud William's Comment.

(*m*) It is amusing to remark, how many notices the North-British topography furnishes, with regard to Arthur, whose fame seems to brighten, as inquiry dispels the doubts of scepticism, and archæology establishes the certainties of truth. In Clydesdale, within the parish of Crawford, there is

The splendour of Arthur's fame seems to have obscured the name of his successor, in Strathclyde. He was followed by Marken, the Meirchjawn of the

is *Arthur's* fountain : in 1239, there was a grant of David de Lindsay to the monks of Newbotle, of the lands of Brothralwyn, in that district, which were bounded, on the west part, "a fonte "*Arthuri* usque ad summitate montis." Chart. Newbotle, N^o 148. The Welsh poets assign a palace to Arthur, among the Northern Britons, at *Penryn-Ryoneth* : In Lhuyd's Cornish vocabulary, p. 238, *Penryn-rioneth* is called, the seat of the Prince of Cumbria : and see also Richard's Welsh Dictionary. The British *Penryn* supposes a promontory, with some circumstance, which reduplicates its height ; and this intimation points to *Alcluyd*, the well-known metropolis of the Romanized Britons, in Strathclyde : now, a parliamentary record of the reign of David ii. in 1367, giving a curious detail of the king's rents, and profits, in Dunbartonshire, states the "redditum "*assize Castri Arthuri*." MSS. Reg^l. House ; Paper-Office : The Castle of Dunbarton, therefore, was the *Castrum Arthuri*, long before the age of David ii. See the site of Dunbarton, in Ainslie's Map of Renfrewshire. The Point of Cardross was the *Rbyn-Ryoneth* ; the castle of Dunbarton was the *Pen-rhyn-ryoneth*. According to the British Triads, Kentigern, the well-known founder of the church of Glasgow, had his episcopal seat at *Pen-rhyn-Ryoneth*. The romantic castle of Stirling was equally supposed, during the middle ages, to have been the festive scene of the *round-table* of Arthur. "Rex Arthurus," says William of Worcester, in his Itinerary, p. 311. "Cus-
todiebat le round-table in castro de Styrlyng, aliter, *Snowdon-west-castell* : " the name of *Snowdon* castle is nothing more than the *Snuá-dun* of the Scoto-Irish people, signifying the *fort*, or *fortified hill* on the *river*, as we may learn from O'Brien, and Shaw ; and the *Snuá-dun* has been converted to *Snow-dun*, by the Scoto-Saxon people, from a retrospection to the *Snow-don* of Wales, which is itself a mere translation from the Welsh. In Neilston parish, in Renfrewshire, there still remain *Arthur-lee*, *Low Arthur-lee*, and *West Arthur-lee*. *Arthur's-oven*, on the Carron, was known by that name, as early, if not earlier, than the reign of Alexander III : in 1293, William Gurlay granted to the monks of Newbotle "firmationem unius stagni ad opus molendini "*sui del Stanhus quod juxta furnum Arthuri infra baronium de Dunypas est*." Chart. Newbotle, N^o 239. The name of *Arthur's-Seat*, at Edinburgh, is said, by a late inquirer, "to be only a "name of yesterday : " Yet, that remarkable height, had that distinguished name, before the publication of Camden's *Britannia*, in 1585, as we may see in p. 478 ; and before the publication of Major in 1521, as appears in fo. 28 ; and even before the end of the 15th century, as Kennedy, in his *flyting* with Dunbar, mentions "*Arthur Sate* or ony hicher hill." Ramsay's *Evergreen*, v. ii. p. 65. This is not the only hill, which bears the celebrated name of Arthur : not far from the top of Loch-Long, which separates Argyle, and Dunbarton, there is a conical hill, that is called *Arthur's Seat*. Guide to Loch Lomond, pl. iii. A rock, on the north side of the hill of Dunbarrow, in Dunnichen parish, Forfarshire, has long bore, in the tradition of the country, the distinguished name of *Arthur's Seat*. Stat. Acco. v. i. p. 419. In the parish of Cupar-Angus, in Perthshire, there is a standing stone, called *the Stone of Arthur* : near it is a gentleman's seat, called *Arthur-stone* : and not far from it, is a farm, named *Arthur's fold*. But, it is at Meigle, in the same vicinity, that the celebrity of *Arthur*, and the evil fame of his queen *Venora*, are most distinctly remembered. Pennant's *Tour*, v. ii. p. 177-8 ; and Stat. Acco. v. i. p. 506. and above all, see Bellenden's *Boece*, fo. lxxviii, for the origin of the popular fictions, at Meigle, about Arthur, and Venora. The Scottish chroniclers, Barbour, and Wyntown, were perfectly acquainted with the *Arthur* of romance : we may easily infer, from the local facts, that his story must have been equally

the British chronicles. Marken is chiefly remembered, for his enmity to Kentigern, the founder of the Episcopate of Glasgow; and for his premature death, as the appropriate punishment, for raising his sacrilegious foot against that holy man (n).

After the death of Marken, a contest among the chiefs, for superiority, left Rydderech, the bountiful, in the government of Strathcluyd. One of his first acts was to recal Kentigern to the seat of his usefulness (o). Such were the events, which occupied five-and-thirty years, from the death of Arthur, to the battle of Arderyth, in 577. The British Triads reprobate this skirmish, as the *nugatory battle* of Britain. Whatever cause may have moved the wrath of the kings, whether a *bird's nest*, or a disputed boundary, Rydderech, the munificent king of Strathcluyd, defeated, on the height of Arderyth, Aidan of Kintire, who is stigmatized by Merlin, the Caledonian poet, as *Aeddan Fradawg*, the perfidious Aidan (p). Merlin was a witness of the conflict:

equally known to Thomas of Ercildun, a century sooner. In 1293, the Monks of Newhotle knew how to make a mill-dam, with the materials, which they found on the banks of the Carron: Sir Michael Bruce of *Stanbus* thought it necessary, in 1743, to pull down *Arthur's Oon*, one of the most curious remains of antiquity, for the stones, which it furnished, for building a mill-dam. The enraged antiquaries consigned Sir Michael to eternal ridicule. See the *Antiquary Repertory*, v. iii. p. 74-5. Sir David Lindsay, in his *Complaynt of the Papinge*, makes her take leave of Stirling Castle thus:

“ Adew fair *Snawdoun*, with thy towris hie,
“ Thy chapell royall, park, and *tabyll round*.”

And, in his *Dreme*, he mentions his having diverted James V. when young, with “ antique storeis
“ and deidis martiall,”

“ Of Hector, *Arthur*, and gentile Julius,
“ Of Alexander, and worthy Pompeius.”

This shows, that the stories of Arthur were then ranked among those of the most celebrated heroes of antiquity.

(n) Langhorn's App.; Lhuyd's Comment. Ed. Williams, p. 42; Jocelin's Life of Kentigern, ch. xxii.: Jocelin, who died in 1199, relates that Morken died, at the royal village, which was then known, by the Saxon name of “*Thorp-morken*.”

(o) Ib. ch. xxx.

(p) Welsh Archaiol. v. i. p. 151. It is of more importance to settle the site of the conflict of Arderyth; to give it a local position, as well as a poetic name: it was not on the *Solway*, as the editor of Lhuyd's *Commentariolum* supposes, p. 142, but on the Clyde, as probability attests: from a consideration of all the circumstances, it seems more than probable, that *Airdrie*, in the parish of New Monkland, Lanerkshire, which was in the territory of Rydderech, and is at no great distance from the Clyde, is the true site of the battle of Arderyth: in the *Airdaribh* of the Irish, signifying the height of the course, or flight, the (th) are quiescent; but, in the British language, the (th) are both written, and spoken. Merlin, the Caledonian poet, is very lavish, in praise of the *Appletrees* of *Lanerch*, while he reprobates the battle of Arderyth. See his *Avallenau*, in the Welsh Archaiology, v. i. p. 151.

and he had the envied honour of wearing, on that decisive day, the golden torques. Gwenddolau, the patron of Merlin, fell in the treacherous field. He merited a more disgraceful fate: Gwenddolau, according to the habits of the people, and the perturbations of the age, had called in Aidan, as an auxiliary, against the munificent king of Alcluyd. Rydderech enjoyed the comfort of Columba's advice, the favour of Adamnan's recollection, as well as the panegyric of the Caledonian Merlin, and the celebration of the British Taliesin (*q*). In the curious passage, from Adamnan, we see a singular picture of the manners of the times, when a king could ask a saint about his fate; as he felt his throne to be unstable; and the biographer could attest the fulfilment of the prophecy. Columba died, in 597; Rydderech, in 601; and Adamnan, in 704, A.D. (*r*)

Meantime, Aidan, the Scoto-Irish king, confederated with Malgon, the Cumbrian prince, against the Saxons. In 584, with their joint arms, they defeated the Saxon powers, in the battle of Fethanlea, on Stanemore, a stony district, on the eastern borders of Westmoreland, which was then inhabited by the Britons (*s*). Aidan, again, coming to the aid of the Britons, defeated the intruding Saxons, in the battle of Leithredh (*t*). He was defeated by them, however, at the battle of Kirkinn, during the year 598 (*u*). And, he was totally overthrown by the Northumbrians, in 603 A.D., on the fatal field of Dawstane, within the country of the Britons (*x*).

The fears of Rydderech, the late munificent king of the Cumbrian Britons, appears to have been only for himself. He seems to have left no sons, to inherit his unstable power. There is reason to believe, that the chiefs contended

(*q*) Rydderech, the son of Totaill ('Tudwall) sent to St. Columba; "wishing to know, if he should be slain by his enemies, or not." The Saint made answer; "He shall never be delivered into the hands of his enemies: but, shall die, in his own house, upon his pillow." Adamnan, the writer of Columba's life, adds, emphatically, "according to the Saints vaticination, Rydderech died an easy death, in his own house." Vita Columb. L. i. cap. xv.

(*r*) The British Triads, in giving an account of the *three generous ones*, of Britain, mention Rydderech, the son of Tydwal, as one of them. For his genealogy, see Lhuyd's Comment. Edit. Williams, p. 142. Rydderech died the same year with Kentigern, 601, "in villa regia que *Pertmet* nuncupatur;" as we learn from Jocelin's life of Kentigern. The *Pertmet* of Jocelin is now *Partick*, a village, on the Clyde, below Glasgow.

(*s*) Sax. Chron. p. 22; Usher's Prim. p. 570; wherein he quotes the Saxon annals, Ethelwerd, and Florence.

(*t*) Adamn. Life of Columba, lib. i. cap. viii. ix; Tigernach; Ulst. An.; Usher's Prim. p. 709—1037; Ogygia, 475; Innes's MS. Eccles. Hist. p. 245.

(*u*) Ogygia, p. 475; Adamnan's Life of Columba, lib. i. cap. ix. Sax. Chron. p. 23.

(*x*) Sax. Chron. p. 24; Bede, lib. i. cap. 34.

for superiority, after his death, during half a century, according to the principles of the people, and the practice of the age. Owen, or Hoen, at length, acquired the dangerous pre-eminence. It fell to his lot, to execute the destiny of the Irish soothsayers on Donald-breac. The restless career of the king of Kintire was closed, in 642 A.D. at the battle of Sraith-carmaic, by the appointed sword of the gallant Owen (*y*). The merit of defending Strathcluyd against its insidious invader does not seem to have transmitted Owen's power to his posterity. A race of obscure reguli succeeded, whose bounty, like the generosity of Rydderech, engaged neither poet, nor chronicler, to transmit their deeds to more inquisitive times (*z*).

As the Strathcluydensian Britons were often attacked by the Picts, from the North, by the Scoto-Irish, from the westward, and by the Saxons, from the south, they had many battles to fight (*a*). They appear to have been exposed, in addition to those conterminous enemies, to invasions, by the tribes of Ireland. In 681 A.D. they repulsed an invasion of the Cruithne of Ulster, at Machlin, in Ayrshire, where Cæthasao, the son of Maoileduin, the king of the Cruithne, was slain (*b*). *Maghline*

(*y*) Adamnan Vit. Columb. lib. iii. cap. v ; Colgan's Triad, p. 583 ; Annals of Ulster : Usher's Primord. p. 712 ; and O'Flaherty's Ogygia, p. 478.

(*z*) In 657 A.D. is said to have died Guiret, the king of Alcluyd. An. Ulst. This is perhaps the Ceretic of Langhorn's catalogue of Cumbrian kings. Chron. p. 328. In 693, is said to have died, the Domnal M'Apin, of one editor of the Ulster annals, and the Daniel M'Avin of another, the king of Alcluyd. This king is probably *Deovama*, the son of Owen, or Huen, who slew Donald-breac ; and is mentioned, blunderingly, by Langhorn. Chron. p. 328. In 721 A.D. is said to have died Bile M'Elpin, the king of Alcluyd : this notice shows, that *Elpin* was a British name. In 815 A.D. is said to have died Conan M'Ruorah, the king of the Britons : *Conan* is also a British name. After Domnal, Langhorn includes, in his catalogue of Cumbrian kings, Constantin, whose son was slain, by the Scottish Grig ; Herbert, the brother of Constantin ; Eugene, who was contemporary with Athelstane ; and Dunwall, who was expelled by Edmund, in 945 A.D. Chron. Reg. Angl. p. 328.

(*a*) The annals of Ulster mention many conflicts of the Britons, without much connection, or perfect accuracy, in the dates of the events : in 631 A.D. was fought the battle of Cathloen, between the king of the Cumbrian Britons, and Anfrith. In the subsequent year, happened the conflict of Indris. In 710, was fought the battle of Loughcoleth, between the Scoto-Irish, and the Strathcluyd Britons, who were defeated. In 716, happened another conflict, between the same combatants, at the Rock of Mionure, where the Britons were again worsted. In 779 A.D. Alcluyd is said to have been burnt.

(*b*) Annals of Ulster. Yet, they were again invaded by the same ambitious tribe. In A.D. 702-3, the Cumbrian Britons fought the battle of Culinfield with those enterprizing invaders, from the Ulster shore.

They

They continued, however, in possession of their appropriate country, at the decease of Bede, in 734 A.D. They sustained a conflict with the Picts, in 744 (c); and they fought the battle of Catho, with that oppressive people, in 749, when they slew Talorgan, the brother of Ungus, the Pictish king (d). In 750, the Northumbrian Eadbert seems to have traversed Nithsdale, and seized Kyle (e). By a joint attack of the Saxons, under Eadbert, and of the Picts, under Ungus, the metropolis of the oppressed Britons, though not the castle of Alcluyd, was taken, in 756 A.D. (f). Yet, the descendants of the Romanized Britons were not conquered. The series, indeed, of the Cumbrian reguli, was often broken, by civil broils, or by foreign conflicts. The chiefs never failed to resume their power, when the storm of war had passed over them. And, the Cumbrian people remained within their ancient territories, under the appropriate name of *Walenses*, though they were pressed, on every side, long after the Pictish government had fallen for ever (g). They were unable, however, to prevent considerable encroachments on their paternal domains. The Northumbrians broke in upon them, on the south: and, the Cruithne from Ulster, at length formed a lasting settlement, on the south-western shore of the Cumbrian kingdom, as we shall perceive, in our progress. From the events of their history, it is apparent, that the character of the Strathcluydensian Britons had been greatly softened, by the Roman conquest. They were obviously inferior to the descendants of the Un-romanized Britons, the Picts of the North; they were less vigorous than the Scoto-Irish, who had never felt the Roman arms; and they were still more inferior to the Anglo-Saxons, who had risen on the fall of the Roman power.

(c) Hoveden, p. 402.

(d) Ulster Annals: This is the same battle, which the Welsh MS. Chron. of the Saxons states, in 750 A.D. by the several names of Maes-Ydaoc, Maes-Edaroc, or Magedaoc. Welsh Archaeology, v. ii. p. 391.

(e) The chronicle, which is annexed to Bede, states: "A.D. 750, Eadbertus *Cyil*, cum aliis "regionibus suo regno addidit." Smith's Bede, p. 224.

(f) Simeon Dunelm. p. 106; Usher's Prim. p. 819-20.

(g) Innes's Crit. Ess. v. i. p. 32-41; Whit. Manchester, v. ii. p. 92-5: And, there are obscure traces of the foregoing events, in the *Inquisitio Davidis* of the year 1116. Chart. of Glasgow. The charters of Malcolm IV. and his successor William, to the bishoprick of Glasgow, enforcing the payment of tithes, are addressed, "Francis, et Anglis, *Walensibus*, et *Galweiensibus*." Chart. Glasgow.

CHAP. III.

Of the Saxons in Lothian.

A NEW people of Gothic origin arrived, from whatever shore, within the Ottadinian territories, at the troublous epoch of the Roman abdication. This novel race are the earliest colonists, who settled themselves, among the ancient people, within the Caledonian country. But, they established their settlements so firmly; they introduced their maxims, their usages, their language, so lastingly; and, in the end, settled their government, and promulgated their laws, so generally, within our island; that curiosity must be gratified, by tracing their origin, and instruction must be gained, by pursuing their progress.

The fathers of the Goths, as they passed the Hellespont, and settled near the mouths of the Danube, in the most early ages, formed one of the original nations of Europe. On this event, history is silent; but, philology is instructive. The Gothic language is certainly derived, from a common origin, with the most ancient tongues of the European world: and hence may be traced its manifest connections with the Greek, with the Latin, and with the Celtic (*c*).

Long after the European regions had been filled with inhabitants, the Goths remained in their original settlements (*cc*). During the fifth century, before our common æra, the Gothic people inhabited the eastern shores of the Euxine, on the south of the Danube. They were found, in that position, by Darius, when he crossed the Hellespont, and the Danube, in pursuit of the European Scythians (*d*). During the conquests of Alexander, the Gothic people still

(*c*) Geb. Monde Primitif. tom. ix. p. xli.-li; Mem. Litteraires, 750, p. 62. Schilter's Thesaurus Antiquitatum Teutonicarum; Wachter's Glossarium Germanicum: These vastly learned authors demonstrate, without intending it, that the Celtic, and Gothic, languages, had a common origin; and it is, therefore, absurd, to talk of the Gaelic, a Celtic language, being mixed with Gothic words.

(*cc*) Well's Hist. Geog. v. i. the Map prefixed to p. 109; Bayer's Dissert. in Mem. Litteraires 1750, p. 211—259; Geb. Monde Prim. tom. ix. p. 49.

(*d*) Herodotus Melpomene; Plin. lib. iv. ch. ix; Count de Buat's Hist. Ancienne des Peuple de l'Europe, tom. i. ch. i.—8; and the Map in Rennel's Herodotus.

remained

remained upon the Euxine (*e*). And their undoubted descendants continued, as a well-known people, at the late commencement of our common epoch, when Ovid was banished to Tomi, by the jealousy of Augustus. During the effluxion of five centuries, there does not appear an event, which could have contributed to force the inhabitants on the Euxine, and the Danube, in considerable bodies, to remove westward, in search of new settlements, on the Rhine, and the Ocean.

When, or on what occasion, or by what route, the Goths, with their associates, moved, westward, from their ancient settlements, are questions, which have not yet been answered, by the united antiquaries of the European regions. During the first ages, the original colonists of Europe were conducted by the Danube, and the Rhine, from the Euxine to the Ocean. In subsequent times, the Gothic migrants may have found a different route, by the Boristhenes, and the Vistula, during much more recent times, from the Euxine to the Baltic (*f*). The stone monuments, which still remain, on the shores of this northern Mediterranean, are obviously the works of a prior people, though the Scandian scholars suppose them to be the durable remains of the gigantic children of the mythological Woden.

From philology we know, rather than from history, that the Angles, the Jutes, and the Saxons, were Gothic tribes, who were indistinctly seen on the southern shores of the Baltic, soon after the Christian æra (*g*). There elapsed three centuries and a half of internal associations, and of maritime enterprizes, before the Saxon tribes became intimately known to the Roman world. Their incursions, on the Roman boundaries, were at length felt. And, in 368 A.D. Theodosius, repeatedly, defeated the Saxon fleets, with such superiority of genius, and efficacy of advantage, that the Gothic navies did not soon infest the British seas. Yet, the Saxon adventurers were not altogether suppressed. And, they contributed, by their various irruptions, to enforce the abdication of the Roman authority, in the British island.

(*e*) Arrian, book i. ch. iii. ; book. iv. ch. i. ; Q. Curtius, book ii.

(*f*) See the two Maps, which are prefixed to Rennel's Geographical System of Herodotus.

(*g*) The fact is inferible, from the notices of Gibbon, the intimation of Tacitus, and the informations of Ptolomy : but, it is from Hicks's Thesaurus, Somner, and Lye's, Saxon Dictionaries, Ihre's *Glossarium-Suio-gothicum*, and the Icelandic word-books, that we must learn how many differences, and shades of discrimination, there are, between the several dialects of the Gothic tongue. A comparison of Wachter's German Glossary, with Ihre's Suio-Gothic Glossary, would show clearly that, in the German tongue, there is much Celtic, but, in the Swedish, none : Somner, and Lye, contain some Celtic words ; but, the topography of Orkney, and Shetland, two countries, which were settled by emigrants from Scandia, exhibit none of the Celtic words, that have been introduced into the Anglo-Saxon ; such as the *Dun*, and the *Tun*. See *Mem. Litteraires*, 1750, p. 102-4, for the origin of the Saxons.

The memorable epoch of the first entrance, by a Gothic people, into Britain, is A.D. 449. The Angles, at that troublous period, arrived. They were followed, soon after, by a body of their confederates, who debarked on the Forth, within the Ottadinian country. This land, like every other district of South, and North Britain, was then divided among many chiefs, who little merited the praise of Urien, the gallant prince of Reged, “that he was the prompt defender of his neighbourhood (*b*).” At that sad epoch, disunion was the evil star of Britain. Conducted by it, the superior vigour of the Saxons universally prevailed, though the more enervated Britons opposed them, with persevering bravery. The country of the Ottadini was rather over-run than subdued. And, the invaders are said to have even formed settlements among them, along the Forth, almost as far as the northern wall (*i*). The Saxons are supposed to have soon made a peace with the Picts (*k*). As neither history, nor tradition, speaks of any conflict between them, on that occasion, we may infer, that the invaders did not direct either their attacks, or their views, to the northward of the Forth. The bloody struggles of the south, during a century, occupied, perhaps, all the energies of the Saxon invaders.

The year 547 is the epoch of the invasion of Ida, one of the most vigorous children of the fictitious Woden (*l*). To his talents, and successes, the Northumbrian monarchy owes its foundation, at the same interesting date. Talorg then ruled among the Picts. Gauran governed the Scoto-Irish. And both those reguli were protected against the enmity, and envy of Ida, by the intervening barrier of the Forth, and Clyde. Rydderech was then supreme in Strathcluyd. Walluain, at the same time, acted as the gallant chief of the Novantes, on the Solway. And, Urien, the *cherisher of Bards*, the protector of Aeron, reigned, meanwhile, in the hearts of the Cumbrians (*m*). Ida brought with him no scald, that could compare with Aneurin, or Taliesin, with Merlin, or Llywarch, who deplored, in sublime strains, the misfortunes of their country, from the invasions of strangers (*n*). Such poets, as the British, Europe could not, in that age, indeed,

(*b*) Owen’s Llywarch Hên.

(*i*) Nennius, ch. xxxvi; Gildas, ch. xxiii: The struggles of the Britons, in defence of their country against their invaders, may be seen more distinctly, from a view of the Catrail, and other fences of that nature, than in the obscure hints of such delusive writers.

(*k*) Bede, lib. i. ch. xv.

(*l*) Saville’s Chronologia ap. Scriptores post Bedam; Flor. Wigorn. p. 218. sub A° 547.

(*m*) Urien was celebrated by Taliesin, in several admirable odes; Welsh Archaiol. v. i.

(*n*) See the Gododin of Aneurin, a chieftain of the Ottadini; Welsh Archaiol. v. i.

supply,

supply, whether we consider their invention, or energy, the flow of their versification, or the copiousness of their language (*o*).

At Flamborough, Ida landed, in 547, without opposition. As he seems to have acted, from a previous design, he soon pointed his flaming sword to the north. The gallant efforts of Dutigern, the chief of the Ottadini, did not prevent the invading foe, from carrying victory with him to the Forth. It was probably, on this invasion, that the battle of *Cattraeth* was fought, wherein Aneurin shared the misfortunes; and, by his poetry, has perpetuated the remembrance (*p*).

But, Ida was recalled into the south, by an attack on Deira, which, though it was the seat of his authority, he had left insecure. It was Urien, “the shield of his country,” who had hastened from Cumbria, on the west, to succour his neighbourhood, in Deira, on the east (*q*). Yet, the conduct, and valour, of Ida, extended the Saxon conquests, notwithstanding the gallantry, and the vigour, of Urien (*r*). The victorious career of Ida was stopt, in 559, by the vengeful sword of the valorous Owen, when the Northumbrian monarchy had been extended along the coast, from the Humber to the Forth.

The successes, and the fame, of Ida, seem to have induced the Britons, in the west of Valentia, to draw their slight ties of connection closer together. Their associations contributed, perhaps, to their safety, while Aella, the successor of Ida, turned his hostile eyes to the south. They now remained a while quiet. But, the activity, and vigour, of Ethelfrid, decided their fate. He defeated the Scoto-Irish Aidan, at *Dawstane* (*s*), in 603. The conqueror signalized his recent triumph on the borders of the neighbouring *Selgovæ*. The bravest efforts of their gallant chiefs could not suspend their destiny. And the western Britons acknowledged the superior union, and energy, of the Saxon people (*t*).

Ethelfrid himself fell a sacrifice to civil discord, in 617; when Edwin, the most potent of the Northumbrian kings, immediately assumed his sceptre, and soon exercised his sword. History has recorded the extent of Edwin's conquests:

(*o*) The energetic effusions of the British Poets, in that age, turn almost wholly on the misfortunes of their country, which involved their own. See *Welsh Archaology*, v. i.

(*p*) The remembrance of this conflict is also preserved, perhaps, in that remarkable remain, which is known by the name of the *Catrail*, and is often mentioned, by the name of *Pickswork-ditch*. See before, book ii. ch. ii.

(*q*) Whit. Manch. v. ii. p. 75.

(*r*) Ib. 75-6.

(*s*) Usher's Primord. 1154: For the site of *Dawstane*, in *Lidisdale*, see the Map of Roxburghshire.

(*t*) Bede, lib. i. ch. 34; Malmsbury, fo. 64; Whit. Manch. v. ii. p. 94.

and,

and, tradition has spoken of the terror of his fame. Not only the Britons, and English, the Scots, and the Picts, but even the most distant islanders, are said, by the voice of panegyrick, to have feared his arms, and to have adored his power (*a*). The metropolis of North-Britain owes its castle to his policy, and its appellation to his name. Edwins-burgh never had the honour of being a Roman station, though a Roman road, certainly, passed on either side of its remarkable site. Neither before the rise of the Roman authority, nor after its extinction, does that city appear to have been a British *Din*, or fort. And, probability attests what circumstances confirm, that this commodious rock was formed, by a Saxon prince, into a *burgh*, or fortification, during the Anglo-Saxon conflicts, for a doubtful frontier (*b*).

The rashness of its founder, which exposed him to the sword of Penda, involved his family in distress, and his kingdom in anarchy. Yet, the northern frontier, on the Forth, seems to have remained where Edwin had placed it, during the reigns of Oswald, that succeeded Edwin, in 634; and of Oswi, who followed Oswald, in 643; and who, having chastised the Scots, and overrun the Picts, left his rights, and his warfare, to Egfrid, in 671 A. D. (*c*). At this epoch, the Northumbrian kings appear to have pushed their conquests, and established their power, from sea to sea: and, the city of Carlisle was completely theirs, till it was given, by Egfrid, to Cuthbert, in 685 A. D. (*d*).

The inconsiderate valour of Egfrid was crowned, with unmerited success, in several enterprises. He is supposed to have vanquished the Picts, in 679 (*e*). He is said to have sent an expedition, under Berht, against the unoffending Irish, in 684, the effects of which are still remembered, with indignation, by the Irish antiquaries (*f*). And, in 685, he marched against the Picts, in opposition to the remonstrances of his eoldermen, and the foreboding of his bishops (*g*). The torch enlightened his route. He probably passed the Forth

(*a*) Bede, l. ii. ch. v. vi. ix.; Malmsbury, p. 18.

(*b*) A full discussion of the origin of Edinburgh, with its name, will be given in the local history; wherein it will appear, after considering all circumstance, that Edinburgh is merely the burgh of Edwin.

(*c*) Bede, l. ii. cap. v. l. iii. cap. xxiv.

(*d*) Bede's Life of Cuthbert, ch. xxvii.; and Smith's Bede, p. 782.

(*e*) Eddius, vit. Wilfrid, cap. xvii.

(*f*) Bede, l. iv. cap. xxvi.; Flor. Wigorn, p. 254; Ogygia, p. 40, 230; Ogygia Vindicated, h. xiii.

(*g*) Bede, l. iv. cap. xxvi.; Sax. Chron. p. 45; Flor. Wig. 255; Sim. Dunelm. p. 5. They all agree, that Egfrid marched against the *Picts*: it was the continuator of Nennius alone, who said, that Bredei, the king of the Picts, slew Egfrid, the Northumbrian king. Usher's Prim. 1167.

below Abercorn; and he now plunged into the defiles of Pictavia. In his rage, he burnt Tula-Aman, and Dun-Olla (*b*). He was now led, by his imprudence, to pass the dangerous Tay into Angus. In the meantime, Bredei, the Pictish king, had summoned his warriors, to oppose the approach of the adventurous foe. The Picts hastened from every mountain, and from every marsh, to surround their destructive enemy. At length, the two kings met, in the *tug of war*, at *Nechtan's-mere*, near Dun-Nechtan, the Dun-nichen of the present day (*i*). And, on the 20th of May 685 A. D. the Saxon army was defeated, and the Northumbrian king was slain, by the valourous hand of Bredei, who did not long survive his triumph. Few of Egfrid's army returned, says Malmsbury, to relate his sad disaster: the piety of Adamnan opened a grave, for the restless Egfrid, in Iona, the sacred cemetery of the Scots, the Picts, and the Saxons. So complete was his overthrow, that his government shrunk up to the south of

(*b*) Ulster Annals: in North-Britain, there are only two Amon waters; the Amon, in Lothian, which was then, within the Saxon territories; and, the Amon, in Perthshire, in the very heart of the Pictish country: it was here, that Tula-Amon stood, of which there is neither remain, nor remembrance, except in the Ulster Annals. Dun-Olla was also in the land of the Picts; as Talorgan, the son of Drastan, was made prisoner, in 733, near the *fortress* of *Ola*; though, as we also learn from the Ulster Annals, there was a Dun-Olla, on the west coast of Lorn.

(*i*) Fruitless inquiries have hitherto been made, for the true site of this important battle. The Saxon Chronicle records this defeat to have happened "be northen sae," *juxta mare boreali*, explains Gibson, Chron. p. 45, *benorth* the Scottish sea, or Forth, says the context. Simeon of Durham restricts the field of battle to *Nechtan's-mere*, (i. e.), *Stagnum Nechtani*, p. 5. Tigernach talks of this conflict, as "Cath Duin-Nechtan." Ogygia Vindicated, p. 198. The Ulster Annals speak of this disastrous field, as "*bellum Duin-Nechtan*:" and, Johnstone has absurdly translated this passage the battle of *Drum-Nechtan*. All circumstances thus point to the parish of *Dunnichen*, which was of old called Dun-Nechtan, and which we learn from William's Charter to Arbroath, was the scene of this great event. *Din-Nechtan* signifies, in the British speech, the *fort* of Nechtan, which is obviously the *Duin-Nechtan* of the Irish annalists; the *Dun* of the Irish language, whereof *Duin* is an inflection, signifying equally a *fortress*. The remains of this ancient strength may still be seen upon an eminence, on the south side of the *hill* of *Dunnichen*, which is, to this day, called *Cashili*, or *Castle-hill*. Stat. account, v. i. p. 419. In the neighbourhood of *Dunnichen*, there are several sepulchral tumuli, some of which, on being opened, were found to contain human bones, in rough stone coffins. Id. The nearest hill to *Dunnichen* is called *Dun-barrow*, the hill of the barrow, which denotes the sad effects of an ancient conflict. The *Nechtan's-mere* of Simeon was a small lake, near the church of *Dunnichen*, on the east, which was drained for its marle, or its fuel, about forty years ago. Ib. 420; and Ainslie's Map of *Forfarshire*. The church, and village, of *Dunnichen*, are situated on the side of a hill, the ridge whereof is 700 feet above the level of the sea, in the middle of Angus, about ten miles, *north*, from the frith of Tay, and twelve miles, *west*, from the German ocean. Ainslie's Map of Forfar. William, the Lion's, charter, to the monks of Aberbrothock, calls this parish, by the name of *Dun-Nechtan*: this fact is decisive, with regard to the Dun-Nechtan, where this important battle was fought. Chart. of Arbroath.

the

the Tweed. The Scots were freed from the terror of his name. The Strath-cluyd Britons resumed their ancient rights. And the limits of the Northumbrian kingdom never regained their former extent; nor did the power of the Northumbrian rulers ever acquire its recent ascendancy; though the *Angles* remained within their appropriate territory, without distinctly acknowledging, perhaps, any particular sovereign (*k*).

The learned Alfrid, immediately, succeeded the vanquished Egfrid; and he was followed, by the infant Osred, in 705 A. D. (*l*). The Saxons, meantime, tried, in 699, to revenge their late defeat on the Picts: but, though they were conducted by the experienced Berht, they were again repulsed by Bredei, the son of Dereli (*m*). The Picts appear to have been induced, by a recollection of their victories, or a sense of their valour, to advance into the Northumbrian territories, during the year 710, as far as the wall of Severus: but, the Saxon leader, Beorhtfryth, marched out with the Northumbrians against the invaders; and defeated them, upon the Tine, between Hæfe and Caere, in a sharp conflict, wherein Bredei, the Pictish king, was slain (*n*). Osred was succeeded in the distracted government of the Northumbrians, A. D. 716, by Kenred; and the new king was followed, at the end of two wretched years, by Osríc, who established the bishoprick of Candida Casa, in 723; and appointed Pechtwin, for its first prelate (*o*). Ceolwulf succeeded Osríc, in his dangerous charge, during the year 729; and Ceolwulf was followed, in 738, by Eadbert, whose vigour protracted his government twenty years. After that overthrow of the Picts, in 710 A. D. the Saxon inhabitants of Lothian remained a long while unmolested; and the Pictish frontier continued many years quiet; though Eadbert is said to have warred with the Picts, in 740 A. D. under the able rule of Ungus (*p*).

On the wetsern side of Valentia, the encroaching Saxons displayed their power, near the Shore of the Solway, and on the banks of the Clyde. They carried their arms, into Kyle, and Cunningham, where they fixed their settlements, in the

(*k*) Sax. Chron. p. 45; Bede, l. iv. ch. xxvi. At that epoch, Bede marks, very distinctly, the boundary, between the Picts, and English, by the Forth; and states, explicitly, that Abercorn, on the frith, was within the English country.

(*l*) Savill's Chronologia.

(*m*) Sax. Chron. 49; Bede, lib. v. ch. xxiv.

(*n*) Sax. Chron. 50; Huntingdon, fol. 193; and for the place, where the battle was fought, see the map, which is prefixed to Gibson's Sax. Chronicle. The Annals of Ulster state this battle to have been fought in *Campo Manan*.

(*o*) Savill's Chronologia: Usher's Prim. 1170.

(*p*) Smith's Bede, p. 224; Savill's Chronologia.

year 750, under the active Eadbert (*q*). And, in conjunction with the Picts, the Northumbrians, under the same able leader, sacked Alcluyd, the ancient seat of the Cumbrian government, in 756 (*r*). His sceptre was successively held by Osulf, Ethelwald, and by other feeble monarchs: but, as Ethelred was slain, by the dagger of insurrection, in 794, an anarchy ensued, which distracted the affairs, and enfeebled the power of Northumberland, during three-and-thirty years (*s*). Northumberland was, thenceforth, governed by earls, who tried to rule a distracted people, under the sovereign authority of the English kings. Of the Northumbrian weakness, North-Britain enjoyed the benefit: during this calm, the Cruithne of Ulster, who had made frequent incursions on the frith of Clyde, formed, at length, a lasting settlement, on the coast of Galloway (*t*). From the distraction of their southern neighbours, the Picts enjoyed the tranquillity, which their gallantry merited; the Strathcluyde Britons derived quiet, from the insignificance, which their frequent defeats had induced; the Scoto-Irish possessed the security, which their mountains, and their friths, ensured them, during many years of restless, but obscure, enjoyment: and, the Saxons, throughout Lothian, the Bernicia of that period, remained, in the meanwhile, without the perturbation of civil, or of foreign war. Yet, if we were to believe the English chroniclers, Edgar, the powerful king of England, over-ran those countries, in 828 A.D. and enforced the submission of those several nations (*u*). The Anglo-Saxons, during the Pictish period, left every where, within the southern districts of North-Britain, indubitable traces of their conquests, of their settlements, and of their language, in the Gothic names of some places, on the Solway, and many, between the Forth, and Tweed.

In that country, which extends from the Tweed, along the Frith, to the Avon, perhaps to the wall of Antonine; and which is bounded, generally, on the west, by the dividing heights, the Anglo-Saxons settled, in some districts of it, as early as 450, and continued their devious residence, within its narrow limits, to the present times; though the rule of their native princes was undoubtedly lost, in 685, and never was completely regained. Yet, the Picts, as they had never enjoyed this fine country along the southern side of the Forth,

(*q*) Smith's Bede, p. 224; Camden, edit. 1694, p. 630.

(*r*) Simeon of Durham, p. 106; Usher's Primord, p. 819, 820.

(*s*) Savill's Chronologia; Usher's Primord. 667, 1172.

(*t*) Camden, in Scotia; Usher's Primord, p. 666-7, 1172.

(*u*) Sax. Chron. p. 72; Florence Wigorn. p. 289. The acuteness of Turner perceived, that those pretended conquests were too extensive, and too inconsistent, with the general tenor of history, to have ever happened. Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, v. i. p. 365-6.

neither possessed, nor claimed it, after the fall of the Saxon power. For the sovereignty of this country, two nations long contended: for its identity, and its name, divers antiquaries have disputed, with fiercer warfare. Had the disputants explained their own terms, there could have been neither contest, nor doubt, about the location of the district, which was called, with the inaccuracy of the middle ages, *Laudonia*, *Laodonia*, *Lodonia*, *Lauthian*, *Louthian*, *Lothian*, *Lawdian*, *Lothene* (x).

The origin, and meaning, of this name, have puzzled all the antiquaries. Neither in the British, nor in the Roman times, had this district such a name as *Lothene*, *Lothian*, *Lodonia*, or *Laudonia*: and, we may, from this circumstance, infer, that the appellation, in whatever form, was imposed by the Gothic people, who took possession of the country, on the abdication of the Roman power. Buchanan, indeed, informs us, that *Lothian* was so named from *Lothus*, a king of the Picts: he did not inquire, it seems, whether such a king of the Picts had ever any existence (y). A late historian translates the difficult expression, *Lothene*,

(x) For the identity, and position, of *Lothian*, it is in vain to enquire of Chroniclers, who are sometimes ignorant, and inattentive, and often partial, and factious, when its position may be ascertained, from records. In one of the Scottish Edgar's charters to the monks of St. Cuthbert, he granted *Coldingham*, "et omnes illas terras quas habent in *Lodoneo*." Anderson's *Independence*, App. No. 20. In other charters, Edgar the king of Scots, who died in 1107, granted divers churches, houses, and lands, in the same country. *Ib.* No. 1, 3, 4, 5. In a charter of Robert, the bishop of St. Andrews, dated in 1124, the church of *Coldingham* was regranted to the prior of St. Cuthbert of Durham, "alie alique ecclesie que fuerint in *Lothonie*." Smith's *Bede*, App. No. 20. In a charter of Arnold, the bishop of St. Andrew's, 1160-61, Gospatric, the Earl of Merch, is called *Comite de Laodonia*. By the contract of marriage between Alexander II. and Joanna, the daughter of John, dated the 18th of June 1221, Rymer's *Foed.* v. i. p. 252, *Jedworth*, and its pertinents, *Lessudden*, and its pertinents, are settled on the queen, with *Kyngar*, and *Carel*, "in *Scotia*:" among other witnesses, there are *William Cumin*, *Com. de Buchan*, *Justiciarius Scotie*, and *Walter Olifard*, *Justiciarius Laodonei*. This record demonstrates, that *Scotia*, and *Laodonia*, were then distinct, as they had always been, and long continued. In the year 1091, says the *Saxon Chronicle*, *Gib. Ed.* 197, *Malcolm* came out of Scotland into *Lothene*, in England. From this example, of considering *Lothene*, as in England, the English writers carried up the limits of England even to *Stirling*. *Tyrrel's Gen. Hist.* v. iii. p. 63. In the curious tract, *De Situ Albanie*, which *Innes* published, from the *Colbertine* library, *Crit. Essay*, App. No. 1. and which is supposed to have been drawn up by *Giraldus Cambrensis*, it is expressly said, 1118, that the *Forth*, "aqua Scottorum, regna Scottorum et Anglorum dividit." There is a proverb in *Renfrewshire*: "Out of Scotland into *Largs*:" the *Clyde* being the southern boundary, in early ages, whoever crossed the frith, and landed on the opposite shore, went out of Scotland into *Largs*, as *Malcolm* came out of Scotland into *Lothene*. For the origin, and meaning, of those distinctions, we must constantly refer to the events, which occurred, in the long period from A. D. 446 to 843, whereof much is said, in the present Book.

(y) *Arbuth.* Ed. fo. 5. In fact, the *Pictish Chronicle* shows, that there was never a King *Lothus*, or *Loth*, among the Picts.

into

into the unmeaning words, “Army Province (z),” which have not any appropriate application. But, in the Teutonic language of the German jurists, *Lot-ting*, *Lotbing*, *Lodding*, signified a special jurisdiction on the Marches; a signification, that certainly applies very appositely to the nature of a district on a dubious frontier (a). The country, extending from the confluence of the Tweed to the Forth, and along its shore to the Avon, was called, by the inaccurate writers of the middle ages, *Lodoneium*, or *Lothien* (b). It was denominated by Nennius, or his interpolator, *Provincia Lodonesie* (c). In those remote times, then, did this district begin to be known, as a distinct territory, which continued, for ages, to be governed, under a peculiar authority, whence it derived its appropriate appellation of *Lothian*.

(z) Henry’s Hist. of Great-Britain, v. ii. p. 208.

(a) See Halteus’s Gloss. Germanicum Medii Aevi, in Articulo. In the same manner, *thing-stow*, in the Anglo-Saxon, signifies *judicii exercendi locus*: so the tri-things *erant tertia pars provinciae*: to these, appeals were made in such causes as could not be determined, in the Wapentakes. Thoresby’s Leeds, p. 85. In Orkney, the Senate, or general Head Court, was called, in the ancient language of the country, *Lawting*.

(b) Camden’s Brit. Ed. 1607. p. 685.

(c) Nennius Ed 1758, ch lxii: yet, is it never mentioned by Bede, under this appropriate name: he distinguishes the whole range of country, from the Humber to the Avon, under two names, *Deira*, and *Bernicia*, the latter comprehending the Ottadinian country; as the same districts had been distinguished under the same names before, by Aneurin, and Nennius. See Smith’s Bede, App. No. 2. with the map annexed. The writer of the Chronicle, No. 3. in Innes’s Appendix, from the Colbertine library, speaking of the frequent invasions of the country, lying between the Forth and Tweed, calls it *Saxonia*, as if he had been unacquainted with the name of *Lothian*: the Chronicler was followed, in calling this district *Saxonia*, during a latter age, by Higden. Polychron, p. 210. Simeon of Durham describes *Lothene* very distinctly, under the year 1020; the Saxon Chronicler mentions the same *Lothene*, in 1091; and Florence of Worcester, afterwards speaks of the same country, as *Provincia Loidis*. Upon the whole, it is apparent that, this district was scarcely known, by the name of *Lothene*, or *Lothian*, during the ninth century; but was recognized, in the subsequent age, by this singular name of very obscure origin.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Orkney, and Shetland, Isles.

THOSE islands, which lie at no great distance, on the north, and north-east, of Britain, became distinctly known to the learned world, during the first century (*a*). They were at least discovered, if they were not subdued, by the Roman fleet, which circumnavigated the British island, in Agricola's memorable campaign of 84 A. D.: and even Thulé was, in that voyage, descried, which had hitherto been hid under eternal snows (*b*). The name of *Orcades* formed a classic term, during classical times. The islands, and their appellation, became familiar to the Romans, from their communications with the *Celtic* inhabitants of Britain, before the Scandinavian rovers appeared, in the British seas (*c*). By the British people, those islands were called *Orc*: one of the three principal isles of Britain, which are mentioned by the Welsh Triads, is *Orc*: and, *Orc* is the *Orcades*, or *Orkneys*, in Davis, and Richards' Welsh Dictionaries. *Orch*, in the British, signifies what is outward, *extreme*, or *bordering*: this term, *Orc*, was strikingly applicable to the situation of those isles, during the British period (*d*). *Ynys*, *Enys*, and *Inis*, are the well-known words, in the British, Cornish, and Gaelic languages, for an island: hence, those islands came, in

(*a*) Pliny, l. iv. cap. 16.; Mela, l. iii. cap. 6.

(*b*) Tacitus's Life of Agricola, § x. Tacitus conceals, under eloquent expressions, his real ignorance of the previous knowledge of Thulé. The learned have employed much erudition, and some research, to ascertain the Thulé of the ancients. Pytheas of Marseilles, who lived in the age of Aristotle, appears to have applied that famous name to Iceland, with which he seems to have been acquainted. The existence of Iceland came, however, to be unknown, before the days of Ptolomy. And the Egyptian geographer transferred the name of *Thulé* to the Shetland isles, without knowing, that the same appellation had been, previously, applied to the more northern Iceland. Even D'Anville, by not attending to those intimations, has fallen into mistakes, on this subject. Gosselin's *Geograph. des Grecs*, p. 128; Gosselin's *Recherches sur la Géographie des Anciens*, tom. ii. p. 3, 35, 70.

(*c*) The name of *Orcades* is supposed, by Claudian, who was a better poet, than philologist, to be derived from the *Greek*.

(*d*) Owen's Dictionary.

subsequent

subsequent times, to be variously denominated *Orcades*, *Orcadia*, *Orchadia*, *Orchades*, *Orkenies*, *Orkneys* (*e*).

There is reason to believe, that the Orkney isles were planted, during early ages, by the posterity of the same people, who settled Western Europe. The stone monuments, which still remain, plainly establish that obscure truth (*f*). Yet, owing probably to some physical cause, the original people seem to have disappeared, in some period of a prior date to our common era (*g*). During the intelligent age of Solinus, those islands were supposed to be uninhabited; and to be “only the haunt of seals, and orcs, and “sea mews, clang (*h*).”

It was from that circumstance, perhaps, that the Orkneys derived their modern name; *Ork*, or *Oerck*, signifying, in the Danish, if we may believe Wolf, a *Desert*, or uninhabited place, and *Oee*, or *Oee*, or *Ey*, an *Isle*: and hence, the *Ork-eyes* came to signify, the uninhabited isles (*i*). Such is the name,

(*e*) The largest of the Orkney isles was called *Orc*, as we may learn from the MS. Celtic Remains, v. ii. p. 234. By the Gaelic people of the neighbouring coast, the *Orcades* are said to have been called *Inis-Orc*, or *Inis-Torc*. Macpherson's *Fingal*, p. 6; Smith's *Sean Dana*, p. 160.

(*f*) Pennant's *Arctic Zoology*, p. 34. “The flint heads of Arrows,” says he, “flint axes, “swords made of the bone of a whale, must be referred to the earliest inhabitants, at a period, in “which these kingdoms were on a level with the natives of the new discovered south-sea-islands.” Druidical circles of stones, he adds, the temples of primæval religion, in our island, are not uncommon. See Wallace's *Description of the Orkneys*, ch. iii.; and King's *Munimenta Antiqua*, p. 198. And, see b. ii. ch. i. § 2. The curious fact, that Druid remains, and stone monuments, exist; and that celts, and flint-arrow heads, have been found, in the Orkney islands; while none of these have ever been discovered, in the Shetland islands; evinces, that the same Celtic people, who colonized South, and North, Britain, also penetrated into the Orkney, but not into the Shetland, islands: and this fact also shews, that those several antiquities owe their origin to the Celts, who early colonized the Orkney isles alone, and not to the Scandinavians, who equally colonized both the Orkney, and the Shetland, Islands.

(*g*) A tradition came down to the fifteenth century, that two nations, which were denominated *Peti*, or *Papé*, inhabited the Orkneys, during ages, before the recent arrival of the Scandinavians. Wallace's *Account of the Orkney Isles*, 1700, p. 121. Scarcely any of the names of places, in Shetland, and Orkney, are *Celtic*: they are all Teutonic, in the Scandinavian form. From these facts, we may infer, that the original settlers had long disappeared, before the epoch of the new colonization, by the Scandinavian rovers. Scandinavia itself was, in the same manner, originally settled by the Celts, who were the giants of Rudbeck.

(*h*) Solinus, cap. 34; Richard, l. i. cap. viii.

(*i*) Wolf's *Danish Dictionary*: In Ichthyology, indeed, *Orc*, and *Orca*, signify a monstrous sea-fish; and the Latin *Orca* means a sort of great fish: so the name of Orkney may be possibly derived from *Orc*, with the Scandinavian *ey*, an *isle*, annexed to it.

which

which was probably imposed, by the Scandinavian adventurers of the middle ages. From the same people, the neighbouring islands derived, undoubtedly, the various names of Zetland, Hetland, Skettland, Shetland, as they were viewed by various persons, from different points (*k*): they were called *Zett-land* by the rovers, who considered those islands as *dispersed*, or *separated* lands: they were denominated Hetland, by the navigators, who fixed their attention to the *heights*, which were seen far from the sea (*l*).

During the effluxion of two centuries, those desert isles became the harbours of the ferocious seamen of Northern Europe. In A. D. 366, the great Theodosius pursued the Saxon fleet into the usual haunts of those enterprising pirates; and, he is said, in the language of panegyric, to have stained the Orkneys, with the bloody streams of Saxons slain (*m*).

The Orkneys were settled by the Scandinavians, before the age of Columba, who found one of their chiefs, at the residence of Bridei the Pictish king; and who sent his missionaries to illuminate the darkness of those benighted islands (*n*). We may easily suppose, that the Orcadian isles were thinly inhabited, and little cultivated, during a period, rather of naval enterprizes, than of domestic industry. The adventurers, from the hope of plunder, frequently invaded the coasts of *Pictavia*: but, they were vigorously repulsed, by Bridei, the Pictish king, who is said to have pursued them into their usual retreats, amidst their

(*k*) Sibbald's Description of Sheland, p. 1; *Specimen Islandiæ Chorographicum*, p. 2.; "Hetlandia, " Hietland, Vernacule, male Schetland."

(*l*) Wachter's Germ. Gloss. in vo. *Zetten*, *Spargere*, *Dispergere*: hence, *Zett-land*. Hæt, signifying, in the Islandic, *Altitudo*. Andreas's Dictionary; Hicks's Thesaurus. *Hat*, in the old German, signified *altus*, *excelsus*. Wachter. Hence, *Hat-land*, the high, or lofty, land. The mountains, and head lands, of Shetland, naturally, suggested this etymological notion to a naval people: at the southern end of the main island, there are Fitfiell-head, signifying the white mountain, and the Sumberg-head, from the Scandinavian *berg*, a hill: and, at the north end, there is a high mountain, named Ronas-hill, with a continued chain of hills, running between the two.

(*m*) In celebrating the victory of Theodosius, Claudian remarks, among other topicks of poetic praise,

" ————— Maduerunt Saxone fusio
" Orcades; incaluit Pictorum Sanguine Thule,
" Scotorum Cumulus flevit glacialis Ierne."

(*n*) Adamnan's Life of Columba, lib. ii. cap. xl. xlii.; Innes's MS. Eccles. Hist. § 52. Bridei, the son of Mailcon, reigned from A. D. 556 to 586.

islets, and shoals (*o*). During the additional lapse of two centuries, they undoubtedly received many congenial colonists, who were driven into exile, by the frequent perturbations of their common country. The Scandinavian settlers of the Orkneys, probably, yielded little subjection to any sovereign, and paid still less obedience to any government, while the sea-kings reigned over the German ocean, and domineered over the Hebude isles, during many a wretched age (*p*).

(*o*) Tigernach ; and the Ulster Annals, under the year 681 : Bridei, the son of Beli, reigned from 674 to 695 A. D.

(*p*) Torfæus *Orcades*, ch. ii.

CHAP. V.

Of the Western Isles, or Hebrides.

THE stone monuments, which still exhibit, in those Isles, specimens of the labour, and genius, of the first ages, attest the Hebrides to have been planted, by the same Celtic people, who settled South, and North-Britain (*a*). The same Druid temples, the same cairns, the same cromlechs, evince, that the same people erected the same monuments, in the same age. The maritime people, who engaged in predatory expeditions to those islands, during subsequent times, had neither leisure, for such peaceful labours, nor inclination, for such lasting memorials.

The western isles were known to the Roman geographers, during the first century, by the name of the Hæbudes (*b*). This appellation, the etymology of which has defied conjecture, has been converted, in modern times, into *Hebrides*, by the blunder of transcription, or the error of typography. Those isles were seen, rather than explored, by the Roman fleet, which circumnavigated the British island, in A.D. 84, by the command of Agricola. And, they afterwards had the honour to be described by Ptolomy, from the local informations of the Roman officers.

During the period of the Roman government, in Britain, the Hebudes were governed, like Caledonia, by many petty chieftains, who were connected only by the slight ties of a common religion, and language, and of similar customs, and habits: but, they owed no subjection to a superior, and scarcely acknowledged the connection, arising from the same language, the same religion, and the same usages, which pointed to a common origin, without allowing a common government. Yet, the descendants of the original colonists could have

(*a*) See before, book ii. ch. i.; Martin's *Western Isles*, p. 8, 9—220; Pennant's *Tour to the Hebrides*, p. 180—357; *Munimenta Antiqua*, p. 145. 147. 245; *Mona Antiqua*, p. 84—94; Borlase's *Cornwall*, 205—231; Gough's *Camden*, v. iii. p. 174—190; *Archæiol.* v. vii. p. 107; *ib.* v. vi. p. 113—14.

(*b*) Mela, lib. iii. cap. vi. calls them *Haemodal*; Pliny, lib. iv. c. xvi; Ptolomy edit. Bertius, p. 34.

been

been only few, at the epoch of the abdication of the Roman government; owing to the barrenness of the soil, the infelicity of the climate, and the want of commerce (*c*). And, they became the prey, during several ages, of every predatory tribe, who navigated those seas, either in quest of plunder, or in search of settlements.

In giving an account of the second colonization of the Hebrides, which was made, from opposite shores, by different lineages of men, it is necessary, for the purpose of distinctness, to consider those isles under their natural divisions, in two separate ranges; the *interior*, and *exterior*, Hebrides. Without such distinctions, archæology tries, in vain, to illustrate their obscurities.

1. The interior range of the Hebrides stretches along the western shore of North-Britain, from Ilay, on the south, to Skye, on the north; comprehending the intermediate islands of Mull, Jura, Colonsay, Lismore, Tiree, Coll, Egg, Muck, Canay, Rasay, with a number of adjacent islets; and with this division, may be classed the islands of Bute, Arran, and the Cumbrays, within the Frith of Clyde.

2. The exterior range of the Hebrides, which lies much farther out in the western ocean, consists of the Lewis, Harris, North-Uist, South-Uist, Barra, Watersay, and of a number of adjacent islets; forming a continued chain, from north to south, of one hundred and forty miles.

During the sixth, the seventh, and the eighth centuries, the *interior* Hebrides were settled by Gaelic colonists, many of whom migrated directly, from Ireland, and still more, from the Irish settlements, in *Argyle*. *Iona*, one of the islets of this range, was given to Columba, by his relation Conal, the Scottish king, as a secure retreat, whence he could send out his missionaries, to propagate the Christian faith. The zealous Columbans soon established, in those islands, many *cells*; and in the progress of proselytism, they extended their missions, and diffused their instruction, throughout the wide extent of the Hebrides (*d*).

At

(*c*) The small number of the names of places, in the Hebrides, which can be traced to the British language, shows the paucity of the first people, at the arrival of the second colonists. There is, however, so much sameness, in the British, and Gaelic languages, that several names of places, which now appear, in the Scoto-Irish form, may have been originally applied, by the first British colonists.

(*d*) In every one of the Hebride isles, the churches, and chapels, were much more numerous, in former times, than they have been, since the Reformation. In some of the parishes of the present day, there were formerly more than twelve, or fifteen churches, or chapels, for public worship. In Harris, the walls of twelve churches are standing, and there are the ruins, and names of some others. Stat. Acco. v. x. p. 376. In the parish of Tiree and Coll, there are the remains of fifteen chapels, at some of which there are still crosses, and cemeteries. Ib. p. 401.

At the end of the eighth, and during the ninth century, the Hebrides were frequently invaded by the Norwegian pirates, who sometimes sought for settlement, but oftener prowled for prey. The same Scandinavian race, who settled in the Orkney islands, and on the coast of Cathness, extended their settlements, in the ninth century, to the *exterior* Hebrides, where they found but few of the first colonists, to resist their intrusion. A subsequent body of their countrymen followed their tracks; and succeeded, in forming settlements, on the coast of Sutherland, and around the shores of the interior Hebrides; where they tried to give stability to their settlements, and to overawe the Gaelic inhabitants, by building *Burghs*, or forts of stone (*e*). The topography, and the antiquities of the

Blaeu's Maps, N^o 42 to 48, confirm the same position. All the old churches, in the Hebrides, except some of those in Lewis, and Harris, which form the northern part of the exterior Hebrides, were dedicated to the same patron saints as those of Argyle, and other parts of Scotland, where the Scoto-Irish settled: among these, may be noticed St. Columba, Brigid, Ciaran, Adamnan, Patrick, Bar, Brandan, Chattan, Martin, Caoinach, or Kenneth, &c.: even, in Lewis, and Harris, some of the churches were dedicated to the Scoto-Irish saints, as Columba, Brigid, Ciaran, Donan, or Adamnan. Martin's W. Isles, p. 27; Stat. Acco. v. x. p. 377. The other churches, in those islands, were chiefly dedicated to the saints, in the kalender of the church of Rome. Id. The churches, throughout the Hebrides, except those of Lewis, and some in Harris, were named, in the Gaelic manner, from the Celtic *Cil*; signifying, a cell, a chapel, or church; which *Cil* was prefixed to the name of the patron saint. For the numerous names of the ancient churches, and chapels, in the Hebrides, see the Maps in Blaeu's Atlas, 1662, from 42 to 48; Langland's Map of Argyleshire; and the Topographical Dictionary, under *Kil*.

(*e*) The ruins of many of those forts still remain around the coasts of the Hebrides. They were called by the Scandinavian people, *Burghs*; by the Scoto-Irish people, they are named *Duns*; and *Dun*, in the Gaelic, is synonymous to the Scandinavian *Burg*. There is a remarkable difference, between the few Scandinavian names, on the shores of the *interior* Hebrides, and those, in the *exterior* Hebrides, and the Orkney islands, which deserves attention; as it throws a strong light on the diversity of their settlements. The most numerous class of names, in these islands, are, as in all other countries, compounded of those words, which, in the language of the colonists, signify a dwelling-place, a habitation, or settlement. The Scandinavian *Buster*, and *Busta*, which signify a dwelling-place; *Ster*, a station, or place; and *Seatur*, a seat, or settlement; appear, in a great number of the names, within the Orkney, and Shetland, islands, and in several names, on the coast of Cathness; and we also find the same terms in the Scandinavian names, within the *exterior* Hebrides; though they have been somewhat disguised by a Gaelic pronunciation. But, not one of those common terms is to be found, in the Scandinavian names, on the shores of the *interior* Hebrides, nor in those on the coast of Sutherland. In the interior Hebrides, and in Sutherland, most of the Scandinavian names terminate in *bol*, which, in that language, signifies a habitation, or dwelling-place; as in *Ski-bol*, *Em-bol*, *Skel-bol*, *Tor-bol*, *Kirka-bol*, *Arna-bol*, and *Eri-bol*, in Sutherland; *Kirka-bol*, *Cross-bol*, *Hyle-bol*, *Barra-bol*, in Three-island; *Gris-bol*, in Coll-island; *Hara-bol*, *Ella-bol*, *Eyre-bol*, *Lyre-bol*, in Ilay. These facts evince, that the scattered settlements of the northmen, on the coasts of Sutherland, and the interior Hebrides, were made,

the Hebrides, when judiciously investigated, greatly help the scanty notices of history, in tracing those obscure events, during such barbarous times. The great body of the names of places, in the Hebrides, are Gaelic, many of them are Scandinavian, and a number of them are pleonastic compounds of both those languages. In the interior range of the Hebrides, the names of places are nearly all Gaelic; there being only a few Scandinavian names, around the coasts of these islands: this fact shows, that this division of the Hebrides was colonized wholly, by the Irish, and the Scoto-Irish, before the Scandinavian rovers broke in upon them, during the ninth century: and, it also shows, that the Scandinavian people only made a few settlements, upon the shores of the *interior* range. In the *exterior* Hebrides, the greatest number of the names of places are Scandinavian, a large proportion of them are Gaelic, and many of them are pleonasms, which were formed, by prefixing Gaelic epithets to the Scandinavian appellations. In this division of the Hebride isles, the Scandinavian names are not confined to the coasts, but are spread over the interior of each island, and are even applied to mountains, and to waters. These facts demonstrate, that the Scandinavian settlers preceded the Scoto-Irish, in those distant islands; and found few of the first colonists, who could hand down their traditions, or transmit their topography; as the Scandinavian settlers new-named almost all the hills, the waters, and other great features of nature (*f*):

made, by different settlers, who spoke a somewhat different dialect of the Scandinavian tongue, from their countrymen, who had previously settled in the Orkney, and Shetland islands, and on the coast of Caithness, and within the *exterior* Hebrides. Thus does topography give her instructive intimations to history, for illustrating the obscurities of colonization, and settling the doubts of etymology.

(*f*) For those instructive truths, as to the names of places, see the several Maps of the Hebrides, in Blacu's *Atlas Scotiæ*, Ainslie's Map of Scotland, M'Kenzie's Charts of the Lewis, and of the west coast, with Langland's Map of Argyleshire: and above all, see the *Topographical Dictionary*, wherein the names of places will be found more correct, and more copious, than they are in any of those Maps: for this correctness, the public owe a favour, and I an obligation, to several of the intelligent ministers, in the Hebride isles, who communicated to me much useful suggestion, and many valuable emendations.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Scots.

THE obscurity, in which the origin of the Scottish people has always been involved, gave rise to the most absurd theories, and produced among polemicks the most obstinate disputes: their theories originated, like other systems, from inattention to facts: their disputes arose, like other conflicts of greater moment, from national competition: and these contests were continued, like other literary altercations, by controversial obstinacy.

Whether the Scots were natives in Britain, or were emigrants from Ireland, are questions, which were long contested, by the antiquarian zealots of two spirited nations. That the Scots were emigrants from Ireland is now certain, however prejudice may have tried to obscure the truth. And the distant origin of the Scots, within the sacred isle, is, at present, the only inquiry, on this head, which can engage a rational curiosity. Such is the difficulty of this disquisition, arising chiefly from the contradictoriness of previous opinions, that perhaps the truth can best be obtained, by carrying our searches backward, from subsequent certainty to previous uncertainty.

Before the year 400, the Scots had become so pre-eminent, in Ireland, that they gave their own name to the whole country, if we may credit Orosius, who flourished, as an intelligent writer, at the interesting commencement of the fifth century (a). Claudian, his poetical contemporary, fully concurs with him, when he says, in more elegant language:

“*Totum cum Scotus Hibernem—movit;*

“*Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne:*”

“When the Scots all Ireland—mov’d;

“O’er heaps of Scots, whom icy Ireland wept.”

(a) See the edition of Alfred, and Barrington: *Igbernia*, which we call *Scotland*, says he, b. i. ch. i. is surrounded, on every side, by the ocean.

It is a fact, then, that the Scots were the ruling people of Ireland, at the conclusion of the fourth century. And we have seen the Scots invade Romanized Britain, in 360 A.D. when they were repelled by Theodosius; as we learn from Ammianus Marcellinus (*b*). Curious erudition, indeed, has employed its research to investigate, when the Scots were first mentioned, in the intelligent pages of classic authors. Camden has the merit of having discovered, that Porphyry, who flourished under Dioclesian, at the close of the third century, first mentioned the *Scoticæ gentes*, the Scottish nations of the Britannic world (*c*). Eumenius, who first noticed the Picts, and who was the contemporary of Porphyry, mentions the *Hiberni*, and the *Hibernienses*, without noticing the *Scoticæ gentes*. But, Porphyry was a scholar, and a *geographer*, while Eumenius was merely a scholar, and an *orator*. It is obvious, then, that the Scots first began to appear to intelligent eyes, towards the conclusion of the third century. When Ptolomy was inquiring about the nations of the earth, during the second century, he heard nothing of the Scots (*d*). All former writers, who speak of the two British islands, J. Cæsar, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Mela, Tacitus, Pliny, Solinus; mention nothing of the *Scots*, though they severally speak of the Irish tribes: and, we may, therefore, consider it, as a moral certainty, that the Scottish people had not acquired their appropriate name, during the first, and second, centuries.

It is now time to inquire, of what *lineage*, and of what *country*, were the objects of this disquisition. The *lineage* of every people is most accurately traced in their *language*. The Scoto-Irish even now speak *Gaelic*; their pro-

(*b*) I do not concur with those writers, who speak of permanent settlements of Irish-Scots, in Scotland, during Roman times: they certainly invaded the Roman province, on the west: but, they were continually repulsed, by the decided superiority of the Roman arms: it was this circumstance, which induced those writers to speak of Scottish settlements, in North-Britain, and Scottish migrants to Ireland, in those early ages. From all my inquiries, it appears to me, that no permanent colonization of North-Britain, by the Scoto-Irish people, began till the recent period of the sixth century.

(*c*) Holland, p. 125; Gough's Camden, v. i. p. 98. Humphry Lhuyd, the Welsh antiquary, having intimated, that the Scots were first mentioned under Constantine, was attacked by Buchanan with every asperity of reproach; but, Buchanan did not himself pretend to show, when the Scots were first known to the learned world. On this occasion, Camden was induced to travel out of the common track of classic reading, for the fact. Usher concurs with Camden. Prim. p. 728. Bollandus, and Tillemont, agree, in saying, that the *Scots* were not known, as the *Irish*, till the beginning of the fourth century. Tillemont's Mem. Eccles. tom. xvi. p. 453.

(*d*) See Bertius's edition of Ptolomy; nor, is there a word, in his Map of Ireland, which looks like *Scoti*: see *Geographia Antiqua et Nova*. Tab. ii.; *Insularum Britannicarum Facies Antiqua*: nor, does the copious index to this *geographia* mention a syllable of the *Scoticæ gentes*. Richard's Map of *Hibernia* does mention the *Scotti*, long after they had been recognized by geographers

genitors,

genitors, in Ireland, always spoke *Gaelic*, the same *Gaelic*, which we see in the Irish word-books of every age: and the *Scoticæ gentes* were, therefore, a *Gaelic* people. The Scots never spoke *Teutonic*: and they were not, therefore, a Gothic people, who spoke the *Teutonic*, and not the *Gaelic* (e). The country of the Scots, as they were themselves *Gaelic*, must necessarily have been *Gaelic*.

This intimation points to Ireland, the western land, where the *Scoticæ gentes*, or Scots, were first found, by those intelligent writers, who take the most early notice of them, in the fourth, and third centuries: in those eventful times, when the Scots moved all Ireland to enterprize; and when, Ierne wept the slaughter her sons. From the foregoing proofs, it is a moral certainty of great importance, in Irish history, that Ireland, at the epoch of the introduction of Christianity into that island, was inhabited by the Scots, a *Gaelic* people, who spoke the same *Gaelic* language, which we may see in the *Gaelic scriptures*. We are, indeed, informed, by contemporary writers, that the Roman missionaries, who produced that great change, were sent to the Scots, in Ireland (f).

It is also a moral certainty, as we have seen, that Ireland was originally settled by *Gaelic* tribes, from the neighbouring coasts of Britain, during the first ages (g). Of Ireland, I will say, after every endeavour to illustrate her anti-

(e) It is not wonderful, because it is so common, to hear men, learned, and intelligent, speak nonsense, without knowing, that they speak nonsensically. How many writers are there, who inform us, that the Scots were Scythians, from Scandinavia, or Germany, though the same writers knew, that the Scots spoke *Gaelic*, and not *Gothic*. What is this, but to reason absurdly, by applying contradictory qualities to the same persons!

(f) Usher's Prim. p. 802, and 1043; Lloyd's Church Government, p. 7. 50-2, with the authorities, which they quote: Prosper, indeed, when speaking on this subject, calls Ireland the *barbarous island*, in contradistinction to the *Romanized isle* of Britain. Id. Add to those proofs the following testimonies, that Ireland was known to the intelligent world, during the middle ages, as the native land of the Scots: Pope Honorius I. who died, in 683 A.D. in writing to the Irish church, on the proper observance of Easter, addressed his epistle, "ad Scotorum gentem." Bede, lib. ii. ch. xix. And John IV. his successor, addressed a similar letter to the Irish bishops, presbyters, and abbots, by the appropriate name of *Scoti*. Id.; Flor. Wig.; Wilk. Concilia, v. i. p. 36. And Lawrence, the Archbishop of Canterbury, addressed an epistle, about the year 614, "ad Scotos Hiberniæ incolas." Usher's Veterum Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge, p. 18-22. Asser, in his Life of Alfred, says, "891 A.D. Tres Scoti ad Ælfredum ab Hibernia Veniunt." Add to all those authorities, the decision of the erudite Scheopflin, in his *Commentationes Historiæ*, cap. iii.: De Scoto-Hibernia. Bede considers Ireland, as the land of the Scots: but, he settles them in Kintire, before the epoch of Christ. Lib. i. cap. i. Adamnan, who died, in 703 A.D., mentions, in his Life of Columba, that the sacred object of his early biography sailed, from *Scotia* to Britain, and to Hyona; and from thence went back to *Scotia*.

(g) See book i. ch. i.

quities

quities has failed, what Diodorus Siculus, said of Britain, that she anciently remained free from foreign force, and untouched either by Bacchus, or Hercules, or any other heroes. Long after Britain had passed under the yokes of the Romans, and the Saxons, Ireland continued unconquered, by any foreign power, unmixed with any alien people, uncontaminated by any new manners, and unperplexed by any heterogeneous speech. As Greece, and Rome, and Scythia, have their *heroical histories*, and *mythological personages*, Ireland may well have her *milesian tales*, which have their antiquity to amuse, and their sense to instruct, rather than the *Gothic system* of late times, that is founded in self-conceit, and is disgraced by nonsense.

Yet, the Scots, who are not mentioned in classic authors, before the days of Claudian, and of Porphyry, seem to have given their obscure name to the people, and acquired the chief sway, in Ireland, before the conclusion of the third century. As there is no proof, whatever chroniclers may say, and theorists may dream, that the Scots came from *abroad*, the *Scoticae gentes* must have acquired, within their original island, a *local habitation*, and a *name*. As the inhabitants of Ireland are indiscriminately called, by classic writers, *Hyberni*, and *Scoti*, after the fourth century, we may infer, that the *Hyberni*, and *Scoti*, were the same people, under different designations. And, Camden intimates, after many conjectures, that the Scots were merely the descendants of those Britons, who of old inhabited Ireland, as Diodorus Siculus informed the world, when Ireland became first noticed, as a British isle (*b*). As the Scots were indigenous in Ireland, so was probably their name. And, from their own language, they acquired the appellation of *Sceite*, which signifies, in the Irish, *dispersed*, and *scattered*; and they thus appear to have obtained this characteristic name, from their passion for enterprize, during ages of perturbation (*i*). The Scots were originally noticed by the Roman government, as a maritime people, who infested, by their frequent incursions, the western shores of Romanized Britain: and the country of the Scots was, therefore, different from Britain. Ancient Scotland was, undoubtedly, an island, whatever theorists may have thought: and, ancient Scotland was certainly not a distinct island, from Ireland, whatever chroniclers may have said (*k*).

The

(*b*) Holland's Camden, p. 124.

(*i*) O'Brien's Dict. Ammianus Marcellinus, in speaking, lib. xxvii. of this people, intimates their qualities, when he says, "Scoti per diversi vagantes." And see the *Genuine History of the Britons*, throughout: this erudite writer proves; (1.) that the Scots came neither from Scythia, nor Spain; and, (2.) that they derived their appropriate name, from their acquired quantity of *roving*.

(*k*) The following document, which was drawn up by the accurate pen of Camden, and may be

The nearest coasts of Britain supplied the sister isle with colonists, in successive ages, and on various occasions. In the progress of settlement, and in the improvement of society, the various settlers, when association became necessary, formed themselves into a community, by the different names of *Scelte*, Scots, and *Scoti*: and, hence the island of the western ocean became known to the intelligent world, at the end of the third century, as the native country of the

be seen among his epistles, ed. 1691, p. 360, furnishes historical demonstrations of the three conclusive points, in the text:

“ Primum punctum; Antiquam Scotiam fuisse insulam:

- “ 1. Scotia proxima Britanniae insula. S. Isidorus, lib. xii. cap. vi.
- “ 2. Scotia quæ terris nihil debet. Hegesippus, lib. v. cap. xv.
- “ 3. Scotia fertilis sanctorum insula. Surius 13 Nov. & 8 Maii. Item Molanus 8 Maii.
- “ 4. De Scotorum insulâ venientes. Beda in Martyrologio 13 Nov.
- “ 5. Tota insula Scotiæ mirabatur. Theodoricus apud Surium 1 Julii. tom. vii.

“ Secundum punctum; Antiquam Scotiam à Britannia fuisse discretam:

- “ 1. Scotiæ gentis de Britannorum vicina. Hieronymus in 3 procem. in Hieremiam.
- “ 2. De Scotiâ venit in Britanniam. Beda in Appendice ad Historiam.
- “ 3. Scotensis exercitus frequenter transnavigans in Britanniam. Vita S. Patricii in Collegio Duaceno M. S.
- “ 4. Britannia Oceani insula, cui adjacet Scotia. Huchaldus apud Surium. 12 Nov.
- “ 5. Alter penè orbis Britannia cum adjacente Scotiâ. Theodoricus apud Surium tom vii. Julii i.

Tertium punctum; Antiquam Scotiam non diversam ab Ibernâ:

- “ 1. Scotia eadem & Iberniam. S. Isidorus lib. xii. cap. vi.
- “ 2. Iberniam à Scotorum gentibus habitatur. S. Orosius lib. i. p. 20.
- “ 3. Britanniae adjacet Scotia seu Iberniam. Huchaldus apud Surium 12 Nov.
- “ 4. Iberniam propria est Scotorum patria. Vita S. Columbæ in Legendario Anglicano.
- “ 5. Iberniam propria Scotorum est patria. Beda in Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. i. cap. i.
- “ 6. Scotorum, qui Iberniam insulam Britanniae proximam incolunt. Beda loco cit. lib. ii. cap. iv.
- “ 7. Scotorum tumulos flevit glacialis Iberniam. }
- “ 8. totam cum Scotus Iberniam } Claudianus.
- “ Movit, & infesto spumavit remige Tethis. }
- “ 9. De Ibernâ Scotorum insulâ venientes. Beda 13 Novemb.
- “ 10. Scotia, quæ & Iberniam dicitur. Surius ad eundem diem.
- “ 11. Scotia, quæ tunc erat Iberniam. Bozius de anno 434 in signis Ecclesiæ lib. viii. cap. i.
- “ 12. Scotus de Ibernâ insulâ natus. Marianus ad annum 657. de S. Kiliano.
- “ 13. Iberniam Scotorum gens incolit. Jonas in Vitâ S. Columbani.
- “ 14. Iberniam Scotorum insulam. Aimoinus lib. iv. cap. 100. & Eginardus in gestis Caroli magni.
- “ 15. Euntes in Scotiam intrent purgatorium S. Patricii. Cæsarius lib. xii. cap. xxxviii.
- “ 16. Iberniam partita in Scotos (Septentrionales & Australes) Beda lib. iii. cap. iv.

Scots;

Scots; and in after ages, by the name of Scotland (*l*): the same appellation was transferred, from Ireland to Scotland, when both had lost their original designations, amid the successive changes of unstable times.

Amidst the turbulence of rude ages, the Irish were seldom at rest. They were either occupied, in maritime excursions, against the Romanized shores of the British island, or they were agitated by domestic feuds. The northern division of Ireland, which was called, by the Irish, *Ulladh*, and by the English, *Ulster*, was particularly subject to such perturbations, owing to the pretensions of two powerful tribes. The race of the Irish, who were long known, and feared, by the name of *Cruithne*, were the most powerful clan of the north-western district of Ireland. The frequent disputes of those rival tribes, at length, called for the interposition of the Irish sovereign, at the middle of the third century. Cormac, then reigned supreme king of Ireland. In this war, Cairbre-Riada, the cousin, and general, of Cormac, conquered a territory of thirty miles extent, in the north-east corner of Ireland, which, at that disastrous epoch, was enjoyed by the *Cruithne* (*a*). This territory was now seized by Cairbre-Riada, and his followers, in the right of conquest, and by the favour of Cormac, when it was denominated, from the conqueror *Dal-Riada*, the *portion* of Riada. Over *Dalriada*, Carbre, and his posterity, continued to rule, for ages, under the constant protection of their relations, the sovereigns of Ireland (*b*). This conquest of Dalriada, at the middle of the second century, by Cairbre, sowed the seeds of many disputes, which grew up into bloody

(*l*) See Whitaker's *Genuine Hist. of the Britons*, p. 283—88; Innes's *Crit. Ess.* vol. i. p. 167—203; vol. ii. p. 401—545. The Milesian origin of the ancient Irish is now scarcely believed by Milesian fablers. The direct colonization of Ireland, from the east, is hardly credited by scholars, who know, that emigrations, were made, in early ages, by land, and not by sea. The Gothic origin of the old Irish is asserted by those, who never inquired, whether the Irish had ever spoken the *Gothic* tongue, or whether the names of places, in the map of Ireland, be significant in the *Gothic* language. In the midst of the conjectures of ignorance, and the scepticism of learning, it is curious to remark, that the great Ælfred appears to have been the first, who wrote the word *Scotland*, and applied the Anglo-Saxon term, as the name of Ireland: "On thaem ilcan wendel sæ on fyre westende is *Scotland*:" in this same Mediterranean, to the westward, is *Scotland*. Ælfred's translation of Orosius, p. 14, and the translation by Daines Barrington, p. 3. Thus, two Celtic communities were destined, by a singular fortune, to derive a lasting name, from an Anglo-Saxon Prince, in the Teutonic language!

(*a*) Cairbre-Riada was one of the sons of Conary II. who ruled, as chief king, in Ireland, from 212 to 220 A. D.; and who was descended, according to the Irish genealogies, from the great Conary, that fell by the stroke of assassination, in 60 A. D. Usher's *Prim.* p. 610-11; Camden, in *Scotia*; O'Connor's *Dissertation*, p. 192-3, 202; Ogygia Vindicated, p. 164-5.

(*b*) O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*; Ogygia Vindicated, p. 163, 164-5; O'Connor's *Dissertation*, p. 196-7.

conflicts, between the Cruithne of Ulladh, and the Dalriadæ of Ireland, as well as their descendants, the Dalriadæ of North-Britain.

In the prevalence of contest, and the progress of population, a colony was conducted from Dalriada to North-Britain, at the recent commencement of the sixth century, by Loarn, Fergus, and Angus, the three sons of Erc, the descendant of *Cairbre-Riada*. These colonists not only brought with them their language, and religion, their manners, and customs, but their subordination, and allegiance to the country, whence they had voluntarily proceeded (*c*). At that remarkable epoch, in the Scottish history, Lugad, the son of Laogar, reigned supreme over Ireland.

The Irish colonists departed from Dalriada, which was thus occupied by the descendants of *Cairbre-Riada*, and was governed by Olchu, the brother of Erc (*d*); and the Irish colonists settled in the ancient country of the British Epidii, near the Epidian promontory of Richard, and Ptolomy, which was denominated, by the Dalriadinian colonists, *Caentir*, or *head-land* (*e*). The epoch of their settlement is 503, A. D. (*f*). And the new settlers continued, to the age of Bede, to be commonly called, from their original district, the Dalriadini, though they will be herein denominated the *Scoto-Irish*, with a retrospect to their origin, and a regard to their colonization.

(*c*) Usher's Prim. p. 947, 1029; Tigernach; Ulster Annals; O'Flaherty's Ogygia, p. 470; Innes's Crit. Essay, p. 693. O'Conner intimates, that the sons of Erc were favoured, in their emigration, by the Hy-Nial, or the supreme power, which was then exercised by Lugad, the son of Laogar, the grandson of Niel, the great: and the sovereign of Ireland, from 483 to 508 A. D. Ogygia Vindicated, p. 92, in the note. This connection, between the Dalriadic race, and the royal family of Ireland, was again doubly cemented by the marriages of Erca, the daughter of Loarn, in succession, with the two grandsons of Niel, who is called the great, by the appropriate eloquence of the Irish annalists.

(*d*) Erc, who was the son of Eocha-Munramhar, and a lineal descendant of *Cairbre-Riada*, died, in 474 A. D.; and, in conformity to the Irish law of Tanaistry, his only brother, Olchu, succeeded him, in the government of the Dalriadæ, in Ireland: the posterity of Olchu continued to rule this tribe, in subordination to the supreme kings of Ireland, after the sons of Erc had established their settlements, in Argyle. Usher's Primord; The Book of Leacan; Kennedy's Dissert. on the Stuarts, p. 145.

(*e*) In the Gaelic, *Cean*, of which *Cin* is an inflection, signifies a *head*, and *Tir*, *land*: so *Cean-tir*, is literally head-land: yet, this significant appellation of the Irish colonists is said to be Gothic. Enquiry Hist. Scot. 1789. The analagous term, in the Gothic, is *Hafde-lande*. The Enquirer might, with equal truth, have said, that the Gothic *Hafde-land*, and the English *head-land*, are Celtic words.

(*f*) Tigernach; Usher's Prim. 947, 1122; Innes's Critical Essay, v. ii. p. 689, 694; Kennedy's Dissert. on the Stuarts, p. 146, 169: O'Connor confirms the fact, by saying, wildly, that Argyle, Alban, and the Hebrides, were *conquered*, by the sons of Erc, in 503 A. D. Dissert. p. 198-9.

It

It has been reasonably asked, whether *the sons of Erc* made their settlements, by force, or favour. This inquiry supposes, that tradition is silent upon the point, and that history is also uninformative (g). And, the unsatisfactoriness of the one, and the silence of the other, lead us to suppose, that the Dalriadini settled, without offence, and remained, in their new settlements, for years, without opposition. *Caen-tir*, as the name implies, in the speech of the Scoto-Irish colonists, is a *head-land*, which, forming a very narrow peninsula, runs far into the Deucaledonian sea, towards the nearest coast of Ireland; and is separated, by lofty mountains, from the Caledonian continent. It was, in that age, very thinly inhabited by the Cambro-Britons. And, these descendants of the Epidii were little connected with the central clans; and were still less considered by the Pictish government, which perhaps was not yet sufficiently refined, to be very jealous of its rights, or to be promptly resentful of its wrongs. Drest-Garthinmoth then reigned over the Picts; and certainly resided, at a great distance, beyond Drum-Alban. To those intimations, we may subjoin, that Loarn, Fergus, and Angus, brought few followers with them; and though they were doubtless joined, by subsequent colonists, they were, for some time, occupied, with the necessary, but uninteresting, labours of settlement, within their appropriate districts: Ceantir was the portion of Fergus; Loarn possessed Loarn, to which he gave his name; and Angus is supposed to have colonized Ila (h). They obviously established their several settlements, according to the anarchical customs of their original country. Each of those princes, with their followers, formed a distinct tribe, which was nearly independent of each other, with a nominal subordination to the eldest, at least, when obedience could be compelled by power. The history of those Scoto-Irish colonists will evince that, by acting on this notion of anarchy, during a rude age, their descendants were frequently involved in the contests of disputed successions, and often in the miseries of civil war.

In the records of time, there scarcely occurs a period of history, which is so perplexed, and obscure, as the annals of the Scoto-Irish kings, and their tribes,

(g) The Gaelic poem, or duan, as translated by O'Flaherty, makes the sons of Erc subdue Alban with a *strong hand*. Ogygia Vindicated, p. 144. O'Connor, as we have seen, concurs in the notion of conquest. Dissert. p. 188-9. The poetical notion of *conquest* cannot possibly be true. And, probability, and fact, only justify the more reasonable position of quiet *colonization*. Bede adds the confirmation of his judgment to the simple notion of quiet settlement. Bede, lib. i. cap. i.

(h) Dr. Smith's Hist. Dissert. in Stat. Account, v. x. p. 521: Ila was certainly enjoyed by Muredach, the son of Angus, after his decease.

from their settlement, in 503 A. D. to their ascendancy, in 843 A. D. The original cause of this obscurity is the want of contemporaneous writing. An ample field was thus left open, for the conflicts of national emulation. Ignorance, and ingenuity, sophistry, and system, all contributed, by their various efforts, to make what was dark still more obscure. The series, and genealogy, of the kings, have been involved, in peculiar perplexity, by the contests of the Irish, and Scottish antiquaries, for pre-eminence, in antiquity, as well as in fame. And Cimmerian darkness overspread the annals of a people, who were too restless, for the repose of study, and too rude, for the elaboration of writing. In the sister islands, there happily remain, however, various documents of subsequent compilation, which throw many flashes of light on the obscure transactions of the Scoto-Irish tribes; and which serve equally to enable us to unravel the entangled genealogies of the Scoto-Irish kings. In Ireland, there exist the annals of Tigernach, and of Ulster, with the useful observations thereon of O'Flaherty, and O'Connor. There existed also, in various depositories, several brief chronicles, and historical documents, which Innes first brought to light, in a happy hour, for the North-British history (*i*). A Gaelic poem, or genealogical account of the Scoto-Irish kings, also sheds some rays of light on this gloomy subject (*k*). Some other chronicles are fortunately preserved, from the destruction of design, and the waste of accident, which were also compiled before ignorance, and folly, and refinement, and system, began to falsify the Scottish annals. From an attentive consideration of all those, and from an accurate examination of other documents, I have compiled a genealogical, and chronological, *Table* of the Scoto-Irish kings, during that dark period of their distracted annals (*l*). I trust, it will be found to be more satisfactory, than any genealogical

(*i*) See Innes's Critical Essay, p. 600—613; and his invaluable Appendix "of Ancient Pieces."

(*k*) This curious *Duan* was published, in the Enquiry, 1789.

(*l*) The authorities, from which both the Chronological Table, and the following history of the Scottish kings, have been collected, are: (1.) *Chronica Regum Scotorum*, from Fergus, the son of Erc, till King William, a MS. in the Colbertine Library, which is printed in Innes's Critical Essay, App. No. iv. (2.) *Chronica Regum Scotorum*, from Fergus, the son of Erc, till King Alexander III. which was taken from the Register of the Priory of St. Andrew's, and is printed in Innes's Crit. Essay, App. No. v. (3.) *Chronicon Rythmicum*, at the end of the Scoti-Chronicon, a MS. in the Scots College of Paris, and is printed in Innes's Crit. Essay, App. No. vi. (4.) The *Duan et Clanich*, an historical, and genealogical poem, composed in the time of Malcolm III. which is printed in the Enquiry into the Hist. of Scotland, 1789, v. ii. App. No. ii. with a literal translation by Mr. Wilson, and a free translation by Mr. O'Connor: the literal translation, though it contains a few mistakes, being made in a hurry, and without consulting books, is by far the most useful: the free translation is, indeed, extremely free; is much abridged; and in several parts

genealogical series, that has yet been submitted to the inquisitive world. And I now lay it before the reader, with the hope of clearing the dark, and settling the doubtful, as to the early sovereigns of a country, which has been aptly called *the cradle* of the Scottish monarchy (*m*). This Table evinces, that the length of the whole period, from the epoch of Fergus, and of the settlement, in 503 A. D. to the accession of Kenneth over the Picts, in 843, is 340 years; that the sum total of the several reigns, which the *Table* assigns to the various kings, amounts also to 340 years: and, the coincidence of these two sums of 340 years demonstrates, that the whole chronology of the kings is perfectly accurate.

is mistakingly rendered. O'Flaherty has given a free translation of the first twelve distichs, as far down as Ferchar I. *Ogygia Vindicated*, p. 143, 145. This is also in several parts faulty; but he says his copy was an imperfect one. (5.) The Extracts from the Annals of Ulster, in the British Museum, which were published by Johnston, in 1786; *Antiq. Celt. Normannicæ*, p. 56; and in the Enquiry into the Hist. of Scotland, 1789, v. ii. App. No. 1. Many of the dates in these extracts are one year behind the dates, in the Annals of Tigernach, and also behind the dates, quoted by Usher, from the original Annals of Ulster. (6.) Adamnan's Life of St. Columba. (7.) Usher's *Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates*, 1639. (8.) O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*. (9.) *Ogygia Vindicated* by O'Flaherty, with O'Connor's Dissertation, and notes: 1775. Innes's Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of North-Britain, 1729. (11.) The Enquiry into the History of Scotland, 1789, with the collateral aid of many other books. I have also derived great help from the MS. Collections of Innes, which he had employed fifty years to amass, for his Ecclesiastical History of Scotland; and which I owe to the obliging communication of his late grand-nephew, Alexander Innes of the Scots College, at Paris.

(*m*) The errors, and confusion, which have been introduced into the series, and the history, of the Scottish kings, have chiefly originated from the following causes: 1st, The sovereignty was not transmitted by the strict line of hereditary descent. There were, as we shall see, three great families, who, as they sprung from the royal stock, occasionally grew up into the royal stem: two of these were descended from Fergus I. by his grandsons, Comgal, and Gauran; the third was descended from Loarn, the brother of Fergus. This circumstance naturally produced frequent contests, and civil wars, for the sovereignty, which, from those causes, was sometimes split, and the representatives of Fergus, and Loarn, reigned independently over their separate territories, at the same time. The confusion, which all this had produced, can only be cleared up, by tracing, as far as possible, the history of these different families, and developing the civil contests, which existed among them. 2d, Much perplexity has been produced, by the mistakes, and omissions, of the Gaelic bard, who composed the Albanic Duan, particularly, in the latter part of the series, where he has, erroneously, introduced several suppositious kings, from the Pictish Catalogue. These mistakes, having been adopted by those writers, whose object was rather to support a system, than to unravel the history of the Scottish monarchs, have increased, rather than diminished the confusion.

A TABLE.

A TABLE, Genealogical, and Chronological, of the Scoto-Irish Kings, from the Year 503 to 843 A. D. drawn up from a consideration of the Ancient Chronicles, Nos. 4, 5, and 6, in Innes's Appendix; from the MS. *Chronica Accurata* of Innes; and from the Gaelic Poem, or Duan; from O'Flaherty's Genealogical Catalogue; and from an Examination of the "Enquiry into the History of Scotland, 1789." Giving, from a comparative view of all those authorities, and an attention to their several histories, a *genuine series* of the Accession, Reign, and Demise, of each of those Kings.

The Series	The Names, and Filiation, of the Kings.	Ancient Chronicle in Innes's App. No. 4.		Ancient Chronicle in Innes's App. No. 5.		Chronicon Rythm. in Innes's App. No. 6.		Innes's MS. Chronica Accurata.		The GENUINE CHRONOLOGY:			The Gaelic Poem, or Duan.		O'Flaherty's Geneal. Catalogue.		Pinkerton's System.	
		Reigned Years		Reigned Years		Reigned Years		Reigned Years		Accessions.	Reigns.	Demise.	Years		Years		Years	
1	LOARN, the son of Erc, reigned contemporary with Fergus	3		3		3		3		503 in	3	A. D. in 506	27		16		3	
2	FERGUS, the son of Erc	5		5		5		5		506	5	511	4		5		5	
3	DOMANGART, the son of Fergus	32		24		24		24		511	24	535	24		24		34	
4	COMGAL, the son of Domangart	22		22		20		22		535	22	557	2		2		16	
5	GAURAN, the son of Domangart	14		14		14		14		557	14	571	15		15		15	
6	CONAL, the son of Comgal	34		34		34		34		571	34	605	24		32		30	
7	AIDAN, the son of Gauran	16		16		16		16		605	16	621	17		23		17	
8	EOCHÁ-BUI, the son of Aidan	3 Mo's		3 Mo's		3 Mo's		3 Mo's		621	—	621	3 Mo's		3 Mo's		3 Mo's	
9	KENNETH-CEAR, the son of Eochá-bui	16		16		16		16		621	16	637	16		12		16	
10	FERCHAR, the son of Eogan, the first of the race of Loarn	14		14		14		14		637	5	642	14		—		12	
11	DONAL-BREAC, the son of Eochá-bui	—		—		—		—		642	10	652	10		18		10	
12	CONAL II. the grandson of Conal I.	—		—		—		—		—	—	—	—		—		—	
13	DUNGAL reigned some years with Conal	—		—		—		—		—	—	—	—		—		—	
14	DONAL-DUIN, the son of Conal	—		—		—		—		652	13	665	13		13		13	
15	MAOLDUIN, the son of Conal	—		—		—		—		665	16	681	17		17		17	
16	FERCHAR-FADA, the grandson of Ferchar I.	21		21		21		21		681	21	702	21		21		21	
17	EOCHÁ-RINEVAL, the son of Domangart, and the Grandson of Donal-breac	3		3		13		13		702	3	705	2		7		2	
18	AINBHCEALACH, the son of Ferchar-fada	1		1		1		1		705	1	706	1		1		1	
19	SELVACH, the son of Ferchar-fada, reigned over Loarn, from 706 to 729	—		—		—		—		—	—	—	—		10		20	
20	DUNCHE-BEG reigned over Kintyre, and Argail, till 720	—		—		—		—		706	27	733	—		—		—	
21	EOCHA III. the son of Eochá-rineval, reigned over Kintyre, and Argail, from 720 to 729; and also over Lorn, from 729 to 733	13		13		13		13		—	—	—	—		5		10	
22	MUREDACH, the son of Ainbhcealach	3		3		3		3		733	3	736	3		3		3	
23	EOGAN, the son of Muredach	30		30		30		30		736	30	769	30		30		30	
24	AODH-FIN, the son of Eochá III.	3		3		3		3		769	3	772	—		—		5	
25	FERGUS, the son of Aodh-fin	24		24		24		24		772	24	796	—		—		—	
26	SELVACH II. the son of Eogan	30		30		30		30		796	30	826	—		—		—	
27	EOCHA-ANNUINE IV. the son of Aodh-fin	7		7		7		7		826	7	833	7		7		7	
28	DUNGAL, the son of Selvach II.	3		3		3		3		833	3	836	4		4		4	
29	ALPIN, the son of Eochá-annuine IV.	7		7		7		7		836	7	843	—		—		2	
30	KENETH, the son of Alpin	—		—		—		—		—	—	—	—		—		—	

If we may credit the Irish chroniclers, the three sons of Erc enjoyed each an independent government, according to the anarchical maxims of the Irish polity, within his own district, in subordination, however, to the sovereign of Ireland (*n*). Neither of the brothers, at the epoch of their emigration, were young, if we may believe the same chroniclers, who assure us, that the children of Erc had received the honour of St. Patrick's benediction, before his death, in 493 A. D. The early decease of each of the three brothers, after their settlement, seems to be a still stronger proof of their having declined far into the vale of years, before they engaged, in the difficult work of founding a new dynasty of kings, and settling a new race of people, within a rugged country of lakes, and defiles. Angus soon died, leaving a son, Muredach, who enjoyed his authority, within the narrow limits of Ila. And, Loarn, the eldest brother, also deceased; leaving his brother Fergus, the sole monarch of the Dalriadinian Scots (*o*). Fergus did not long survive his brothers, as he died, in 506 A. D. leaving his pretensions, whatever they were, and his power, however limited, to his son Domangart (*p*). The Gaelic poem applies to Fergus the epithet *ard*, which may mean *great* in character, or first, in sovereignty.

The

(*n*) O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*, p. 470—2; O'Connor's *Dissert.* 199; and the Albanic Historical poem, or *Duan*: But, the ancient chronicles, in Innes's Appendix, No. 4, 5, 6, uniformly, speak of Fergus, as the sole monarch of the Dalriadinian territories, which he only enjoyed, during the short period of three years.

(*o*) Loarn, who is called *Loarnus Magnus* by O'Flaherty, had several children, of whom the most celebrated was *Erca*, who was married, successively, to two cousin-germans, the grandsons of Niel, the great king of Ireland: She first married Muredach, the son of Eogan, by whom she had three sons, Mureheard, who reigned king of Ireland, from 513 to 534 A. D.; Feredach; and Moen: She married, for her second husband, Fergus, the son of Conal, by whom she had four sons, Sednæ, who was progenitor of several of the supreme kings of Ireland; Fedlim, (the father of St. Columba); Lugad; and Brendan. *Ogygia*, p. 470-1; and *Ogygia Vindicated*, p. 159. It seems more than probable, that the race of Loarn, who, in after times, succeeded, occasionally, to the Dalriadinian throne, sprung from the first marriage of Erca; as we see, that Muredach, Eogan, and Ferchar, were family names, in that royal series, Mureheard, the son of Erca, and king of Ireland, as above mentioned, was surnamed Mac-Erca, from his mother. *Ogygia Vindicated*, p. 159. From Mureheard descended no fewer than sixteen monarchs of Ireland. *Ib.* Pref. p. 4.

(*p*) The three Chronicles in Innes's App. No. 4, 5, 6, and Innes's *Chronica Accurata*, together with the *Enquirer* 1789, all concur, in stating, that Fergus reigned *three* years, from 503 A. D. The Gaelic poem extends his reign to twenty-seven years, and O'Flaherty carries up its extent to sixteen. And see Usher's *Prim. Chron. Index*, under 503 A. D. p. 1122-3. Fergus is the appropriate name, which the ancient Chronicles, in Innes's App. and the Gaelic poem, give to the great founder of the Scottish monarchy, according to the Scottish Chroniclers. The proper Irish name is *Feargus*, which is derived from the *fearg* of the Irish language, signifying a champion, or warrior. O'Brien's Dict. This has been latinized *Fergusius*. Several chiefs of great note, among the old Irish, bore this distinguished appellation. The second husband of Erca was Fergus, as we have seen.

A Fergus

The new reign of five years is said, by the Gaelic poem, to have been crowded with *troubles*, which, however, are not recounted. Yet, Domangart died, quietly, in 511 A.D.; leaving two sons, Congal, and Gabhran, who successively possessed his petty dominions, and indisputably enjoyed his inconsiderable power (*q*). The *root* of Fergus now branched out into two great stems, which are distinguished, in the Irish Chronicles, by the appropriate appellations, of *Cineal-Comgal*, and *Cineal-Gauran*; the *race* of Comgal; and the *race* of Gauran. Their contests for pre-eminence produced bloody conflicts, which ended in frequent revolutions of power, that the pen of history must narrate, and explain.

A peaceful reign of four-and-twenty years gave Comgal, the grandson of Fergus, leisure to extend his settlements, and to consolidate his authority. Yet, has he left no events for history to record. The Gaelic poem recites, indeed, that his long reign passed away *without wars* (*r*).

Comgal was succeeded by his brother Gabhran, or Gauran, in 535, without a contest. This reign of two-and-twenty years is said, by the Gaelic poem, to have passed away, *without reproach*. Engaging, however, on whatever motive, in hostilities with the Picts, Gauran was overpowered by their king, Bridei, the

A Fergus reigned king of Ireland, with Donald, A. D. 565. Ware's *Antiq. Hib.* p. 19; Ogygia, p. 430. A Fergus was king of Temora, at the end of the seventh century. Ware, p. 21. O'Flaherty calls Fergus, the son of Erc, "*Fergus-mor Mac-Mise*." Ogygia, p. 472. He was surnamed Mac-Mise, from his mother, whose name was Mise: So, Mureheard, the king of Ireland, was called Mac-Erca, from his mother. The epithet *mor*, which O'Flaherty applies to Fergus, denotes, simply, great in body; while the epithet *ard*, which the Gaelic bard affixes to his name, means great, in mind, *mighty*. Fergus was probably, as O'Flaherty asserts, the youngest of the three sons of Erc, who conducted the Irish colonists to Kintyre. Ogygia Vind. p. 140.

(*q*) For the length of the reign of Domangart, see Innes's App. No. 4, 5, 6: And, O'Flaherty, and Innes, and the Enquirer 1789, concur in fixing it to five years. The Duan, or Gaelic poem, alone restrains it to four. Domangard, which is properly Domhangard, is called Domangart, in the Chron. No. 4; Davenghart, in the Chron. 5; Donegart, in the Chron. Rythm; Dongard, in Fordun; Domangardus, in O'Flaherty; and Dongardus, in Buchanan.

(*r*) The Chronicle, in the Register of St. Andrews, and the Chron. Ryth. in Innes's App. No. 5 and 6, lengthen the reign of Comgal to twenty-four years, an extent, which is adopted by O'Flaherty, and Innes. The Chron. No. 4, in Innes's App. enlarges the period to thirty-two years. The Annals of Ulster, when properly understood, confirm the Chronicles, before mentioned, in fixing the commencement of his reign, in 511 A.D. and its conclusion, in 535 A.D. Comgal, or more properly Comhgall, or Comgail, in the Irish speech, denotes one of the same tribe; *consanguinity*. O'Brien's Dict. This name is variously spelt Congal, and Comgal, in the Chron. No. 4, and No. 5, Chomghall, in the Gaelic poem, Comgallus, by O'Flaherty, and Congallus by Buchanan. A Congal reigned supreme king of Ireland, from 703 to 710, A. D. Ware's *Antiq.* p. 21.

son of Mailcon (*s*). And, his government was thus left open, in 557 A. D. to Conal, the son of Comgal, the grandson of Domangart, the great-grandson of Fergus.

Conal, the protector of Columba, was not, however, fortunate, either in his family, or his government. An unlucky administration of fourteen years was unhappily closed, by civil war, in 571. Aidan, the son of Gauran, claimed the crown; and this pretension was settled, on the bloody field of Loro, in Kintire, where Duncha, the son of Conal, lost his life, and his succession, as we learn from the Ulster Annals (*t*). Such was the event of this contest, for sovereignty, between the race of Comgal, and the race of Gauran, who were both descended from their forefather Fergus. The tribe of Gauran remained in possession of Kintire; the tribe of Comgal enjoyed the less desirable district of *Argail*: And these two tribes are sometimes distinguished, in the Irish Annals, as the *sept* of Kintire, and the *sept* of Argail.

An active reign of five-and-thirty years furnished many occasions, for displaying the enterprize, the successes, and the misfortunes of Aidan. He was inaugurated by Columba, in 574, on the holy Iona (*u*). He overpowered his

(*s*) The Ancient Chron. No. 4, and the Chron. in the Register of St. Andrews, No. 5, in Innes's App. assign to the reign of Gauran two-and-twenty years; an elongation, which Innes has adopted, in his *Chronica Accurata*. The Chron. Ryth. restrains this reign to twenty years; and the Duan to two; a mistake, that O'Flaherty follows, without perceiving that, the bard, like other poets, often sacrifices the *sense* to the *sound*. The Enquirer, 1789, restrains the government of Gauran to sixteen years, merely upon a mistaken calculation, from a supposititious date, in the Annals of Ulster: The genuine date, in these Annals, is 557, which is the true epoch of the demise of Gauran. Gauran is variously spelt Gabran, in the Genealogy, No. 4.; Goveran, in Chron. No. 4; in Innes, Gowren; in Chron. Rythm. Gauranus; in O'Flaherty, the Gonranus, and Conranus, of Buchanan, and Boece, are mere mistakes, for Gauranus: The proper Irish name, as we see it, in the Gaelic poem, is *Gabhran*, which is pronounced *Gauran*.

(*t*) O'Flaherty states this battle to have happened at *Dealgan*, in Kintire. Ogygia, p. 473. The Ancient Chron. No. 4, the Chron. in the Register of St. Andrews, No. 5, and the Chron. Ryth. in Innes's App. give fourteen years as the length of Conal's reign; an extent, that Innes adopts, in his *Chronica Accurata*. The Duan, with poetic licence, extends this reign to fifteen years; a mistaken elongation, that is followed by O'Flaherty, and copied by the Enquirer, 1789, in compliment to the Celtic Song, which best suited his adopted system. Conal is latinized Conallus, in Fordun. Conal is the name of many great princes of Ireland: O'Brien gives an account of many of this name: From one of these, *Tir-Conail*, the *land* of Conal, derived its name. Dict. in vo. Conal, who is said to have given the isle of Hy to St. Columba, and who was the third cousin of the saint; Conal being the great-grandson of Fergus; and St. Columba, the great-grandson of Loarn, the two great leaders of the Scoto-Irish colony. Tigernach, in Ogygia, p. 473; Ulster Annals; Usher's Primord, p. 703. 1143.

(*u*) Adamnan, l. iii. cap. v.; Ush. Prim. p. 610, 709, 1145; Ogygia, p. 474.

antagonist, at the battle of Loro, in 575. He fought the frivolous battle of Arderyth, with Rydderch, the bountiful king of Strāthcluyd, in 577 (x). And, coming to the aid of the Cumbrian-Britons, Aidan defeated the Saxons, at Fethanlea, on Stanmore, in 584 (y). In fighting, again, in support of the Britons, he defeated the Saxons, in 590, at the battle of Leithredh, when his two sons, Arthur, and Eocha-fin, were, however, slain, with rather more than three hundred men (z). From this specification of the loss, it is obvious, though Bede speaks of the *vast army* of Aidan, that the armies of those times were far from numerous, and that their conflicts were rather tumultuous, than regular. In 598, Aidan appears to have been worsted by the Saxons, in the battle of Kirkinn, where his son Domangart was slain (a). Aidan was totally defeated by the Northumbrians, under Æthilfrid, at the battle of Dawstane, in 603 (b). The Dalriadini were now so completely overcome, that they did not venture, for ages, so far into the hostile country of the south. Meantime,

(x) H. Lhuyd's *Commentariolum*, ed. 1731, p. 142—4.

(y) Saxon Chron. p. 22; Usher's *Prim.* p. 570, 1147, which quotes the English Chronicles. Aidan is even said to have carried his victorious arms into the Isle of Man about the same period. The Annals of Ulster, under 581-2, state, "*Bellum Manan*, in quo victor erat Aodhan Mac-Gauran." Enquiry Hist. Scot. 1789, v. ii. App. i. In Johnston's edition of the Extracts, from these Annals, he converts *Manan* into *Man*. *Antiq. Celto-Norm.* p. 57. And, O'Flaherty says, "Anno circiter 584 Aidanus rex in *Mannia insula* victor." *Ogygia*, p. 474. There does not, however, appear any thing but the mere similarity of the name, to warrant the application of the *Manan* to the *Island of Man*. On the contrary, it is highly probable, that the battle of *Manan*, which is mentioned, by the Annals of Ulster, was the same, that the Saxon Annals record to have happened, at *Stanmore*. The dates of both agree, making the usual allowance, for the *backwardness* of the Annals of Ulster, in a number of their notices. The Saxon *Stane-more* refers to the well-known moor of that name, on the eastern confines of Westmoreland, which, as the name implies, abounds with *stone*. Now, the Britons, who, on this occasion, were confederated with the Scoto-Irish, would naturally call the same place, by the analogous name of *Maenan*, which, in their language, denotes stoney, or a *place of stone*: So this battle may have been stated, in the Irish Annals, by the British name of *Maenan*; while the Saxon annalists used the appropriate name of their own language, *Stanmore*.

(z) Adamnan, l. i. cap. 9; Tigernach; Annals of Ulster; Ush. *Prim.* p. 709, 1037, 1148; O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*, p. 475; Innes's *MS. Eccles. Hist.* p. 245. This conflict is called by Adamnan *Bellum Miatorum*: And Fordun confounds it with the battle of Wodensburg.

(a) Adamnan, lib. i. cap. 9; and The Book of Cluan, in *Ogygia*, p. 475.

(b) Bede, lib. i. cap. 34; Sax. Chron. p. 24: This battle is herein said to have happened, at Daegstane: The real site of this decisive field appears to be Dawstane, a small farm, in the parish of Castleton, Roxburghshire, on a rivulet of the same name, which falls into the Lidal, about two miles, from the march of Northumberland, near the only pass, which leads, on that side, into an impervious frontier. See Stobie's Map of Roxburghshire; And see also, for the site of this battle, the map, in Smith's Bede.

Aidan,

Aidan, attended by Columba, appeared at the celebrated council of Drum-keat, in Ulster, during 590 A. D.; where he claimed the principality of Dalriada, the land of his fathers; and obtained, by his influence, a relinquishment of the homage, which seems to have been yielded, by the reguli of Kintire, to the kings of the parental island (*c*). Aodh, or Hugh, the son of Ainmerach, was then sovereign of Ireland (*d*). During a long reign of active enterprize, Aidan appears rather to have raised his fame, than extended his territories. In his several conflicts with the Saxons, he wasted his strength upon a powerful enemy, who was almost beyond the reach of his arm. He acquired, in the metaphorical language of a courtly poet, the appropriate appellation of “*righ-na niol-rann*,” or king of the *noble portion*. After all his ambitious conflicts, Aidan, the greatest of the Dalriadinian monarchs, died quietly in Kintire, at the age of eighty, during the year 605, and was buried in Kil-cheran (*e*).

Eocha'-bui, the son of Aidan, quietly assumed the sceptre of his father, according to the vaticination of Columba, which foretold, saith Adamnan, not only the succession of the son of Aidan, but the misfortunes of his posterity (*f*). Eocha', the yellow haired, reigned sixteen years. But, his reign seems to have gone down under a cloud of foreign, perhaps, of civil war. In 620, he appears to have been engaged in warfare with the Cruithne of Ulster. Kenneth-Caer, as tanist, or heir apparent to the kingdom, conducted his army, against those

(*c*) Adamnan, l. i. cap. x. p. 49; O'Flaherty, p. 475; Kennedy's Chron. Hist. of the Stuarts, p. 169

(*d*) Usher's Prim. p. 947.

(*e*) Usher's Prim. 1156; and the Chron. Table of the Scottish kings. The ruins of the church of Kil-cheran, or the chapel of Ciaran, the saint, which contains the dust of Aidan, may still be seen, in the midst of Campbeltown, the present resort of peaceful fishers. Aidan seized the Dalriadinian sceptre, in 571 A. D.; reigned thirty-four years; and died, in 605. The Ancient Chron. No. 4; the Chron. in the Register of St. Andrews; and the Chron. Rhyth. No. 6, in Innes's App.; state the length of the reign of Aidan to be 34 years, an extent, which Innes adopts. The Gaelic poem makes the length of this reign twenty-four years; O'Flaherty thirty-two; and the Enquirer, 1789, without any evidence, thirty years. The Annals of Ulster state the year of Aidan's demise, in 605, which is supported by the Chro. No. 4, 5, and 6, in Innes's App. Fordun adopts this date. Innes considers this, as a fixed epoch, on which all parties agree. Crit. Essay, v. ii. p. 693. Yet, Usher states, that Eocha-bui succeeded his father, Aidan, in 606. Primord. p. 710. And O'Flaherty follows him, in this inaccuracy. Ogygia, p. 474. The name of Aidan is latinized *Aidanus* by Fordun, O'Flaherty, and Buchanan. It is Edain, Edan, Edhan, in the Chronicles. The proper Irish name is *Aodhan*. In the Sax. Chron. this enterprising king of the Scoto-Irish is called *Æðcan*; the Saxon (ð) being pronounced like the English (y), and the (ð) like the English (th).

(*f*) Vita Columbæ, lib. i. cap. ix.

warlike people, into the successful field of Ardcoran; wherein was slain Fiachna, the son of the Ultonian monarch (g). In this conflict, the Scoto-Irish prevailed. Donald-breac, the son of Eocha'-bui, led the race of Gauran into the successful battle of Kenn, during the same year. But, Eocha' did not long survive his victories; as he died soon after; and was succeeded by his son Kenneth-ear, the tanist, and of course, the leader of his troops (b).

Kenneth, the aukward, the son of Eocha'-bui, succeeded his father, in 621 A. D. being already the apparent heir. Kenneth ruled *happily*, saith the Gaelic bard, during three months (i). He prosecuted the war of his predecessor; and was vanquished, and slain, in the unfortunate conflict of Fedhaevin, in fighting against the *Cruithne* of Ireland (k).

Kenneth-ear was followed, in 621, by Ferchar, the son of Eogan, who was the first of the race of Loarn, that acquired the unstable monarchy of the Scoto-

(g) Tigernach; Annals of Ulster; and O'Flaherty's Ogygia, p. 476.

(b) Eocha'-bui, denotes the *yellow* haired Eocha. Aidan had another son, who was named Eocha'-*fin*, or white haired Eocha'. Such were the nice discriminations of the Celtic people, in applying epithets to persons, as well as to places. This name has been variously spelt, in the several chronicles, Eochoid-buidhe, Eochod-flavus, Heoghed-bude, Eog-hedbod; he was called Hecged-bud, by Wyntown; Echac-buide, Ocha-buid, in the genealogies, in Fordun; Eugenius IV. by Fordun, and Buchanan. The Gaelic bard calls him Eachach-buidhe. Eocha', in the Irish, is the proper name of a man. O'Brien's Dict.

(i) All the authorities agree, that Kenneth-ear became king, in 621 A. D.; and reigned only three months. They do not, however, concur, in his filiation. The Chronicles, No. 4 and 5, in Innes's App. call him the son of Conal. O'Flaherty, from the Irish authorities, states him to have been the son of Eocha'-bui. Ogygia, p. 477. And he is supported by probability; for Kenneth commanded the army of Eocha', and enjoyed his sceptre. Kenneth-ear, in the Irish, is Coinadh-ear: By the Gaelic bard, he is called Conchad-ear; by O'Flaherty, Conadh-cerr; by Innes, Connadh-cerr; by the Chronicles, the same prince is called Kinat-kerr, and Kinat-sinister; by Boece, Kenneth-ker; in the Latin of O'Flaherty, Conadius-ker; in the Latin of Buchanan, Kenn-ethus. Coinadh, or as differently spelt, Cainnach, by Macdonald's Vocabulary; Caoinnach, by Macfarlane's Vocabulary; is a proper name, among the Scoto-Irish, to this day: It denotes, in the Irish, *mild tempered, peaceable*, being formed from the adjective *Caoin*: The same name is spelt, by the English, Kenneth, or Keneth. The Enquiry, 1789, v. ii. p. 162, tries to prove, that Keneth is a Pictish, or Gothic, name, Cinaed, or Kineth, was king of Ireland, from 724 to 727 A. D. Ware's Antiq. p. 21; Ogygia, p. 432. The proper meaning of the epithet *Cerr* is the most doubtful of any of the sobriquets, which have been applied, by the Chronicles, to the Scoto-Irish kings. It may signify *left-handed*, or *aukward*, as the Chron. No. 4, in Innes, translates it. It may signify *red*; but, the common word, denoting *red*, as applied to persons, is *ruadh*, or as it is englished *roy*. *Ciar* would signify *darkbrown*: But, *left-handed*, or *aukward*, seems to be the most likely meaning. Macfarlane's Vocab. in vo. *Cerr*.

(k) Tigernach; and the Annals of Ulster; O'Flaherty's Ogygia, p. 477.

Irish,

Irish, in North-Britain. He seized the sceptre, which he saw had fallen from a vanquished hand: And, he was inaugurated by Conan, the bishop of Sodor, if we may believe the learned Usher (*l*). Columba, who had inaugurated Aidan, was now dead. Ferchar certainly reigned sixteen years: But, such was his vigour, or success, during troublous times, that he left no events, for history to recount. He died, in 637 A. D. (*m*).

Donal-breac, the son of Eocha'-bui, of the Fergusian race of Gauran, succeeded Ferchar, on his demise, in 637. Donal, who was called *breac*, or freckled, from being often exposed to the sun, had already gathered laurels, in the field of Kenn, whilst his father reigned. The Gaelic Bard is studious to decorate the enterprizing Donal with the epithet *Bla'*, which, as it signifies, in his language, *renown*, or *fame*, he appears to have merited (*a*). He was induced, by his vehemence of spirit, contrary to the vaticinal warnings of Columba, to carry a mixed body of various people, into the sacred island against Domnal II, who then reigned supreme king of Ireland. Domnal was the son of Aodhi, the grandson of Ainmerach, and the great-grandson of Sednæ, one of the sons of Erca, by her second marriage; and was, of course, the relation of Columba, and the kinsman of Donald-breac. The cause of this unpropitious

(*l*) Primord. 711, 1158.

(*m*) The Chronicles, in Innes's Appendix, and the Gaelic poem agree, in extending the reign of Ferchar to sixteen years; and this extent is adopted by Innes, and the Enquirer, 1789; so that the length of this reign seems to be a point agreed. Not so, the filiation of Ferchar. The Chrons. No. 4 and 5, in Innes's Appendix, call Ferchar the son of Ewen, with which concurs Usher, as above. The Gaelic poem, however, speaks of Ferchar, as the son of Kenneth-kear; and this filiation is adopted by O'Flaherty. Ogygia, p. 477. Yet, is there reason to suspect, that the bard has again sacrificed the fact, as stated by the Chronicles, to the fiction, as adopted by O'Flaherty. Eogan, and Ferchar, are family names, in the race of Loarn, but not in the race of Fergus: So that, it is more than probable, that Ferchar, and his father, Eogan, were of the royal race of Loarn: Ferchar, or more fitly Fearchur, is a proper name among the Irish, and Scoto-Irish: It is Fearchair, in the Gaelic poem. The word signifies a *champion*, *manhood*, *courage*. O'Brien's Dict. The English, and Scottish, Farquhar, is the same name. In the Chronicles, this king is variously called, Ferchar, Fearchair, Ferquarth: And, the name is latinized Ferquardus by Buchanan, and O'Flaherty.

(*a*) Donal-breac, or *freckled*, or *pock-pitted* Donal, is variously called Dovenald-*Varius*, Dwnal-brec, Dovenald-brec, Donald; and by the Gaelic Poem, Domnail-bhric. Domhnal, which is pronounced Donal, was the proper name of several princes among the old Irish: hence, the MacDonalds, O'Donels. O'Brien's Dictionary. The name of Donal, which is latinized Domnallus, and Donaldus, occurs frequently in the Catalogue of the Irish kings: of the supreme kings of Ireland, from 565 to 763, three were named Donal. Ware's Antiq. p. 18—23. Yet, says the Inquiry 1789, the name of Domnail, or Donald, is *Gothic*: as indeed, he adds, systematically, most Irish names of kings are; that is, before the Goths arrived in Ireland!

war may be traced to the following source. Congal-Claon, the son of Scanlan, the king of the Cruithne, in Ulster, having slain Suibne-mean, the king of Ireland, was attacked by Domnal II. who succeeded Suibne, and was defeated, in the battle of Duncethern, A.D. 629. Congal was thus obliged to seek for shelter, in Kintire: and, having induced the inconsiderate Donal-breac to engage in his odious quarrel, they carried into Ireland a mixed army of Scoto-Irish, of Picts, of Britons, and of Saxons, who were led by Donal-breac, and his brothers. Cealach, the son of Maelcomh, the nephew of the reigning king, and as tanist, the leader of his army, attacked Domnal-breac on the plain of Moyrath, in 637; and completely defeated him, after a long, and bloody conflict. Congal met his merited fate. And, Domnal-breac was obliged to secure his retreat, and the safety of his army, in Kintire (*b*). Such was the rashness of Domnal-breac! He invaded the hallowed land of his fathers, in support of the murderer of its lawful sovereign; and he attacked, as we have seen, his own, and Columba's kinsmen. Domnal-breac derived no wisdom from his late misfortune. In the subsequent year, he engaged in a different war. And, he was again defeated, during the year 638, in the battle of Glenmoreson, within the country of the Picts (*c*). The Irish legends, indeed, pretend to demonstrate, that the prophecies, which foretold the misfortunes of Donal, the freckled, were all fulfilled in his fate (*d*). He was warned not to molest the land of his fathers, and the family of Columba: yet, with the intemperance of his nature, he led an army of foreigners into the sacred island. And, as he was carried, by his destiny, into the Clyde, he was slain at Sraith-Cairmaic, by the obscure sword of Hoan, one of the reguli of Strathcluyd, during the year 642 (*e*). His destiny seems to have even confounded his chronology, which, as it is extremely embarrassed, will require some trouble to settle it. He certainly began to reign, in 637 (*f*), as the series of his predecessors evince; and he undoubtedly was slain, in 642,

(*b*) Ulster Annals; Ogygia, p. 478; Ware's Antiq. p. 20; Usher's Prim. p. 712: Domnal II. reigned from 628 to 642 A.D.

(*c*) There is an extensive valley, in Inverness-shire, called Glenmoreson: if this be the same, Domnal-breac must have been engaged with the northern Picts. Ogygia, p. 478: Ulster Annals; Usher's Prim. p. 712. It must be again observed, that the extracts from the annals of Ulster, in the British Museum, which were published by Johnstone, in 1786, and in the Enquiry into the Hist. of Scotland 1789, have the dates of many notices a year behind the annals of Tigernach, and also behind the dates, quoted by Usher, from the original Annals of Ulster.

(*d*) Adamnan, lib. iii. cap. v.; Acta Sanctorum St. Bent. Sæc. v. p. 361—7.

(*e*) Annals of Ulster; Usher's Prim. p. 712; Langhorn's Cat. of the Cumbrian kings; Ogygia, p. 478; Enquiry 1789, v. ii. p. 117—119.

(*f*) See the Chronological Table.

A.D.,

A.D., as we have seen above (g). The destiny of Donal seems, also, to have pursued his issue: his son Cathusaidh was slain by the same Hoan, in 649; and his great-grandson, Cathasuidh, died, in 688, as we learn from the Ulster annals. The destiny of Donald appears, from sad events, to have introduced competition into the succession of his race. Conal II., the grandson of Conal I., who was also of the Fergusian race of Congal, succeeded his unfortunate predecessor, in the government of the tribes of Kintire, and Argail. But, Dungal, of the ambitious race of Loarn, ruled, at the same time, over the tribe of Loarn, and disputed the pre-eminence with Conal. Dungal, however, appears not to have long maintained the contest. And, Conal seems, without further molestation, to have closed his career of ten years, in 652 A.D. The Gaelic Bard calls this prince Conal *na creach*, or Conal of *the spoils*. And, we may, from this circumstance, infer, what is sufficiently probable in itself, that he had wasted the district of his competitor, and driven away, in triumph, the cattle of Loarn (b).

Donal-duin

(g) The Enquirer, 1789, tries to cut the knot, which he cannot untie: he deducts, from the preceding reign of Ferchar, eight years, in order to carry back the commencement of Donal's reign to the year 630; and, he makes the length of his reign twelve years, for which there is not one authority. Enquiry, v. ii. p. 117. The beginning of the reign of Donal must be fixed, by the preceding chronology, to the year 637. The chronicles in Innes's Appendix N^o 4, 5, 6. extend his reign to fourteen years. The Gaelic poem once more concurs with the chronicles. And this length of reign is adopted by Innes into his *Chronica Accurata*. Yet, the influential authority of Tigernach; the satisfactory concurrence of the Ulster annals; the weighty voice of Usher; and the useful notice of O'Flaherty; all concur to fix the epoch of his death, in 642, A.D. Primordia, p. 712; Ogygia, p. 478; Annals of Ulster. In this point, the Enquiry 1789, p. 119. also concurs. I have found it necessary to adopt this epoch; because the subsequent chronology cannot be otherwise adjusted, or be made to agree with events; and, of consequence, I am obliged to disagree, for once, with the chronicles in Innes's Appendix, by restricting the reign of Donald to five years, which is most consistent with the series of events, and the progress of his fate. Yet, is there reason to believe, that Donal-breac, may have assumed a sort of sovereignty over his own patrimonial territory of Kintire, for several years, before the death of Ferchar. Donal-breac having begun his career, as an enterprising commander, before Ferchar acquired the Scottish sceptre, we may suppose, that Donal would view the accession of a prince of the race of Loarn to the sovereignty, which his own father had so lately held, with a considerable degree of jealousy; and his restless disposition may have excited him to assume an independent rule, in his patrimonial districts of Kintire, even as early as 628; being nine years, before the demise of Ferchar, when he became the sole monarch of the Scoto-Irish; and reigned five years longer. These intimations at once account, for the length of his reign, as stated, in the ancient chronicles, as well as the Duan; and render both consistent with chronology.

(b) After the demise of Donal-breac, the Gaelic poet introduces into the series of the Scoto-Irish kings, Conal, and Dungal, to whom, he gives a joint reign of ten years; and after them,
Donal-duin,

Donal-duin succeeded his father Conal, in 652, A.D. Donal, the brown, reigned thirteen years. But, such was the insignificance of his character, and the unimportance of his government, that he left no events for the narration of history (*i*).

Maolduin, the brother of Donal-duin, succeeded him, in 665, A.D. Maolduin was a prince of the Fergusian race of Comgal. The Gaelic poet is studious, both to enlarge, and legalize, his reign, by applying to his government, with a *bardic* retrospect to the past, and prescience of the future, the epithet *godlightbeach*; signifying *lawfully*, in his language. But, the Bard, with all his knowledge, has recorded none of the events of the *lawful reign* of Maolduin (*k*). Yet, the Ulster annals, and Tigernach, recount the murder of Domangart, the son of Donal-breac, in 672 A.D. (*l*). And, the same annals also recite the assassination of Conal, the son of Malduin, in 675 A.D. These odious deeds mark the savage manners of lawless times. It is apparent, however, that they were accomplished by the fell dagger of family feuds. Between the Fergusian races of Comgal, and Gauran, there existed a continual competition for pre-eminence: and, Maolduin, the reigning king, who was of the Comgal race, may have contributed to the death of Domangart, the son of Donal-breac, who was of the race of Gauran. Revenge prompted the family of Domangart to retaliate on Conal, the son of Maolduin (*m*). By these terrible

Donal-duin, to whom he assigns a reign of thirteen years: yet, none of these three reguli are mentioned by the chronicles, in Innes's Appendix. The Enquiry 1789, p. 119. follows the Gaelic poem, as to the length of Conal's reign: O'Flaherty, without any authority, extends his reign to eighteen years. But, the subsequent series of the kings does not admit of a longer reign to Conal than ten years.

(*i*) None of the ancient chronicles, in Innes's Appendix, recognize Donal-duin, except the chronicle, in the register of St. Andrew's, N^o 5, which speaks of him, as the father of Maldwin, the succeeding king. The Gaelic Poem, O'Flaherty, and the Enquirer 1789, give Donal-duin a reign of thirteen years, from A.D. 652. It is conjectured, that the chroniclers may have, mistakenly, past from Donal-breac to Donal-duin, without perceiving, that they rejected three kings, who are demanded equally, by the series of the sovereigns, and the genealogy of the families. See the Chronological, and Genealogical, Table.

(*k*) The chronology fixes the accession of Maolduin to the year 665. The Chronicles, N^o 5, and 6, in Innes's Appendix, give him a reign of sixteen years. The Gaelic Poem, O'Flaherty, and the Enquirer 1789, unreasonably, extend his reign to seventeen years. The Gaelic Bard calls this king "Maolduin, mhic Conaill na gereach," Maolduin, the son of Conal, of the spoils. He thus makes Maolduin the son of Conal II., who succeeded Donal-breac, in 642, A.D.; and O'Flaherty supports his authority.

(*l*) Annals of Ulster; Ogygia, p. 479.

(*m*) The name of this king, in Innes's Chronicles, is Malduin? Wyntown calls him Maldowny.

Boece,

ble actions, the two Fergusian families, weakened each other; and gave an ascendancy to the rival race of Loarn, which they did not fail to assume.

Ferchar-*fada*, who derived the epithet *tall*, from his personal qualities, seized the sceptre of Maolduin, upon his death, amidst those bloody scenes. Ferchar was certainly of the family of Loarn, as the name seems to intimate: but, he was probably the grandson, rather than the son, of Ferchar, who died in 637 A.D. The period of four-and-forty years, which elapsed from the demise of the one, and the accession of the other, seems to carry that probability up to fact (*m*). The dirk of the rival races continued ready, at the call of competition, to execute any purpose of ambition, or motive of revenge. Donal, the son of Conal, and grandson of Maolduin, who were of the Fergusian race, was assassinated, in 695 A.D. (*n*). Yet, such was the vigour, or the fortune of Ferchar, that he continued to govern an irascible people, amid family competition, during one-and-twenty years. And he died, in 702, when his bloody sceptre passed into the rival house.

To Ferchar, succeeded Eocha'-rineval, the son of Domangart, who, as we have seen, was assassinated, in 652. It is universally agreed, that Eocha', who was remarkable for his Roman nose, was of the house of Fergus, as he was the grandson of Donal-breac (*o*). His reign was certainly short; and it probably was unfortunate. His encroaching spirit prompted him to invade the neighbouring territories of the Britons of Strathcluyd; but, he was vigorously re-

Boece, and Buchanan, translate the name into Malduinus. The Gaelic Poem gives him, in the Irish form, the name of Maolduin, which literally signifies *bald* and *brown*. This was a proper name among the old Irish. The father of Fergal, the king of Ireland, from 710 to 722 A.D., was Maoladuin. Ware's *Antiq.* p. 21. The deaths of Malduin, the king of Ossory, and Maolduin MacCinfaola, the chief of Rathboh, are mentioned, in the Ulster annals, under 816 A.D.

(*m*) All the authorities concur, in stating that, Ferchar succeeded Maolduin; and reigned one-and-twenty years. But, there is some doubt among them, in respect to his filiation. The chronicles, in Innes's Appendix, studiously omit this important point. O'Flaherty, on the authority of the Book of Lecan states, that Ferchar-*fada* was of the race of Loarn, in the eighth descent. Ogygia, p. 479; and Ogygia vindicated, p. 109—141. Innes in his MS. Ecclesiastical Hist. says, though he tells not on what authority, that Ferchar-*fada* was the son of Ferchar, the first. The series of the kings, and the dates of events, evince, that he was the grandson of the first Ferchar. See the Chronological Table.

(*n*) Ulster Annals; Enquiry 1789, v. ii. p. 311.

(*o*) Enquiry 1789, v. ii. p. 120; the chronicles, in Innes's Appendix, N° 4, and 5, give three years to the reign of Eocha'; and the Chronicle of Melros supports them, on this head. The Chron. Rythm. expands its length to thirteen years. The Gaelic Poem restrains this reign to two years; and the Enquirer 1789, assumes this restriction; while O'Flaherty gives it an elongation of seven years, upon no better evidence, than supposititious dates.

pulsed, in a bloody conflict, on the banks of the Leven (*p*). And he had the additional misfortune, in the subsequent year, to have his feeble sceptre seized, by a prince of the rival race of Loarn.

Ainbhcealach, the son of Ferchar-fada, succeeded Eocha', in 705 A.D. The Gaelic Bard speaks of the new king as Ainbhcealach-*maith* mhic Fearchair, Ainbhcealach, *the good*, the son of Ferchar. He reigned, since he was too good for a savage people, and a wretched age, only one year, as all the authorities agree, and as probability attests (*q*). He was dethroned by his brother, Selvach; and he was thus obliged, in 706 A.D. to seek that shelter, from the hospitality of Ireland, which he appears to have received. The ferocity of Selvach carried the torch through Dunolla, his father's castle, and his brother's residence. At the end of twelve years, Ainbhcealach returned from Ireland, with some assistance: but, he perished, during the year 719, in a gallant struggle, for his tarnished sceptre, in the battle of Finglein, a small valley, among the mountains of Loarn (*r*).

Upon the expulsion of Ainbhcealach, in 706, A.D., Selvach began to sway the sceptre, which he had wrested from his brother's hand. He was not, however, able to extend his sovereignty over the whole of the Scoto-Irish territories. A powerful antagonist of the rival race of Fergus, rose up, at this epoch, to resist the usurped power of Selvach, and to assert the right of his own sept. Duncha-beg, who was descended from Fergus, by the line of Comgal, assumed the government of Kintire, and Argail, and confined the rule of Selvach to his family district of Loarn. We thus perceive two reguli, of rival lineages, governing with equal authority, two distinct divisions of the Dalriadinian kingdom (*s*). Selvach, and Duncha, the little, appear to have been princes of equal

(*p*) O'Flaherty states, in Anno 704, "Strages Dalriedinorum in valle Levinii." Ogygia, p. 479. This must be the valley on the river Leven, in Dunbarton-shire.

(*q*) Enquiry 1789, v. ii. p. 120; and see the Chronological Table. This singular name has been variously transformed, by the different chroniclers: Arinchellar, Armkellach, Armchallach, Amrikellech; by Buchanan, he is called Amberkellétus; by Tigernach, Anbkellach; by the Ulster Annals, Ainsceallach; by the Gaelic Poem, Ainbcheallach. Ainbhceallach appears, plainly, to have been a compound name. *Ceallach* was an appropriate appellation among the great men of the old Irish. O'Brien's Dict. *Ceallach* signifies *war, strife*. Id. *Cellach* appears, in the series of the Irish kings, from 642 to 648 A.D. Usher's Prim. p. 947; Ware's Antiq. p. 20. What the prefix *Ainbh* signifies, it is not easy to ascertain. *Ainbhi* means *ferocious*: so Ainbhi-Ceallach might mean the ferocious Ceallach. Aine-Ceallach, in Irish, would denote the *agile* Ceallach. *Ain-ceallach*, in the same language, means the *honourable*, praise-worthy, or the *pleasant* Ceallach; which agrees with the qualities assigned to this king, by the Gaelic Bard.

(*r*) Tigernach, in Ogygia, p. 479; Ulster Annals; Stat. Acco. v. x. p. 524.

(*s*) Neither of the chronicles, N^o 4, 5, and 6, in Innes's Appendix, introduces into the series of

equal ferocity, of equal valour, and of equal enterprize. Their ambition, and activity, produced many conflicts, which ended, in the misery of their tribes. In 719 A.D., they both set out, in their currachs, to invade the territories of each other: and, they met off *Ardanesse*, on the coast of *Argyle*, when a naval battle commenced, which was long maintained, with the fury of family conflicts, and the gallantry of rival kings. The superior fortune of Duncha, at length prevailed over the intrepid skill of Selvach, who was defeated, but not subdued (*t*). So nearly equal was the strength of the rival races of Fergus, and of Loarn, and so equally balanced were the powers of mischief, in Duncha, and Selvach, that they continued, for some time, to contend for pre-eminence; since neither would admit a superior, and scarcely would allow an equal. Duncha, at length, yielded to nature, but not to Selvach, in 721, A.D. (*u*); when his sceptre, and his sword, were assumed by Eocha' III., the son of Eocha'-rineval (*x*). The rivalry of the two kings continued. At Air-Gialla, in 727, A.D., an undecisive conflict was fought, between Selvach, and Eocha', which left their tempers inflamed, and their tribes miserable (*y*). But, the death of the able, and unscrupulous, Selvach, in 729, A.D., seems to have ended, for a time, the competition of the two houses, and the wretchedness of their clans (*z*). In the meantime, the enterprize of Selvach attacked the more civilized Britons of Strathcluyd. He appears to have defeated them, at Lough-

modern

of the Scottish kings either Selvach, or Duncha-beg: they place Eogan after Ainbhceallach. Neither does the Gaelic Bard place either Selvach, or Duncha, in the royal line. Yet, O'Flaherty, on the authority of the Irish annals, places Selvach after Ainbhceallach, and Eocha', or Achaius, after Selvach: but, he does not mention the length of their reigns. The Enquirer 1789 introduces, indeed, Selvach after Ainbhceallach; and assigns him, without authority, a reign of twenty years: he places Eocha' after Selvach; and also gives him, without authority, a reign of ten years. Enquiry, v. ii. p. 120—5. But, the facts, which are distinctly stated by Tigernach, and by the Ulster Annals, evince the separate sovereignty of Selvach, and Duncha beg; and demand, that they should be placed, in the series of the kings.

(*t*) Tigernach, in Ogygia, p. 480; Ulster Annals.

(*u*) Tigernach, in Ogygia, p. 480; Ulster Annals.

(*x*) The Duncha-beg of the Ulster Annals is latinized, by O'Flaherty, into *Duncadus-parvus*. Donncha is a very common name among the old Irish. O'Brien. Donchad appears more than once, in the series of the kings of Ireland. Ogygia, p. 429—33. Donchad occurs frequently in the Ulster Annals, and in Tigernach, as an Irish name. it is a common name among the Scotch-Irish, to the present day. Duncha-beg was of the Fergusian race of Comgal, among whom, this was a family name: Duncha, the grandson of Comgal, was killed, as we have seen, in the battle of Loro, A.D. 575-6. The Irish Dunchad is the English Duncan. The Enquirer 1789, v. ii. p. 164. insists that, the gracious Duncan of the Scottish history is a *Gothic* name, from *Dun*, a fort, and *Kan*, *possum*, *valeo*: And, the author boasts of this systematic folly, as far superior to any Irish etymology!

(*y*) Ulster Annals.

(*z*) Id.

colet, in 710; and at the rock of Mionuire, in 716, A.D. (a). But, as their several countries were imperviously separated by lochs, defiles, and mountains, little advantage seems to have been obtained, beyond the gratification of hatred, or perhaps the obtention of plunder.

Eocha' III., the son of Eocha' II., who is remembered for his protuberant nose, became king of Kintyre, and Argail, as we have seen, on the death of Duncha, the little. Eocha' was of the Fergusian race of Gauran (b). He had to execute the arduous task of maintaining a civil war against such an antagonist as Selvach. These domestic conflicts seem to have been closed, after the battle of Air-Gialla, by a commodious compromise, which the safety of the tribes may have sought, and the interest of the families dictated. It is certain, from the series of the kings, that the two houses of Fergus, and Loarn, furnished a sovereign, for the Dalriadian kingdom, by a sort of alternate choice, though each several tribe, and individual prince, yielded but a slight obedience to the reigning king. The death of Selvach transferred the government of Loarn to Eocha'; and, from this transfer, the whole Scoto-Irish kingdom became again united in the sceptre of Eocha'. Eocha III. died, in 733, A.D., after a reign of nine years over Kintyre, and Argail, and of four years over all the Dalriadian tribes.

He was immediately succeeded by Muredach, the son of Ainbhceallach, who was of the race of Loarn (c). This peaceful succession, among a people, who

(a) *Ulster Annals.*

(b) This Eocha' is excluded with Selvach, by the Gaelic Bard, from the royal line. O'Flaherty, however, places him after Selvach. When Tigernach mentions the demise of Eocha' III. he speaks of him, as the son of Eocha', "Achais filius Achaij." *Ogygia*, p. 480. This specification shows the error of those late writers, who consider Eocha', as the son of Duncha-beg, merely, because he succeeded him, in the government, at a time, when there was no regular rule of succession, but a slight attention to the royal races. O'Flaherty even more expressly, than Tigernach, calls "Achais III. Achaij II. filius." *Ogygia*, p. 480: And he repeats the same position, in the *Ogygia vindicated*, p. 101. In support of O'Flaherty's genealogy, it may be mentioned, that Eocha' is a family name of the Gauran race, but not of the Comgal family. See the Chronological Table. In this part of the series, the chronicles, in Innes's App. N^o 4, 5, & 6, place Eogan, who is said by N^o 4. to have been the son of Ferchar-fada; and by N^o 5. to have been the son of Findan, which is obviously a mistake, for Ferchar. This Eogan of the chronicles appears plainly to have been the Eocha' of Tigernach, the *Ulster Annals*, and of O'Flaherty. The filiation of Eogan, in the chronicles, is undoubtedly wrong: for, Ferchar-fada appears to have had only two sons; Ainbhceallach, and Selvach; and Tigernach, in speaking of the contest between them, calls them the two sons of Ferchar-fada. The mistake of the chroniclers may have arisen, by omitting Selvach, the younger son of Ferchar; and by applying his filiation to Eogan, the next in the series, who was the proper Eocha'.

(c) Tigernach states the filiation of Muredach very distinctly, to be from the house of *Loarn*. *Ogygia*, p. 480; and, in this filiation, he is confirmed by the *Ulster Annals*.

were

were so irascible from nature, and so inflamed by collision, seems to intimate some previous interposition of the tribes, and some subsequent agreement among the kings. By the Gaelic Bard, he is called Mureadhaigh *Mhaith*, Muredagh, *the good*, who now reigned sole monarch of the Dalriadinian territories. Soon after his accession, events occurred, which involved the people in devastation, and misery. Dungal, the son of Selvach, who appears to have inherited the vices, without the virtues, of his father, was prompted by his baseness, to invade the island of Culren Rigi, and to carry off the Pictish Forai, the daughter of Brude, and the niece of the great Ungus. This aggravated insult was soon avenged by severe retribution. Dungal, meantime, conducted an expedition into Ulster (*d*); whence he seems to have been repulsed; as he soon returned. It was not foreseen, that while this fleet sailed westward, from the shores of Loarn, a storm was gathering, in the east, that would drench the native tribe of Muredach in blood. In 736 A.D., Ungus, the enraged king of the Picts, led his army from Strathern, through the passes of the mountains, into Loarn, which he wasted with fire, and sword. He seized Duna, and burnt Creic, two of the strengths of Loarn (*e*); and, having taken prisoners the two sons of Selvach, Dungal, and Feradach, he carried them in fetters to Forteviot, his capital (*f*). The rage of Ungus seems to have been thus satisfied. The tribe of Lorn was overpowered, but not subdued (*g*). Muredach collected his warriors; and followed the track of his foe. A sharp conflict ensued, at Cnuic-Coirbre, where he was repulsed, with great slaughter; and whence, he was pursued, by Talorgan, the brother of Ungus, who commanded the Picts, on this bloody field (*h*). Muredach was probably slain, in his flight; as he certainly died, in 736, A.D., after an afflictive reign of three years (*i*). But, this
unsuccessful

(*d*) Tigernach, in Ogygia, p. 480.

(*e*) Duna stood in Mid-lorn, some miles east from Dunolla, which was the chief residence of the Loarn dynasty. See the Map of Loarn, in Blaeu's Atlas, N^o 35.

(*f*) Tigernach, in Ogygia, p. 480; Ulster Annals.

(*g*) This invasion, and waste of Loarn, by Ungus, is converted, by the systematic wand of the Enquirer 1789, into the total destruction of the country, the king, and his race, v. ii. p. 125. This annihilation, he performs, contrary to his own authorities, to events, and to facts; in order to let into history a new system, which is to give a Pictish race of kings to the Dalriadinian territories; and, finally, to make the Picts conquer the Scots, instead of the conquest of the Picts, by the Scots. For this system, truth is sacrificed, facts are falsified, and history is perverted.

(*h*) Ulster Annals.

(*i*) The Chronicles, No. 4, 5, 6, in Innes's App. and the Gaelic Poem, all place Muredach on the throne, at this period; and give him a reign of three years. With the epoch of the accession of Muredach, O'Flaherty concurs; but, not so, the Enquirer 1789, who places this event, in

unsuccessful war with the Picts did not end with his unimportant life. Hostilities continued against the tribe of Loarn, till the princes of this race were so depressed, that the Fergusian family gained the ascendancy, which had been lost by the destiny of Donal-breac.

Eoghan, or Ewan, the son of Muredach, seized the fallen sceptre of his father, in 736 A.D. He had to sustain the destructive enmity of the Picts. And, he died, in 739, after an insignificant reign of three years. If we were to credit recent Inquiries, which too often substitute system for truth, we ought to relate, that Eogan never reigned (*a*). But, chronology demands the period of this reign, for supplying the precision of its series, as well as the length of its continuance. And, truth requires the sacrifice of system, which would bury her consistency amidst the conceits of conjecture, and the obscurities of error (*b*).

Aodh-fin,

736 A.D. though he quotes, expressly, Tigernach, who clearly assigns the sceptre to Muredach, in 733 A.D. Enquiry, v. ii. p. 125. The name of Muredach is variously transformed, by the several chronicles, into Murdauch, Murochat, Murthec; and translated by Fordun, and Buchanan, into Muirdacus, by Boece into Mordacus, by O'Flaherty into Muredachus. By the Ulster Annals, the same name is called Muireach, the (*d*) being quiescent; by the Gaelic Poem, Mureadhaigh: Muireadhach, in Irish, is the proper name of a man: it signifies a *mariner*. O'Brien. The name of Muirechard has the same meaning. Muredach, the grandson of Neil, the king of Ireland, was the first husband of Erca, the daughter of Loarn, as we have seen, by whom she had Muirechard, who was king of Ireland, from 513 to 534 A.D. Ware's Antiq. p. 19.

(*a*) Enquiry, 1789, v. ii. p. 125—7: Disdaining the veracious chronicles, yet copying the Gaelic poem, this writer excludes Eogan from the series of the kings, between Muredach, and Aodh-fin; by which rejection he is obliged to make a breach, in the chronology, that the three years reign of *Eogan* completely supplies. This name has been variously transformed into Heogan, Ewen, Eugenius. Eogan was the name of several great men among the old Irish. Eogan-môr was king of Munster, during the second century. O'Brien's Dict. Eogan appears to have been a family name among the race of Loarn; as the father of Ferchar I. was called Eogan. The son of Neil, the king of Ireland, and the father of Muredach, who married Erca, was named Eogan.

(*b*) The Chronicles all concur, in making Eogan succeed his father Muredach; and in giving him a reign of three years. The Gaelic poem introduces anarchy, at the demise of Muredach, into the true series of the Scottish kings, till it recognizes Dungal, who preceded Alpin. The wildness of the Gaelic bard is not even countenanced, by the Irish annalists. On the other hand, the Chronicles, No. 4, 5, and 6, in Innes's App. as well as two other unpublished Chronicles, which were compiled from quite different documents; all agree, in the consistency of the series of the Scottish kings, and in the length of their several reigns, from the demise of Muredach, to the accession of Kenneth, the son of Alpin. The Chronicles regularly state the filiation of every king, with the connection of his predecessors, and successors. And, their statements perfectly agree with the requisite chronology, and the authentic notices of that long period, without the necessity of adding, subtracting, or altering, a single month. In such coincidences, the truth is always found, notwithstanding the perplexities of error, arising from design, or theory. Not one of the supposititious kings of the Gaelic bard, namely; Conal, Constantine, Aongus, and Eogan; appears, in

Aodh-fin, the son of Eocha' III. and the grandson of Eocha'-rineval, succeeded Eogan, in 739 A. D. The Gaelic bard calls this new king, who was descended from Fergus, by the race of Gauran, Aodh na *Ard-fhlaith*, which has been loosely translated, "Hugh, *the high king.*" The Gaelic *Ard*, as applied to places, means *high*; but, as applied to persons, signifies *mighty, great, noble*. Hugh, the son of Eocha', appears to have merited the bardic epithet of *great*. From this circumstance, as it is corroborated by events, we may perceive, through so many obscurities, that the feeble Eogan was hurled from his unstable throne, by the vigorous rivalry of the great Hugh (*c*). The Dalriadinian tribes had

in any of the genealogical chronicles of the Scottish kings, or even in any of the Irish annals: Those fictitious personages were surreptitiously abstracted from the genuine series of the Pictish kings: And, from this obscure, and scandalous parentage, and from the feigned, and odious, filiation of the bard, did O'Flaherty, and the Enquirer, 1789, adopt this spurious progeny of poetic fiction, instead of the real issue of chronicled veracity: Yet, is it from this illegitimate source of bardic imposition, that the Enquirer, 1789, has borrowed his system of Pictish conquests over Loarn; of Pictish kings, for the Scoto-Irish, in the Dalriadinian districts; and of the conquests of the Picts over the Scots, rather than the conquest of the Scots over the Picts. O'Connor, who did not dislike such flights of fiction, in the regions of history, remarked, that the derangements of the Gaelic poem are visible, from 719 to 895 A. D.; and gave it, as his opinion, that this part of the poem must have been corrupted, and modernized. The Enquirer, 1789, declares, even while he adopts the bardic fictions, "that many of the errors, in the Gaelic poem, must be the mistakes of the "bard, who composed it." Vol. ii. p. 328-9; and p. 109; where this writer delivers contradictory judgments of the Gaelic poem, and the ancient Chronicles. He tries to disparage the Chronicles, because they stood in the way of his system: And, he preferred the fictitious series in the poem, because it better suited his purpose of a Pictish dynasty. To effectuate his point, he is obliged to interpolate the poetic series, by adding four kings; three of whom, he took from O'Flaherty, and the Chronicles; and the fourth, Doncorcai, he borrowed from the Dalriadæ of Ireland: And, in the same spirit of system, he assigns to those kings arbitrary reigns of indefinite periods, without attention to dates, or warrant of authorities: Thus, with his Harlequin's sword, does system hew down, into a chaos of confusion; annals and chronicles, dates and chronology, documents and authorities, events and facts, consistency and truth. See the Enquiry, 1789, v. ii. p. 126—136.

(*c*) The veracious Chronicles, and the Gaelic poem, all concur, in stating, that Aodh-fin succeeded Eogan, in 739 A. D.; and reigned thirty years: And, these coincidences are copied by O'Flaherty, Innes, and the Enquirer, 1789. Though the Chronicles equally agree in the filiation of Aodh-fin, which is confirmed by circumstances, by showing, that Aodh-fin was the grandson of Eocha'-rineval, and a lineal descendant of the stock of Fergus; yet, doth system interpose to make Aodh-fin, a Pictish prince, the creature of the great Ungus, who, as we have seen, over-ran Loarn: System, in equal defiance of all the authorities, of every fact, and of various events, makes Ungus annihilate both the prince, and people of Loarn; (for Argail, and Kintire, he seems not to have attacked); and to place a Pictish prince in the vacant throne. Enquiry 1789, v. ii. p. 129-30. Yet, the Chronicles, No. 4 and 5, in Innes's App. distinctly state Aodh-fin, as the son of Eocha'-rineval. The genealogy at the end of the Chron. No. 4, in Innes's App. more correctly states
Aodh-fin

had now at their head a sovereign, who was equal to the crisis of their affairs. In 740 A. D. Hugh, the Great, met the mighty Ungus, the king of the Picts, in a doubtful conflict. Such was the issue of this well-fought field, that those able sovereigns seem to have declined such hostile collisions, during their subsequent disputes. Ungus, whose sword had borne victory on its edge, died in 761 A. D. And the tide of success appears to have now turned, in favour of the Scots, against the less fortunate Picts. In that age, national power depended more on the personal character of the princes, than the general energies of the people. During the reign of Ungus, the Picts were transcendant: During the administration of Aodh-fin, the Scots gained the superiority. Yet, of that truth uncivilized tribes were unconscious. And, between these neighbour nations, ill-will, and enmity, continued long to produce their consequences of alternate attacks, and subsequent repulses. The vigour of Aodh-fin, at length, carried warfare into the heart of the Pictish territories. Hostility found his destructive course, during those mutual conflicts, through the natural passages, from Braid-Alban into Glenurchay, and Upper-Loarn. By reversing this hostile course, Aodh-fin penetrated to Fortren, the Pictish capital, in Strathern, during 767 A. D. Here, with all his conduct, and all his valour, he fought with Ciniod, the Pictish king, a doubtful battle, which left him only the difficult alternative of ruin, or retreat (*d*). The Picts had gathered round their capital, and king; and seizing the defiles of the mountains, had made it almost impossible for Aodh-fin to advance, with success, or to retreat, with safety. By great efforts of skill, and bravery, he conducted, however, his warriors, within the passes of Upper-Loarn, where the Picts declined to follow him. He did not long outlive this adventurous exploit. After a glorious reign of thirty years, he died in 769 A. D.; leaving his sceptre, but not his sword, to his son Fergus (*e*).

Contemporary

Aodh-fin to have been the son of Eocha' III. who was the son of Eocha'-rineval, who was the son of Domangart. Some of the Chronicles, probably, confounded the father, with the grandfather, of Aodh-fin: But, whether he was the son, or the grandson, of Eocha'-rineval, he was alike the lineal descendant of Fergus, through the race of Gauran, as the Genealogical Table clearly shows.

(*d*) For those conflicts, see the Ulster Annals, in the several years, 736, 740, and 767.

(*e*) The year 769 is stated by Innes, in his MS. Eccles. History, as the epoch of the demise of Aodh-fin. The Chronological Table evinces the same point. O'Flaherty, who had not the benefit of Innes's Chronicles, mistakes this epoch of the demise of Aodh-fin. Ogygia, p. 481. The Enquirer, 1789, who seems to have associated more with O'Flaherty, than with Innes, places the accession of Aodh-fin, in 743 A. D.; but, this is a date of fabrication, as there is for it not one authority. Aodh-fin is variously denominated by Chronicles Ed-albus, and Eda-fin, Heth-fin, and Het-fin: He is called, by Fordun, Etha-find; by Wyntown, Hed-white; and by Buchanan, Et-finus: O'Flaherty calls him Aod-fion, corruptly Eth-fin. Aodh-fin denotes *fair*, or *whitehaired* Aodh.

Contemporary with Aodh-fin, there reigned over the Picts, the great Ungus, who died in 761; Bredei, who died in 763; and Ciniod, who governed till 775, A. D. But, with all the vigour, and superiority, of Aodh-fin, there still ruled, according to the Irish polity, which has been already noticed, a regulus, in Argail, and a prince, in Lorn. In 746 A. D. died Dunlaing Mac-Dunchon, the chief of the tribe of Ardgail, say the Ulster Annals: Dunlaing was plainly the son of the illustrious Duncha-beg, who died in 721. At the end of more than half a century, Fiangelach, the son of Dunlaing, was slain, in a civil war, between the rival tribes of Argail, and Lorn (*f*). These facts evince, that this enfeebling polity continued to distract, and ruin, the Dalriadinian kingdom, till the final period of its wretched existence.

Fergus, the son of Aodh-fin, who was of the Fergusian race of Gauran, succeeded his father, in 769 A. D.; and reigned three years (*g*). His character was unessential. The shortness, and unimportance, of his reign, left no events for history to narrate, and no instruction for ethicks to inculcate.

Selvach II. the son of Eogan, who was of the ambitious race of Loarn, succeeded Fergus, in 772 A. D. The want of events, during his inefficient government, cast obscurity, and unimportance on his reign of four-and-twenty years (*h*). He ceased to govern, in 796 A. D. when his sceptre was assumed by a prince of a different lineage, and of greater fame.

Eocha'

Aodh. Aodh is a proper name, both among the Irish, and the Scoto-Irish. O'Brien, Macdonald, Gaelic Vocab. In English, this name is Hugh, which is nearly the pronunciation of the Irish appellation. The Irish princes seem to have affected the name of Aodh: No fewer than five of the supreme kings of Ireland, from 572 to 820 A. D. were called Aodh. This name is latinized Aeda, and Aidus. Usher Prim. p. 947; Ogygia, p. 431—3. It was improperly latinized by Ware Edanus. Antiq. Hibern. p. 20—22.

(*f*) Annals of Ulster sub An. 799.

(*g*) See the Chron. Table. All the chronicles agree, in giving Fergus II. a reign of three years. Innes, in his MS. Eccles. Hist. states his death in 772 A. D. The Ulster Annals, indeed, state the death of Fergus Mac-Echach, the king of Dalriada, in 780. If the annalist meant Fergus II. who was king of the Dalriadæ, in Argyle, he certainly mistook the true epoch of his demise. There is, in fact, no Eachach, in the whole series of the Dalriadinian kings. Perhaps this Fergus Mac-Eachach of the Ulster Annals was one of the reguli of Dalriadæ, in Ireland: In 791 A. D. the same Annals record the death of Duncorcai, the king of Dalriadæ. Now, the whole Scottish chronicles reject such a king: Yet, this Duncorcai, who was obviously one of the reguli of the Irish Dalriadæ, is thrust, by the violence of system, into the series of the Scottish kings. Enquiry, 1789, v. ii. p. 126-7.

(*h*) See the Chron. Table. All the chronicles agree, that he reigned four-and-twenty years, from 772 A. D. Innes, in his MS. Eccles. Hist. places the demise of Selvach II. in 796 A. D.: Yet, system, for its own purpose of anarchy, supposes, that this Selvach II. may be Selvach I.

Eocha'-annuine, the son of Aodh-fin, who was of the Gauran race of Fergus, succeeded Selvach II. in 796 A.D. The Chronicle, in the Register of St. Andrews, gives him the sobriquet of *annuine*, and the Colbertine Chronicle the epithet *venenosus* (i): Thus *annuine* is probably a corruption of the Irish *nimbneach*, which, when applied to plants, signifies *poisonous*; but, when applied to persons, means *peevish*, or *passionate* (k). Eocha' IV. is the *Achaius* of the Latin annalists. As the clans were seldom at rest, he found probably, on his accession to the Dalriadan throne, a civil war raging between the tribe of Argail, and the tribe of Loarn, which had perhaps proved fatal to his predecessor, Selvach. These rival, and exasperated, families, indulged their spirit, and tried their strength, in 799 A. D. Fiangelach, the son of Dunlaing, fell on the bloody field: Conal, the son of Neill, and Congalach, the son of Aongus, triumphed over the tribe of Argail (l). The feuds of the rival families could neither be pacified, nor restrained. Aongus, the son of Dunlaing, also met the usual fate of savage strife, in 812 A. D. (m) Eocha', the superior king, looked with indifference, perhaps, on those enfeebling feuds, which he probably foresaw would end in the degradation of the two emulous tribes of Argail, and Lorn. And, his interposition is never mentioned, because it was never felt. Of Eocha, the Achaius of Fordun, and Buchanan, fiction has feigned, that he was ambitious of foreign alliances: He is said, by fablers, to have courted the connection of his great contemporary, Charlemagne, which was consolidated, by a treaty of doubtful existence. This fable was related, and received, in the last century, as a fact: In our own times, it has been discussed, and derided, as a fiction, though the fact may have applied to the reguli of a neighbouring region (n).

Fable

who died in 729 A. D. who may possibly have been misplaced by all the chronicles. Enquiry, 1789, v. ii. p. 133. where the *genuine chronology* is called a *childish falsification*. The Chron Elegiacum, in the Chronicle of Melros, which is reprinted in the same Enquiry, p. 330, confirms the three chronicles, in Innes, as to Selvach II. Thus, the whole chronicles, which were early compiled by different pens, are charged, by system, with "this pitiful forgery." The chronicles have assigned to Selvach the various names of Selvac, Sealvanc, Sealuhanc: By Wyntown, he is called Sewald; by Fordun, Selwathius; by Buchanan, Solwathius; by Tigernach, Selvachus. The proper Irish name is Sealbhach; and *Sealbuigh*, in the Irish, signifies, a proprietor, or owner. O'Brien's Dict. *Sealbhach* means abounding in cattle, or having many possessions, from *Sealbh*, signifying *cattle, possession*. Id. We must always recollect that, (bh), in the Irish grammar, is pronounced like the English (v).

(i) Innes's Appendix, No. 4 and 5.

(k) O'Brien's Dict.

(l) Ulster Annals

(m) Id.

(n) The late Lord Hailes published, in 1773, "Remarks on the History of Scotland;" wherein he shows the supposed alliance of Achaius with Charlemagne to be a positive fiction. He was followed,

Fable also attributes to this alliance the origin of the well-known *double tressure*, which ornaments the Scottish arms. To Achaius is, moreover, attributed, by heraldic fallacy, the institution of *the most ancient order of the thistle* (o). The obscurity of the age of Achaius, and the deficiency, both of record, and of annals, left a commodious field, for fiction to occupy, while in quest of adventures, which might be embellished with any attributes, and transmitted in any fable. It was reserved, for recent times, to affiance criticism with history, which is enabled, by the union, not only to record events, and to inculcate morals, but to examine notices, and appretiate characters. Achaius entered into a real league, which was of more importance to him, to his children, and to his country. He married Urgusia, the daughter of Urguis; and the sister both of Costantin, who ruled over the Picts, from 791 to 821 A.D. and of Ungus, who reigned from 821 to 830 (p). This natural alliance enabled Kenneth, the son of Alpin, the son of Achaius, to claim, and acquire, the Pictish sceptre, as the grandson of Urgusia. Achaius died, in 826 A.D. after a prosperous reign of thirty years. (q).

lowed, in the same year, by the late Lord Elibank, with counter-remarks; wherein he says, "It would be hard to strip the Scots of the ostentation of this alliance; because that silly declaimer, Hector Boece, has made it the ground-work of fable." Neither of those writers seems to have known, that the very learned Schoepflin had already decided this controversy against the pretensions of the Scottish Achaius, in favour of some Irish reguli; and had incidentally freed the Scottish kings from the scandal of obeying the will of the munificent Charlemagne, for money. *Commentationes Historicae*, 1751, p. 392. As system, by following the foolish fictions of the Gaelic poem, had excluded, from the true series of the Scottish kings, this Achaius IV. the same spirit of innovation has assigned over this diplomatic fable to Achaius III. who died in 733, though Charlemagne died, in 814 A.D. Such is the absurdity of system, while in pursuit of something new, either for the purpose of theory, or for the ends of anarchy! See the Enquiry, 1789, v. ii. p. 123.

(o) Nisbet's Heraldry, v. ii. p. 114. The order of the Thistle was probably established by James V. in 1534; obscured by the reformers; and re-established by James VII. in 1687. *Histoire des Ordres Religieux et Militaires*; Paris, 1719, tom. 8, p. 388. The double tressure of the Scottish armouries is probably of modern origin. See *the Works of Armoric*, 1597, p. 41. See, however, the title-page of Bellenden's Boece, 1541, which consists of the armorial bearings of Scotland, most heraldically displayed: Herein may be seen the *double tressure*, with the fleurs de lis, the collar of the order of the Thistle, with St. Andrew on his cross appendant.

(p) Innes's MS. Eccles. Hist.; and Crit. Essay, p. 141; and for this curious fact, he quotes the Scottish historians from Fordun and Boece, to Lesley and Buchanan. Probability, and events, establish the fact, with more conviction, than the mere assertion of uncritical historians.

(q) See the Chron. Table. All the chronicles concur in saying that, Eocha'-annuine was the son of Aodh-fin; that he succeeded Selvach II. in 796, and reigned thirty years. O'Flaherty has given Eocha' IV. his appropriate place, in the series of the Scottish kings; and from Irish authorities, he shows him to have been the son of Aodh-fin. By giving Eocha' IV. this filiation, he confirms the Scottish chronicles, which he had never seen. Usher, mistakingly, states the demise of Eocha' IV. on the authority of Boece, in 819, instead of 826 A.D. Primord. p. 715, 1173.

Dungal, the son of Selvach II. who was of the race of Loarn, succeeded Eocha IV. or Achaius. Dungal is the last of this powerful family, who governed the Dalriadinian territories. The unimportance of his reign, arising from the insignificance of his character, has bequeathed no events to history, nor any instruction to government: He relinquished his sceptre to a different race, in 833 A.D. after a feeble reign of seven years (*r*). The Gaelic bard has spoken of this prince, as flaith Dungal *den*, King Dungal, the *brown*. But, *Den* is probably a mistake for *Donn*, which would, indeed, signify, in the Irish, *dun*, or brown complexioned: If we might suppose what is more likely, that the bard applied to Dungal the epithet *Din*, this would convey the idea of *pleasant*, or agreeable.

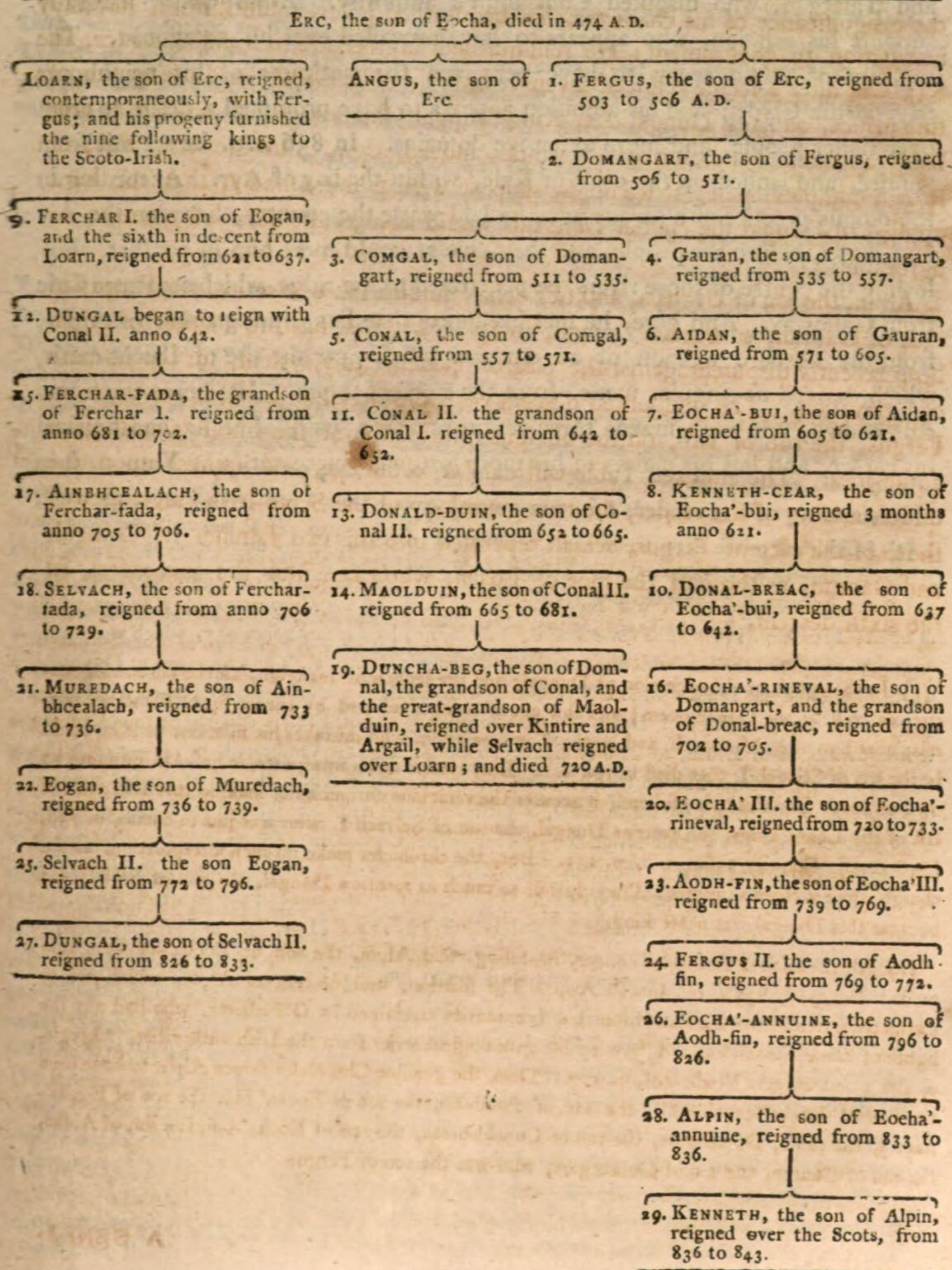
Alpin, the son of Urgusia, and of Eocha'-annuine IV. who was of the Fergusian race of Gauran, succeeded Dungal, in 833 (*s*). Yet, has the filiation of Alpin been recently disputed against the clearest evidence, by system, for the purpose of innovation. The undoubted descent of Alpin may be traced, however, from Fergus, the son of Erc, on the obvious information of the whole genealogical authorities. The annexed Table will exhibit to the eye, and impress upon the understanding of the reader, the true genealogy of the Scoto-Irish kings, as well those of the race of Fergus, which separated into the two families of Comgal, and Gauran, as those of the race of Loarn, who came into the succession, in the sixth descent.

(*r*) In the epoch of the accession of Dungal, and the length of his reign, all the chronicles concur, as well as the Gaelic poem; and this concurrence is adopted by Innes, by O'Flaherty, who misplaces him after Muredach, and by the Enquirer 1789, who mistakes his filiation, as if he could be the son of Selvach I. that died in 729 A. D. But, system again interposes, in order to promote its own objects: For this unlawful end, it accuses the veracious chronicles of making this Dungal, the last of the Loarn kings, the same as Dungal, the son of Selvach I. who was put in chains, in 739, [736 A. D.] Enquiry 1789, v. ii. p. 134. But, the chronicles make no such interpolation, as the charge against them supposes: They do not so much as mention Dungal, the son of Selvach I.; because this Dungal was never king.

(*s*) All the ancient chronicles concur, in stating, that Alpin, the son of Eocha'-annuine, succeeded Dungal in 833 A. D. Innes's App. The filiation, and descent of Alpin, which are so distinctly stated in the ancient chronicles, is expressly confirmed by O'Flaherty, who had not the lights of these chronicles, and drew up his genealogical series from the Irish authorities. Ogygia, p. 481; and Ogygia Vindicated, p. 117. Thus, the genuine Chronicles evince Alpin to have been the son of Eocha'-annuine IV. the son of Aodh-fin, the son of Eocha' III. the son of Eocha'-rineval, the son of Domangart, the son of Donald-breac, the son of Eocha'-bui, the son of Aidan, the son of Gauran, the son of Domangart, who was the son of Fergus.

A GENEALOGICAL

A GENEALOGICAL TABLE; showing the several descendants of Erc, the common progenitor of those princes, who held the Scoto-Irish sceptre, from A. D. 503 to 843: And exhibiting the three distinct races, who ruled over the Dalriadinian territories, during that long period.



Alpin probably derived his name, which has obscured history, and misled inquiry, from his mother Urgusia, a Pictish princess (*t*). Over the Picts reigned, contemporary with Alpin, Drest, the son of Constantin, his cousin, and Talargan, who disputed Constantin's authority. Alpin would naturally support his relation, who appears to have prevailed over his antagonist. The sagacity of Alpin seems to have perceived the weakness of his neighbours beyond the Clyde; and his ambition appears to have prompted a desire to reign over richer people, and more extensive domains. In 836 A.D. he set sail from Kintire, and landed on the coast of Kyle, within the bay of Ayr. According to the odious practice of a savage age, he laid waste the country, between the Ayr and Doon, before the people, and their chiefs, could meet him in conflict. Following the course of those rivers, he penetrated to the ridge, which separates Kyle from Galloway. And here, he met his appropriate fate, during a sharp struggle, from the obscure weapon of an enraged chief, near the site of Laicht-castle, which derived its singular name, from the stone of Alpin. His grave-stone was still known, and recognized, three centuries and a half, after he had finished his career, and left his claims to his more fortunate successor (*u*). Yet, is Alpin supposed,

(*t*) In addition to the Scottish chronicles, and Irish authorities, before mentioned, the filiation of Alpin is confirmed by the genealogy at the end of the Colbertine Chronicle, in Innes's App. p. 795; and by the genealogy, which was repeated by the bard, at the Coronation of Alexander III. in 1249. Major, p. 151. The same filiation is confirmed by another genealogy, which was drawn up, in the reign of David I. who died in 1153. Malcolm's Col. p. 3. The Chronicon of Dunblane, which is quoted in Innes's MS. Col. concurs with all these authorities. O'Flaherty intimates, indeed, that the genealogy of David I. up to Fergus the son of Erc, is still to be found in the well-known book of Lecan, in Trinity College, Dublin. Ogygia Vindicated, p. 141—147. The Scottish historians, from Fordun to Buchanan, agree, in making Alpin, the son of Eocha'-annuine, the son of Aodh-fin: And see the *Stemmas*, or Genealogical Trees, No. iii. and iv. in Lesley's Hist. Rom. Edit. Add to all those invincible authorities the Chronicon Elegiacum, in the Chronicle of Melrose, which concurs with them, in Gale, v. i. p. 595, and republished, in the Enquiry 1789, v. ii. p. 330. Yet, the author of this Enquiry asserts that, "the name of the father of Alpin, the father of Kenneth, is lost beyond all recovery. Ib. p. 132. Here, system again interposes to annihilate, by a stroke of theory, the obvious genealogy of Alpin, in order to let in the novelty of a Pictish succession: For this perversion, all authorities are hewn down, by the magic of prejudice; all history is by it perverted; events are displaced; and facts perverted: And, by this overpowering necromancy, the veracious chronicles are transformed into *childish falsifications*, and the real genealogies into *pitiful forgeries*. Ib. p. 133—35.

(*u*) With regard to the time, place, and circumstance of the death of Alpin, the last of the Scoto-Irish kings, two accounts have been given; one of fact; and another of fiction. (1.) That Alpine died, in 836 A. D. after a reign of three years, the ancient chronicles seem generally to agree. (2.) The Register of St. Andrews is the most ancient voucher for the death of Alpin, in Galloway, after much devastation: "Alpin fil. Heoghed-annuine 3 an: Hic occisus est in *Gallewatbia*,
" postquam

supposed, by Scottish history, to have fallen, in asserting his title to the Pictish throne,

“postquam eam penitus destruxit et devastavit.” Innes’s App. p. 798. The Chronicon of Dunblane, which belonged to Professor Ker of Aberdeen, and which is recited by Innes, in his MS. Collections, says: “Alpin fil. Heoched-annuine 3 an. regnavit rex; et occisus est in *Galwithia* postquam eam penitus devastavit: Et tunc translatus est regnum Scotorum in regnum Pictorum.” Wyntown, who had plainly his eye on the Register of St. Andrews, says of Alpin:

“He wan of ware all *Galloway*;
 “There, was he slayne, and dede away:
 “Aught hundyr wynter fourty and thre
 “Aftyr the blyst nativitie.”

Fordun, book iv. ch. ii. mentions the death of Alpin, but not the place, where that event happened. Major also mentions the death of Alpin, but not the place of his interment. 4to ed. p. 18. We come now to the evidence of record. The foundation charter of the town of Ayr, by William, in 1197, when describing the limits of its exclusive trade, calls for *Lacht-Alpin*, the stone, or grave, of Alpin, as one of the distinguishing boundaries. *Lacht-Alpin* gave rise to the name of an estate, after the Scoto-Irish language, in which *Leacht-Alpin* signifies the grave-stone of Alpin, was no longer understood, in Ayrshire: And hence the names in Blaeu’s map of Ayrshire, No. 19, of *Laicht-castle*, *Over-Laicht*, and *Nether-Laicht*, in the parish of Dalmelinton: These most significant names were left out of the late map of the same shire by Armstrong: But, upon inquiry at the place, I find, that those expressive appellations, which will never be forgotten, are now perfectly known: A letter, from an intelligent friend in Dalmelinton, informs me: “There are still the remains of an old castle, at a place called *Laicht*, in this parish, about two miles north-north-west of this village: It was much demolished by the proprietor, in the year 1771, in order to inclose some ground: It stands on the brink of a very deep glen, and was of great strength; and the workmen had much difficulty in demolishing it: There are two farms there, that still bear the name of Over, and Nether, *Laicht*.” The same intelligent friend remarks, that there is, in the parish, a tradition of a battle having formerly been fought, in that vicinity. The late Mr. Macmyne, the minister of Dalmelinton, relates, in his Statistical Account, “that there are some cairns, or *tumuli*, in the parish, which indicate, that a battle had been, at some time, there fought.” Another very intelligent friend has assured me, that there is, near the village of Dalmelinton, a remarkable barrow of a very perfect form. Thus the Register of St. Andrews, the Charter of Ayr, which calls for the grave-stone of Alpin, as a well-known boundary, the old castle of *Laicht*, the tradition of a conflict, the remaining *tumuli*; all concur to shew the remarkable place, where Alpin, the father of Kenneth, found repose from the turmoils of savage life, and left a grave-stone to perpetuate the remembrance of the fact. (2.) On the contrary, *fiction*, in the person of Boece, recounts a very different tale. Bellenden’s Boece, fo. 89. The death of Alpin is said to have happened, in a battle with the Picts, near Dundee, where he was taken, and beheaded. This story is retold by Buchanan, and by the other perverters of the Scottish history, down to Guthrie. The Statistical Account of Liff parish, wherein the battle is supposed to have been fought, near a place, called *Pit-alpie*, and in former times *Bas-alpin*, gives its additional testimony. The *Bas-alpin*, we are to understand, signifies, in the Irish language, the death of Alpin. Now, the fact is, that Elpin reigned along with Drest, over the Picts, from 725 to 730, when a civil war raged with great violence among that people. To this warfare, Drest fell a victim in 728; and after

throne, after the death of his cousin Uven, in right of his mother Urgusia (x). But, this supposition is inconsistent with events, and is rejected by chronology. The succession to Uven did not open to Alpin, as he fell, in 836, three years before the demise of Uven, in 839 A.D.

Kenneth, the son of Alpin, succeeded his father, in 836 A.D. The Gaelic Bard characterizes this prince, as *Chionaoith Chruaidh*, Kenneth, the *hardy*. His enterprize evinces that, the vigour of his mind was properly supported by the hardyhood of his body. His several invasions on the south of the Clyde, show what probability suggests, that he severely avenged the fate of his father (a). He seems to have depressed to their proper level the races of Argail, and Loarn, which were already weakened by civil war. Nor was he inattentive to the conflicts among the Picts, beyond Drum-Alban. While oppressed by their feebleness, the natural effects of their civil conflicts, the Pictish people were, at this period, harassed by the invasions of the Danish Vikingr (b). And the demise of Kenneth's relation, Uven, the Pictish king, after a distracted reign of three years, opened the prospect of his succession, in 839 A.D. The view, however, of Kenneth, to the succession of his grandmother Urgusia, was obstructed by Wred, the son of Bargoit, who retained the Pictish sceptre, during three disastrous years (c). But, the enterprize, and power, and valour, of Kenneth, wrested that ancient sceptre from the feeble hand of Wred, the last of the Pictish kings, in 843 A.D., after Kenneth had reigned over the Scots, seven active years (d). Yet, has system supposed, that the Picts rather subdued the Scots, than were subdued by their Scoto-Irish rivals. For this theory, tradition is contradicted, history is opposed, and truth is outraged. There are two *moral certainties*, which forbid the adopting of this theory, or the believing of

after several bloody battles, in which Elpin and his party were worsted, he at last fell before the superior force of Ungus, in 730 A.D. at a place in the parish of Liff, in Forfarshire, which, from that circumstance, has been named Bas-elpin, and Pit-elpie. See the Hist. of the Picts, ch. i p. 196. It is thus apparent, that Boece, Bellenden, Buchanan, and other fablers, have confounded the Pictish Elpin, who fell, in 730 A.D. at *Bas-Elpin*, in Forfarshire, with the Scoto-Irish Alpin, who fell, more than a century afterwards, at Laicht-Alpin, in Ayrshire.

(x) Innes's Crit. Essay, p. 141.

(a) The Colbertine Chron. in Innes's Crit. Essay, p. 783; Enquiry 1789, v. ii. p. 160.

(b) Ulster Annals. And see Book iii. ch. i.

(c) The Pictish Chronicle, in Innes's Crit. Ess. p. 781-2, 801; Register of St. Andrews, in Innes, p. 798; Chron. Ryth. in Innes, p. 812-13.

(d) Chron. Table. The ancient chronicles concur in this length of reign; and Innes has followed them, in his *Chronica Accurata*. The Gaelic Poem extends the reign of Kenneth over the Scots and Picts, to thirty years. O'Flaherty restrains this elongation to twenty years; to four over

of that system: it is morally certain, that the language, which was spoken by the people, on the north of the Clyde and Forth, was Cambro-British, till the close of the Pictish period, in 843 A.D.: it is also morally certain, that the prevailing language, within the same country, throughout the Scottish period, from 843 to 1097 A.D., was the Scoto-Irish, the speech of Kenneth, and his people (*e*).

Such is the genuine history of the Scoto-Irish kings of Kintire, Argail, and Loarn! It is a sort of historical miniature of the annals of their Irish progenitors. And the events, which compose the history of both, are the necessary consequences of the polity, that had governed the people of both, from the most early period of the Scottish history. The sovereignty of the kingdom of Ireland was subdivided into a *pentarchy*, which left four provincial kings to dispute the monarchy of the fifth (*f*). This pentarchy existed, certainly, before the epoch of the Irish emigration to North-Britain. From such a form of government, during savage times, what could be the consequences, but civil war, frequent assassinations, and perpetual anarchy (*g*)! The Scoto-Irish colonists appear to have introduced within the Dalriadinian kingdom, a similar constitution. The *flaiths*, or princes of three races, constantly contended with the general sovereign, for superiority, or exemption. And the Dalriadinian history is little more than the instructive narrative of their contests, and changes; of their bloody conflicts, and their wretched confusions. In the succession, both of the kings, and of the chieftains, the *dlighe-tanaiste*, or law of Tanistry, ap-

over the Scots, and sixteen years over the Picts. The name of this powerful prince is Kinedus, in the Chronicle No. 4. in Innes's Appendix; Cinacha, in the Genealogy No. 4. in the same Appendix; Kinath, in the Chron. No. 5; Kinadius, in the Pictish Chronicle; Chionaoith, in the Gaelic Poem; Kenethus, in Fordun; and Kennethus, in Buchanan. This is obviously the same name as Kenneth-ear before mentioned, though system supposes them to be different. This name, under different forms, is both Pictish, and Scottish; yet, system, in support of an absurd theory, maintains this appellation to be *Gothic*. Enquiry 1789, v. ii. p. 163.

(*e*) See Book iii. ch. xi. for proofs of those moral certainties. The Scots, I have found, while searching the chartularies, in the very act of changing the Pictish language, within the Pictish dominion: when we see the Scots substitute their own *Inver*, for the British *Aber*, both the words signifying the same thing, it is a demonstration, that the Cambro-British speech preceded the Scoto-Irish.

(*f*) Leland's Hist. Prelim. Dis. p. 7. *Coige*, in Irish, signifies the *fifth* part of any thing: hence, *Coige* became the term for *province*; because Ireland was divided into five territories, or provinces: so, "*Cuig coige na Heirion*," the five provinces of Ireland. O'Brien, in Vo. *Coige*. The subsequent fact of there being five provinces till recent times, evinces the previous policy of ancient ages, which we see confirmed in the very language of the old Irish people: so, also, *Coige-adhach* means a provincial. O'Brien, in Vo.

(*g*) See Cox's Apparatus to the History of Ireland.

pears to have been generally followed. The person, in the family, whether a son, or a brother, who seemed best qualified, either from abilities, or experience, to exercise authority, was fixed upon by the tribe, for the succession to the sovereign, or the chief. It is apparent, however, from the history both of Ireland, and of Argyle, that during the life of the reigning king, an heir presumptive was chosen, under the name of *Taniste*, who commanded the army, during the monarch's life, and succeeded him, after his demise, according to the established law (*b*). Much of the dignity of the monarch was supported by the voluntary contributions of the princes, and chiefs, which were paid in cattle, in clothes, and utensils: the monarch was obliged to purchase the support, and service, of the princes, and chiefs, by similar presents. For these, they entertained the sovereign in his journies, and served him, in his wars, at least, during a stated period (*i*). In civil compacts, which were so feeble, and admitted of so much cavil, we may perceive what the history of the two people evinces, the imbecility of the sovereign, and the weakness of the society; the king could scarcely enforce domestic quiet; and the people were hardly able to repel foreign invasions (*k*).

A similar polity appears to have pervaded all ranks among the Irish people, from the king to the prince, and from the prince to the chieftain, both in Ireland, and in Scotland. The toparch governed his district, as the monarch governed his kingdom: and the chieftains ruled their territories, and their raths, or fortified villages, upon the same principles of mutual dependence of the higher on the lower ranks, and of the subordinate on the superior (*l*). Such brittle ties were easily broken: and during rude times, when the voice of law was but faintly heard, the performance of those reciprocal duties could only be induced, by assassination, or the breach of them punished, by the sword.

In the meantime, such was the law of *Gavil-kind*, which the original planters had carried with them from Britain, that the tenure of lands, throughout the

(*b*) Ware's Antiq. p. 70; O'Brien's Dict. in Vo. *Tanaiste*. Sir Richard Cox, indeed, asserts, that the kings, and chiefs, did not succeed, either by descent, or election, but by force; so that the title of most of them is founded on the murder of his predecessor. Hist. Apparatus. See Holland's Camden, in Ireland, p. 120; wherein it appears that, according to the law of Tanistry, the possessor could not resign his rights, or his name, which he possessed, only, during his own life, without the consent of the tribe; that a man at full years was to be preferred before a boy, and an uncle before that nephew, whose grandfather survived the father. The custom of Tanistry was the common law of Ireland, before the conquest by Henry II. Davis's Reports, in the case of Tanistry, p. 101. These principles were insisted on by John O'Neal, the famous rebel, before Sir Henry Sydney, the Lord Justice of Ireland. We see also much of such notions, and practices, in the history of the Dalriadinian kings, and princes.

(*i*) *Lel. Prelim. Disc.* xxvi.

(*k*) *Ib.* xxvii.

(*l*) *Ib.* xxviii.

country,

country, determined with the life of the possessor (*m*). This law, under various modifications, continued to distract, and barbarize the Irish, till the late period of king James's settlement (*n*). A similar custom may be traced among the Scoto-Irish people of Argyle, till more recent times.

The Irish women, of whatever rank, seem not to have been entitled even to the slightest possession of land, under the Brehon law (*o*). They were assigned a certain number of their father's cattle, as their marriage portion, which, in the Irish speech, is called *Spre'*, that literally means *cattle*: *crodh* also signifies both *cattle*, and *dowry*, which, in those times, and in those countries, were synonymous (*p*). We shall see, in our progress, a very notable instance of this *Brehon* doctrine, as to women, among the Scoto-Irish: the Galloway-men universally rose, in support of the pretensions of a bastard-son, in opposition to the claims of three legitimate daughters of their late lord: and, it required all the power, and all the valour, of Alexander II., to enforce his opinion of law, and right, against the custom, and, perhaps, the privilege of the men of Galloway (*q*).

The herds of the Irish were so frequently within their contemplation, because, during a rude state of society, their flocks supplied so many comforts, that the Irish terms, *Sealbh*, and *Seilbh*, which signify *possession*, a *field*, also convey the idea of a *herd*, or *drove* (*r*). The Irish had another law term, *Toich*, which, at once, signified territory, land, property, and natural right; whence we may infer, that the Irish jurisprudence did not much arise from positive institute. This intimation may be further strengthened by a consideration of the Irish word, *Guath*, which signifies equally a *manner*, a *custom*, a *statute* (*s*). Yet, such is the copiousness of the Irish language, that it has a great variety of terms, which convey the notion of a law (*t*): but, we may infer, from those law terms, with their several modi-

(*m*) Id. O'Brien's Dict. in Vo. *Gabhail-cine*.

(*n*) Sir John Davis's Reports, the case of Tanistry; Cox's Hist. the Apparatus; wherein he well explains the material differences between the custom of gavel-kind, in Kent, and the same custom, in Ireland. Vallancy has been studious to show, that the practice of gavel-kind, or the Brehon-law, extended to several other countries. Collectanea de Reb. Hibern. v. i.

(*o*) It was found by the Jury, in the case of Tanistry, that by this law, the lands ought to descend to the *eldest*, and most worthy of the blood, and name, of the Tanist; but, that the daughters were not inheritable to such lands. Davies's Reports, p. 78.

(*p*) O'Brien's Dict. in Vo. *Spre'*, and *Crodh*.

(*q*) Lord Hailes's Ann. v. i. p. 152. It is a well known fact, in the municipal law of Scotland, that in those times, Galloway was governed by *its own proper laws*: See Skene's old laws. Such being the law, it follows, that the Galloway-men were right, and Alexander II. was wrong; the bastard son having a more legal title.

(*r*) O'Brien's Dict. in Vo.

(*s*) Ib. in Vo.

(*t*) Ib. Sub. Adh; Dlighe; Dleachd; Reachd; Foras; Dior; Bann; Iris; Airilleadh; Dual; Achter Achd; Adhailgne, the law military.

fications, that the Irish people had little of positive statute, or written law; their whole body of jurisprudence, consisting almost entirely of traditionary customs, and local usages (*u*). It was *no written law*, saith Cox; it was only the will of the *Brehon*, or the lord (*x*). And it is observable, he adds, as their Brehons, or judges, like their physicians, bards, harpers, poets, and historians, had their offices, by descent, and inheritance; we may be sure, said he, that these *hereditary judges*, and *doctors*, were but *very sad tools*. The Brehon, or judge, when he administered justice, used to sit on a turf, or heap of stones, or on the top of a hillock, without a covering, and without clerks, or, indeed, without any formality of a court of judicature (*y*). This state of law, and condition of manners, may be traced among the Scoto-Irish, in Scotland, till recent times. Every Baron had his motehill, whence justice was distributed to his vassals, by his baron-baillie. Under the Brehon system, all crimes were commuted. Theft, rapes, and murder, were punished by a fine, which was called *Eric*. This term of Brehon law signified an amercement, a fine, a ransom, a forfeit, and also a *reparation*: this last meaning is probably the original import of the word, as the principle of this rude jurisprudence was directed to the reparation, rather than the prevention of crimes (*z*). The mulct, or *Eric*, was, among the Albanian Scots, called *Cro*, saith Ware (*a*). The *Regiam majestatem* of the Scottish law hath a whole chapter; setting forth “the *Cro* of ilk “man, how mikil it is.” (*b*)

It was an ancient custom of the Irish, which was called the custom of *Kineogish*, and which is, that every head of every sept, and every chief of every clan, should be answerable, for every one of their sept, or kindred, when he should be charged with any crime (*c*). This also was an ancient custom, among the Scoto-Irish.

(*u*) Cox's Apparatus to his History.

(*x*) The case of Tanistry might have shown Cox, that this was the *common law* of Ireland, before the conquest.

(*y*) Ib. Harris's Ware, p. 70.—In North-Britain, the baronial courts used to be held, till late times, on motehills, and bridges.

(*z*) Harris's Ware, p. 70; Cox's Apparatus; Lel. Pref. Disc. p. 29.

(*a*) Harris's Ware, p. 71; and see Skene, De Verb. Significatione, in Vo.

(*b*) Lib. iv. cap. xxiv.: Skene hath grossly interpolated this chapter: he begins it, by saying, “It is statute be the king:” whereas, in the Bern MSS. of the age of Ed. I. instead of this purview, the law sets forth *the Cro of the king himself*: “Pro le Roi d'Ecosse est mille vaches, u treis “mill ores c'etascavoir, tres ores chaque vache.” The *cro of the king of Scots is a thousand cows, or three thousand oras*, that is to say, three oras for every cow. And this was undoubtedly the law of the ancient Irish, and Scoto-Irish. Even by a statute of William, the lion; “Give ane slaies “ane man, he shall give twenty-nine kye, and ane young kow; and make peace with the friends “of the defunct, conforme to the law of the countrie.” Skene's Stat. of King William, ch. vi.

(*c*) Spenser's View of Ireland.

And,

And, it is remarkable, that both in Ireland, and in Scotland, this ancient custom was adopted into the statute-book of both those countries, from the usefulness of the custom to the end.

The protection of bees was a great head of the Brehon law. Ireland was very fully peopled by this industrious race: and their honey supplied abundance of *mead*, the peculiar beverage of the ancient Britons, while the Irish husbandry did not yet provide corn for the distillery of *aqua vitæ* (*d*). North-Britain still produces *heather-honey*, for the breakfast of the rich, as well as for the physic of the poor.

In vain do the Irish antiquaries give us splendid pictures of the learning, the opulence, and the refinement of the ancient Irish: the laws of every people are the truest histories of their domestic affairs. While we see, that the wealth of the Irish tribes consisted of their bees, and their cattle, we may certainly infer, that they had only advanced from the first to the second stage of society; from being hunters, to being feeders of flocks (*e*). In this unrefined state, the Scoto-Irish long continued, as we may learn from their rent-rolls.

Were the lives of saints, during the period of saints, searched for traits of manners, several intimations might be found, that would exhibit many new modes of thinking, and many novel habits of life. The biography of St. Columba, the abbot of Iona, has been ransacked, with these views. It is apparent, that more of wretchedness, arising from penury, than of comfort, prevailed throughout the Dalriadinian districts, in every rank of society. Their best houses were built of wattles: and, of these slight, and rude, materials, was built the abbey of Iona, whence issued, for ages, the precepts of instruction, and the habits of austerity, to a rude people. The kings, and perhaps some of the chieftains, had strengths, wherein they lived; and whence they tyrannized: during the sixth, and seventh centuries, they had, in Loarn, Dun-olla, Duna, and Creic, which were besieged, and burnt. Buildings of lime and stone, either among the Irish, or Scoto-Irish, were, therefore, late works of more intelligent times (*f*). The clothing even of the monks were the skins of beasts, though they had woollen, and linen, which they knew how to obtain, from abroad, by means of traffic: the variegated plaid was introduced, in later times. Venison, and

(*d*) *Lel. Hist. Prelim. Disc. p. 30; Vallency's Col. Hibern.*

(*e*) Cox's apparatus: "Even since the conquest," saith this historian, the Irish paid the king's "revenue in *cows*, for want of money. In North-Britain, the king's revenue was also paid in cows, as low down as the accession of Robert Bruce. Neither Celtic Ireland, nor Celtic Scotland, had coins of their own mintage, and very few indeed of any mintage.

(*f*) Cox's Apparatus; Ledwich's Antiquities; Transactions Edin. Roy. Society.

fish, and seals, and milk, and flesh, were the food of the people. The monks of Iona, who lived by their labour, had some provision of corn, and perhaps the chiefs, who lived in strengths. But, it is to be recollected, that the monks were every where, for ages, the improvers themselves, and the instructors of others, in the most useful arts. They had the merit of making many a blade of grass grow, where none grew before. Even Iona had orchards, during the rugged times of the ninth century, till the Vikingr brutishly ruined all. Whatever the Scoto-Irish enjoyed themselves, they were very willing to impart to others. The most unbounded hospitality was enjoined by law, and by manners, as a capital virtue (*g*). Manufactures the Scoto-Irish had none. And, every family had its own carpenter, weaver, taylor, and shoe-maker, however unskilful, and inadequate, to the uses of civilization (*b*). The division of labour, and of arts, takes place only, during periods of refinement.

Of shipping, every age must have had the benefit of some kind. The float was the most obvious. The Britons, and their immediate descendants, both in Scotland, and in Ireland, used canoes, as we have seen. The next step, in the art of ship-building, was the making of currachs, both in Britain, and in Ireland. These were formed by covering a keel of wood, and a frame of wicker, with the skins of cattle, and of deer. The currachs were, by experience, improved into roomy vessels, either for transport, or war. In currachs, the first colonists must have emigrated from Ireland to Cintire. The enterprising Aidan performed his various expeditions, either of negotiation, or hostility, in currachs. In them, the fate of the kingdoms of Cintire, and Loarn, was decided, in a naval action, during the year 717, as we have seen, in the history of their civil wars.

From that history, it is apparent, that every chieftain exercised, by whatever power, the right of making war, and peace. Hence, sprung the civil feuds, which desolated, for ages, and barbarized, the Scoto-Irish territories. From their mutual enmities proceeded, perhaps, the custom which existed among the Scoto-Irish, as well as the old Irish, of giving a *nickname* to every person of any note. But, it was only the chief of the clan, who enjoyed the privilege of being called O'Neal, O'Brien, Macdonald, Macleod (*i*). Much of this practice, we have perceived, in the epithets, which were uniformly annexed to the names of the Scoto-Irish kings.

(*g*) See Lel. Hist. Prel. Disc. xxviii; Martin's Western Islands, Pennant's Tours, Johnson's Journey to the Western Islands.

(*b*) See Adamnan's Life of Columba; and the Reverend Dr. Smith's collection from it, in Stat. Account, vol. x. p. 543.

(*i*) Cox's Apparatus; Harris's Ware, p. 55—9.

Of the various practices of the ancient Irish, the custom of *fosterage* has been regarded, as a subject, for particular speculation (*k*). By this singular custom, which equally prevailed among the Scoto-Irish, till recent times, children were mutually given, from different families, to be by strangers nursed, and bred. The lower orders considered this trust, as an honour, rather than a service, for which an adequate reward was either given, or expected. The attachment of those, who were thus educated, is said to have been indissoluble: For, there is no love in the world comparable, saith Camden, by many degrees, to that of foster-brethren, in Ireland (*l*). From this practice arose connection of family, and union of tribes, which often prompted, and sometimes prevented civil feuds (*m*).

The sons of Erc, with their Dalriadic colonists, were undoubtedly christians, at the epoch of their emigration to North-Britain. They seem not to have been actuated by motives, either of religion, or superstition. The saint of their idolatry, however, was Ciaran, a person of great note, who founded the abbey of Clonmacnois, on the Shannon, in 548 A. D. and died here in 549 (*n*). The tenor of his life attests, that he did not accompany the children of Erc, who acted under the legendary influence of St. Patrick's blessing. The disciples of St. Ciaran may probably have administered to their religious needs. And there was certainly a chapel, and burying-ground, dedicated to the influential Ciaran, on the site of Campbeltown, in Kintire, where the enterprising Aidan was buried. But, of religious establishments, we hear nothing, till half a century had elapsed, from the epoch of the Scoto-Irish colony. The illustrious Columba arrived from Ireland, in 563 A. D.; founded the abbey of Iona, the instructive school of North-Britain; and died in 597, after converting the Picts, by his precepts, and meliorating the Scots, by his example. Archbishop Usher has proved, with a profusion of learning, that the religion of the Columbans "was" "for substance the same, which the protestants now profess" (*o*). The Columbans had zeal, but not without knowledge, and discretion. Within the ample range of modern Argyle, they founded many chapels, which they dedicated to Brigid, to Colman, to Modan, to Ninian, and to Coivan; and which perpetuate, in their names, the piety of the Scoto-Irish, though it did not always regulate their lives, nor moderate their passions. The miracles, which are attributed to Columba, and to other saints, can only be regarded as traits of manners, during

(*k*) Leland's Hist. Prel. Disc. p. 31.(*l*) Holland's Camden, Ireland, p. 116.(*m*) Harris's Ware, p. 72-3.(*n*) Harris's Ware, v. i. p. 165—179.(*o*) Usher's Discourse of the Religion anciently professed by the Irish, and British, 1631; Cox's *Apparatus*.

barbarous times, when neither chieftains, nor kings, could be diverted from the evil of their ways, by other than supernatural means. Let us not think lightly, however, of *the saints* of Iona, who were the instructors of our fathers, while they were yet ignorant; and the mollifiers of our progenitors, while they were still ferocious. The learning, I was going to say the *charity*, of those ages, centered all in Iona. It received the persons of living kings, who retired from unstable thrones; and it equally admitted dead kings, from the bloody field (*p*). From this seminary went out the teachers of the Caledonian regions. To this school were sent the princes of Northumberland, who acquired the lights of the gospel, from the luminaries of Iona (*q*).

(*p*) In 765 A. D., Niell, who was surnamed Frassach, king of Ireland, abdicated his kingdom, and retired to Iona, where he died. In 777 A. D., Aslgal, the son of Cutald, the king of Conacht, became a monk of Iona, where he died. Colgan's Triad. Thaum. App. p. 5; Innes's MS. Col. Adamnan, the learned successor of Columba, with true charity, opened the sacred soil of Iona, to receive the *poor corps* of the vanquished Egfrid, the Northumbrian king. Yet, did not this charity protect Iona from the enmity of the Vikingr. In 797 A. D., it was ravaged by the Pirate Northmen. Ann. Ult. In 801, the abbey, with some of the monks, were burnt. Id.

(*q*) Bede, l. iii. c. 3—6. Colgan has collected a "Catalogus Alphabeticus Sanctorum Virorumque et illustrium qui in Hyensi insula obierunt, vel in ea floruerunt." Triad. Thaum. App. v. § 5. Innes has copied this alphabetical catalogue, with some additions, into his MS. Collections. Of those illustrious men, during the darkest period of the North-British annals, there is much in Harris's Account of the writers of Ireland, from the earliest times. The *Scotorum Scriptorum Nomenclatura* of Dempster is not to be trusted.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Introduction of Christianity.

THE similarity of the superstitions, which prevailed on the neighbouring continent, and in the British island, is emphatically mentioned by Julius Cæsar, as a strong proof of the common origin of the Gaulish people of both. The Druidism of the ancient Britons obviously derived its source, from the practices of the most early times (*a*). The barbarous sacrifices of human victims, however, were too general, in the first ages, to be peculiar to the British priests. The most usual objects of their worship were woods, and waters, fires, and rocks (*b*). The same natural objects were equally the gods of their idolatry, in North-Britain, as they had been in the most southern districts of our island (*c*).

The priests, and the people, equally assembled in the sacred groves, and within the circles of stones, to perform their unhallowed rites (*d*). The stone monuments, which still remain, in North-Britain, are indubitable proofs of the similarity of the worship, which was practised there, as well as in South-Britain: And, the superstitious observances, which yet continue, are supplementary evidence of the sameness of the British tribes. Within the Pictish territories, there long remained the sacred groves, and stone circles, the areas whereof, the superstitious vulgar called holy ground, which they refused to convert to any civil use. Some of the first christians converted those sacred inclosures into chapels:

(*a*) *Mona Antiqua*, ed. 1766, p. 39—53; Borlase's *Cornwall*, book ii. p. 53; and see before, book i. chap. ii.

(*b*) Borlase, p. 55—66.

(*c*) *Aboriginal Remains*, which are altogether conformable to the British superstitions, and usages, may be seen, in every part of Scotland. See b. i. ch. ii.

(*d*) On the Introduction of christianity, the term *Cil*, which originally signified a covert, a recess, a retreat, as it had been appropriated to the groves of the Druids, was applied to the cells, and chapels, of the first christian missionaries, and saints, and to the consecrated cemeteries, which were attached to them: And hence, the *Cil* came to be a very common prefix, in the names of churches, chapels, and parishes, both in Britain, and in Ireland; having the name of the patron saint, as an adjunct: As, Kil-morie, Kil-bride, Kil-patrick, Kil-corm-kil; and so of others; as may be seen in the *Topographical Dictionary*.

And hence, the *Llan* of the Cambro-Britons, and the Picts, signified a small inclosure, a place of gathering together, a church, a town, having a church (*e*).

As the Scoto-Irish, who came in upon the Picts, after the epoch of 843 A. D. had long been christians, none of those Druid monuments can be attributed to their unsullied hands. None of the Gothic tribes either erected such stone monuments, or practised such superstitions: Nor, do we see any such remains, in Shetland, which was undoubtedly settled by the genuine Scandinavians: And, those stone monuments are, therefore, the durable works of Pictish hands (*f*). The paradoxical writers, who can find no evidence, that there were ever any Druids, in North-Britain, merely turn away their eyes, from the satisfactory proofs of monumental records, which attest the long residence, and powerful influence of the Druids, among the British people, in North-Britain.

The era of Christianity, and the epoch of the declension of Druidism, may be considered as the same (*g*). Augustus proscribed the Druid rites to the Roman citizens. Tiberius enforced the prohibition of his predecessor. And Claudius abolished the religion of the Druids, within the ample extent of Gaul, during the year 43 (*h*). As the Romans extended their conquests, in Britain, the practices of the Druids were either proscribed by power, or were disused by neglect: Yet, in Wales, in Ireland, and in Caledonia, Druidism continued to maintain its influence, till the lights of Christianity penetrated into its darkest recesses (*i*).

The religion of Christ gained upon the world, in defiance of persecution, during three centuries of adversity. With the accession of Constantine, in 306 A. D., it may be said to have been established, within the Roman empire, though not with all the temporal rights, which it afterwards acquired. In Britain, it appears to have very soon assumed the same form of policy, as it had naturally acquired, within the other districts of the Roman state. And, as early as 314 A. D., three bishops actually appeared, from Britain, at the Council

(*e*) Owen's Dict. in vo.: Hence, in Wales, and in Cornwall, *Llan* is a common prefix, in the names of churches, and parishes; and even, in North-Britain, there are some instances of the prefix *Llan*; as in *Llan-bride*, and *Llan-morgan*. The Druid temples, in North-Britain, were called, by the Scoto-Irish missionaries, who propagated the gospel, in that country, during the sixth century, *Clachan*, which literally signified *stones*: Hence, the term *Clachan* came to denote a place of worship, from the epoch of christianity, to the present times: And from the same application of this term, the Kirk-towns, in the western parts of North-Britain, are even now called *Clachan*.

(*f*) See before, book i. chap. ii.

(*g*) Borlase's Cornwall, p. 152.

(*h*) Fleury's Eccles. Hist. vol. i. p. 43.

(*i*) Usher's Eccles. Prim. ch. v.

of

of Arles, the representatives of three dioceses, which were probably commensurate with three of the Roman provinces, in this island (*k*).

Yet, is there reason to believe, that the benign influence of christianity had been felt, in those parts of North-Britain, which were inaccessible to the Roman power, as soon as the beginning of the third century. The Romanized Britons of Valentia, who are called the Southern Picts, by Bede, and the contemporary writers of the middle ages, were converted from their ancient superstitions, at the commencement of the fifth century. This reformation, they owed to Ninian, who was born, about the year 360, of noble parentage, in the country of the Novantes, near the *Leucophibia* of Ptolomy. Ninian was ordained, at Rome; was instructed, in monastic discipline, by Martin of Tours; and returning before the year 397, he freed his countrymen from superstitious errors, and taught them the most important truths. He founded a monastery at Whithern, which supplied the country with successive teachers, and erected a church, which is emphatically mentioned by Bede, as the first, that was built of stone; and, as having from this circumstance, obtained the appropriate name of *Candida Casa*. Ninian died, on the 16th of September 432 (*l*); and on that day his

(*k*) Lloyd's *Ancient Church Government*, p. 72: There accompanied those Bishops to that council, according to the practice of that age, one Presbyter, and one Deacon.

(*l*) Bede, ed. Smith, book iii. ch. iv.; Usher's *Eccles. Primord.* p. 1100; Lloyd's *Hist. Account of the British Churches*, p. 50; Innes's *Eccles. Hist. MS.* in my library, § 34; *Britannia Sancta*, vol. ii. p. 130—3; Keith's *Bishops*, p. 233; and Dempster's *Menologia*. His fame will be still longer preserved by the number of churches, which, in North-Britain, have been dedicated to his name: Kil-Ninian parish, in Mull island; Kil Saint-Ninian, in Colmonell parish, Ayrshire; St. Ninian's parish, near Stirling; St. Ninian's, in Alyth parish; St. Ninian's chapel, which has been converted into a cemetery, in the Enzie, Banffshire; St. Ninian's, in Inverness-shire; all owe their ancient names, to the worthy Ninian. There were other local objects, in North-Britain, which equally derived their names, from the respected Ninian. There was None-kil, or St. Ninian's chapel, in Kiltarn parish. There was a chaplainry of St. Ninian attached to the cathedral church of Ross; and there was a chaplainry of St. Ninian attached to the cathedral church of Murray. There was a chapel dedicated to St. Ninian, on the Castle-hill of Aberdeen; and there was a chapel dedicated to St. Ninian, at the west port of Linlithgow. In the parish of St. Vigians, there were a chapel, and a burying-ground, dedicated to St. Ninian; and near them, is St. Ninian's Well, which was formerly in great repute, for curing many maladies. *Stat. Account*, v. xii. p. 183. In the isle of Bute, there was a chapel dedicated to St. Ninian, which stood on a promontory, called Runa-Ringan, the point of St. Ninian. In one of the Shetland isles, on the west coast of Dunrossness, there was a chapel dedicated to St. Ninian; and this islet was called Ringan isle, or St. Ninian's isle. Sibbald's *Shetland*, p. 15. In different maps, it is called Ronan's isle, or Ringan's isle. As *Ringan* is the Irish name of *Ninian*, we may easily suppose, that this name has been applied, and this chapel erected, by some of the zealous Columbans, who may have visited *Thule*, for the worthy purpose of instructing the pagan Shetlanders, in the religion of Christ. Thus, St. Ninian

his festival was, for ages, celebrated, in remembrance of a prelate, who had spent a long life, in instructing the intellects, and refining the manners of a rude people.

Ninian had probably the province of Valentia for his diocese (*m*). The Roman citizens, who lived within its ample limits, had been generally converted to christianity, before the abdication of the Roman power. The firmness of their faith was somewhat shaken, however, during the fierce contests, which followed that great event, for the possession of the Valentian country, rather than for the abdicated power. Kentigern, the deserving disciple of Servan, appeared among the Romanized Britons, about the middle of the sixth century. Under the protection of Marken, the petty king of the Strathcluyd Britons, Kentigern fixed his residence at Alcluyd, the capital of the Cumbrian kingdom. But, the authority of Marken, and the jurisdiction of Kentigern, were soon regarded, as inconsistent with each other. And, from the wrath of the king, the prelate was obliged to flee for safety into Wales. He was not long after relieved, from the enmity of his persecutor, by the death of Marken. He was now recalled to the seat of his usefulness by Rederech, the bountiful. But, he died, on the 13th of January 601, after performing, for the improvement of the people, all that zeal could suggest, or perseverance could execute. Such were the religious labours of Kentigern, which induced his votaries to consider him, as the founder of the diocese of Glasgow, to whom its cathedral was dedicated, under the endearing name of Mungo; as his meritorious services were still remembered, at the end of six centuries of obscure recollection (*n*).

During

appears to have been venerated, in every district of North-Britain; in the northern, as well as in the western isles. Tradition repeats, that Ninian occasionally inhabited a cave, which is still shown, with veneration, on the sea shore, near the house of Physgil, in Wigtonshire. Stat. Account, v. xvii. p. 594.

(*m*) Bede, Hist. l. i. cap. ii.

(*n*) Usher's Primord. 8vo ed. p. 708, 1154; Innes's Eccles. Hist. MS. in my library; the Inquest of David, Prince of Cumbria, 1116 A.D., in the Chartulary of Glasgow. For the parentage of Kentigern, see the Welsh Archæology, v. ii. p. 34, among the genealogies of the *British* saints. The Rev. Thomas Maccourty, in his Stat. Account of the parish of Pen-y-cuick, v. x. p. 419, says, *Mungo*, in the *Norwegian* language, signifies *dear friend*. If he had substituted *British*, for *Norwegian*, he would not have been far wrong: For the word *Mungo* has nearly that signification, in the Welsh: *Mwyn*, in the British, is kind, gentle, courteous, affable. Owen's Diet. And *Mwynngu*, or *Mynogan*, signifies a courteous, or mild person. Owen. To Kentigern, or *Mungo*, many places, in North-Britain, owe their names. On the winding shore of the Forth, near the town of Culross, there is the ruin of St. Mungo's chapel, which legend states to have been built, near the place of his birth: According to it, Kentigern was the son Eugene III., the king of Scots, by

During the first ages of christianity, before the christian votaries had yet been formed into a regular church, which could afford protection to its pastors, their most early teachers were obliged to seek shelter in caves, from the heady rudeness of half-informed followers. A cave upon the sea shore of Glasserton, in Wigtonshire, furnished such a retreat to the worthy Ninian (*o*). In the vicinity of Campbeltown, in Kintire, there is a remarkable cave, which is said, by legend, to have been the retreat of Ciaran, the apostle of the Scoto-Irish, and which still bears his name, in the tradition of the country (*p*). We may thus trace to its origin the cause why so many of the names of parishes, in North-Britain, and Ireland, have in them the prefix Kil, from the British *Cil*, a *retreat*, a refuge, and the Irish *Kil*; signifying, secondarily, a church. Near the chapel of Cove, in Knapdale, there is a consecrated cave, which gives a name to the farm, where the altar, and font, still remain, with a cross, that is cut in the solid rock above (*q*). At St. Andrews, the ancient retreat of St. Rule, and St. Andrew, there are several caves, which were anciently dedicated to religious uses, by sanctimonious men (*r*).

by an illegitimate intercourse with Thamit, the daughter of Loth, the king of the Picts: And he was educated, according to it, under St. Serf, at Culross, in a hermitage, which was converted into a religious house: The chapel of St. Mungo, at Culross, had two established chaplains, who were supported, by an endowment of some lands, in Strathern, which were, at the reformation, bestowed by the king on the college of Glasgow. Stat. Account, v. xviii. p. 649. The parish church of St. Mungo, in Annandale, obtained its present name, no doubt, from its connection with the See of Glasgow. In the *Inquisitio Davidis*, 1116 A.D., this parish was found to belong to this diocese under the British name of *Abermelc*. The parish church of Pen-y-cuik, in Edinburghshire, was dedicated to St. Mungo; and a spring, in the minister's garden, is still called St. Mungo's well. Stat. Account, v. x. p. 419. In Auchterarder parish, there was a chapel dedicated to St. Mungo, the remains of which may still be seen. Ib. vol. iv. p. 44. The spring, which is the source of Ruthven water, in Blackford parish, is called St. Mungo's well. Ib. v. iii. p. 205. In the parish of Huntly, in Aberdeenshire, there is a hill, named after St. Mungo, from which issues a fine spring, which is called St. Mungo's well. Ib. v. ii. p. 469.

(*o*) Stat. Account, v. xvii. p. 594: This retreat is still called *St. Ninian's Cave*.

(*p*) Ib. v. x. p. 534: The most ancient church, at Campbeltown, was dedicated to St. Ciaran; and hence, it had the name of Kil-kerran: From him was derived the name of Kil-kerran, in Ayrshire.

(*q*) Stat. Account, v. xix. p. 314:

(*r*) Ib. v. xiii. p. 202: At St. Andrews, between the castle, and the harbour, there is an artificial cave, nearly round, about ten feet diameter, and the same in height: On the east side of it, the rock is shaped into the form of a table, or altar: And on the west side of it, there is an aperture of the size, and shape, of a door, which leads into a small closet, that faint tradition recounts to have been the *cell* of a hermit: The access to this curious cave is now very difficult. There is also a similar excavation, or cave, in the face of the rock, whereon the castle stands, the lamentable monument of ecclesiastic pride, and of reforming fury.

Ireland,

Ireland, which was destined to furnish religious instructors to the Caledonian regions, was herself converted by British missionaries, as early as A. D. 432 (*s*). And, the Irish colonists, who were conducted to Kintire, by Fergus, in 503 A. D., were thus enabled to bring christianity with them, and to interweave it with their polity. The religion, which was professed, by those founders of the Scottish monarchy, “was for substance the same with what is now by public authority maintained against the foreign doctrine of later times (*t*)” The ecclesiastical patron of the Irish emigrants was Ciaran, a prelate of great fame, to whose name several churches, in Argyle, and Ayrshire, were dedicated (*u*). But, the Irish colonists seem to have been too much occupied with their own temporal affairs, to allow them leisure, for making converts beyond the narrow extent of their little kingdom.

The converting of the Northern Picts was reserved for a greater personage. As he came, not to destroy, but to save, and not to conquer, but to civilize, Columba will always be remembered, as the disinterested benefactor of North-Britain. Born of a family of the highest rank, in Ireland, the cousin of Scoto-Irish kings, Columba early dedicated his life to religion, during a religious period: And being involved, in the troubles of a tumultuous people, he departed, from Ireland, for the colony of his kindred, in A. D. 563, at the age of forty-two, after founding several monasteries, in his native land.

The year 305 may be considered as the epoch of Monkism. Then it was, that Anthony of Egypt thought it meritorious to retire into the depth of the desert, from the enjoyments of the world, for the practice of austerity. As early as A. D. 341, his follies were admired, and his perseverance was imitated, at Rome. In A. D. 360, Basil propagated his fame, and imitated his example, in Pontus. The merit of Monkism now found its way into Western Europe. And Martin laid the foundation of a monastery at Tours, which exhibited a strict regimen to

(*s*) Lloyd's Hist. Account of Church Government, p. 50.

(*t*) Archbishop Usher's Discourse of the Religion anciently professed by the Irish, and Scots, p. 2.

(*u*) Ciaran, the patron saint of the Scoto-Irish, as he was the son of a carpenter, was nicknamed Mac-Iteir, [MacCheaird], the son of the artificer. He was born, in 516; he founded the abbey of Clon-macnois, on the river Shenon, in 548; and within this house, he died, in the subsequent year, on the 9th of September, the day of his festival. Harris's Ware, v. i. p. 165—179; Monast. Hibern. p. 380. Keith, though right as to his festival, calls him St. Queran, an Abbot in Scotland, A. D. 876. List of Bishops, p. 233. The ruins of Kil-keran, a church dedicated to Ciaran, is still to be seen in Campbeltown, in Kintire. At Kil-kiaran in Ilay, Kil-kiaran in Lismore, and Kil-keran in Carrick, there were chapels dedicated to Ciaran, from whom the names are derived. An islet on the coast of Lorn also bears the name of Kiaran.

admiring zealots, and taught new rules to similar establishments. So agreeable were the spirit, and practice, of Monks, to the temper of those times, that the monastery of Banchor contained two thousand brethren, at the commencement of the fifth century. And, thence was sent out a numerous colony among the congenial tribes of the sister island. (x).

With this spirit, Columba seems to have been greatly tinctured, while he was actuated by the best intentions. For the site of the monastery, which was designed by him to be the school of the Caledonian people, he cast his eyes on a solitary isle, lying in the Scottish sea, near the south-west angle of Mull (y). Whether the investiture of Hy was conferred on Columba by Conal, his relation, the Scottish king, or Bridei, the Pictish sovereign, is a question, which has been disputed between the Irish annalists, and the Anglo-Saxon historian. Probability has decided in favour of the first. It was doubtless considerations of security, which dictated the choice of such isles, near the shores of Ireland, of Scotland, and of England, as the safest situations for religious establishments, during barbarous times. The foresight of the founders was ill placed. When the savage Danes became, during the eighth, and ninth centuries, the most powerful navigators of the northern seas, such monasteries were only the objects of their avarice.

In Hy, Columba settled, with his twelve disciples. *They now neither sought, nor loved, any thing of this world*, as Bede relates (z). They laboured two years, with their own hands, in erecting huts, and building a church of very slight materials. The Columbans, though they were called *Monks*, were a body of regular clergy, except those, who were chiefly employed in corporal labour, and

(x) See an Historical Account of Monkism in Gibbon's Hist. of the Decline and Fall of the Rom. Emp. 8vo ed. vol. vi. p. 241—6; Camden's Brit. vol. i. p. 666—7; Lloyd's Ch. Government, p. 156.

(y) The name of the chosen spot was simply the Irish *I*, signifying an island. The *I* of the Gaelic was soon aspirated by the Saxon Bede into *Hy*. From the troublous surf, which constantly beat upon its shores, it was naturally called by the Irish, *I-thon*, the island of waves; and this being pronounced *I-on*, was by the monks easily latinized *Iona*: And we may see it written by Adamnan, one of the successors, and the biographer of Columba, Hyona. Yet, may we hear mythologists talking of *Iona*, in its pure form, as being a Phenician word. It soon became known, by the name of *I-columb-cil*, the isle of Columba's retreat, or cell. This isle, which is now two miles distant from Mull, was anciently separated from it by a much narrower frith, as we may infer from the information of contemporary writers, who tell us, that passengers used to speak across the streight from Mull to Hy. This islet is, at present, two miles long, and one broad; and is fertile in all, that a rugged climate produces. See the Stat. Account, v. xix. p. 314, wherein there are some intimations to show, that Columba first landed, in Knapdale, an event, which is quite improbable.

(z) Bede, l. iii. ch. v. p. 26; Adamnan, l. i. ch. xxxii, lib. ii. ch. xxxix.

those,

those, who were consigned to public penance. They lived under the strict discipline, which Columba had established, as the rule of his monasteries. Amidst all their labours, both bodily, and intellectual, they employed much time in reading, and transcribing, *the Scriptures*, not indeed in the *Hebrew verity*, but in the *Latin translation* (z).

After thus forming his establishment, Columba undertook the difficult enterprise of converting a people; those Picts, who dwelt northward of Drum-Albin. The power of prophecy, the gift of miracles, which were arrogated by Columba, and are related by his biographers, are proofs of the ignorance, and simplicity, of the age. The Picts consisted of clans, who had advanced little from a savage state; and who were governed by Bridei, the son of Mailcon, a prince of great influence, but of little civilization (a). The patience, and perseverance, of Columba, converted the king; and the prince, by his persuasion, and authority, converted the people. Columba, and his disciples, now journeyed for the useful end of instruction, through every part of the Pictish territories, and even penetrated into the Orkney Isles: they at length established monasteries, within every district of the Caledonian country, while parishes did not yet exist, with the design of sending out a succession of adequate instructors, for an uninformed people (b).

Such were, probably, the cells, which were subject to the abbey of Hy; and were situated throughout the western islands, as well as on the shores of the eastern

(z) "As for the *edition* of the *Scriptures*, which was used in those parts, in those times, says Archbishop Usher, the *Latin translation* was so received, into common use, among the learned, "that the principal authority was still reserved to the original fountains." *Religion of the Ancient Irish*, p. 6.

(a) Bridei, the son of Mailcon, began to reign in A.D. 556, and died in 586: Bede speaks of Bridei, as the powerful king of the Picts: "Venit autem Britanniam Columba, regnante Pictis Bridio filio Mailochon, Rege potentissimo, nono anno regni ejus, gentem que illam verbo et exemplo ad fidem Christi convertit." *Lib. iii. ch. iv.*; Innes's *Eccles. Hist.* MS. in my library, § 43.

(b) Innes's *Ecclesiast. Hist.* § 44; Bede, *lib. iii. ch. iv.*; Adamnan, *lib. ii. ch. xlvi.*—The numbers, and distances, of the churches, which were dedicated to Columba, are proofs in confirmation of Bede, and Adamnan, and Innes, of the extent of his authority, and of the influence of his name: there are Kilcolmkill, the oldest church, and burying ground, in Morven; Kilcolmkill, in South Cantire; Kilcolmkill, in Mull; Kilcolmkill, in Isla-Island; Kilcolmkill, on the north-west of the same isle; Kilcolmkill, in North-Uist; Kilcolmkill, in Benbecula; Kilcolmkill, in Skye; Kilcolmkill, in Sutherland; Colmkill, in Lanerk; there are Columbkil-isle, in Loch Erisport, in Lewis; Columbkil Isle, in Loch Columbkil, whereon there are the remains of a monastery, dedicated to St. Columba; Inch Colm, in the Frith of Forth, on which a monastery was founded by Alexander I, A.D. 1123, and dedicated to St. Columba; Eilean Colm, a small island

eastern sea, and even in Orkney (*c*). Columba, as abbot of Hy, acquired an unusual jurisdiction, within his island, whereof he was proprietor, and, perhaps, within the various cells, whereof he was superior. From an intimation of Bede, it has been supposed, by prejudice, that the abbot of Hy was even superior to a bishop. A prelate, living on Iona, was no doubt subordinate to the abbot, though only a presbyter, as chief of the monastery, and as lord of the soil, in the same manner as the bishop of Oxford, while he resides within the jurisdiction of the University, is subordinate to the vice-chancellor (*d*). Yet, neither Columba, nor his successors, could perform the functions of a bishop, while they continued obedient to ecclesiastical authority, as it was established, at the Nicene council, in A.D. 325, and confirmed by universal practice. For the performance of such functions, as the power of a prelate alone could execute, in that age, a bishop is said to have resided within the abbey (*e*). The settled laws of a community are its truest history. And, it is from this genuine source of information, that zealous episcopalians are led to believe the existence of

island in Tongue parish; there was formerly St. Colm's Kirk, in the island of Sanday, in Orkney. See the Map of Orkney, in Blaeu's Atlas. There is St. Colm's Isle in the Minch, on the south-east of Lewis, which, with St. Mary's Isle, and some other isles, are called the *Shiant* Isles; and, in Gaelic, *Eileanan Sheanta*, which means the blessed, or consecrated islands. The parish church of Lonmay, in Aberdeen-shire, was dedicated to St. Columba. There is the parish of Kirkcolm, in Wigtonshire. In the parish of Caerlaverock, there was a chapel, dedicated to St. Columba; to him was dedicated one of the chaplainries, which was attached to the cathedral of Moray. The original church of Dunkeld, which was built by Kenneth MacAlpin, for the reception of the relicts of St. Columba, was dedicated to St. Columba, who became the patron saint of the see, and of the town of Dunkeld. Keith, under the 9th of June, has St. Colme, an abbot, and confessor, in Scotland, A.D. 605. List of Bishops, p. 232. But, St. Columba certainly died, in 597, on the 9th of June. Indeed, Keith has another St. Colm, a bishop, and confessor, in Scotland, A.D. 1000, under the 6th of June. Id. In Dempster's Menologia, under the 6th of June, there is "Kirkue Colmi orcadum apostoli;" and in Dempster's Nomancature of Scottish writers, there is St. Colmus Epis. Orcad. 1010 A.D. The St. Colm's Kirk, in the isle of Sanday, in Orkney, was, perhaps, named from this St. Colm, who was the apostle of the Orkneys, at the end of the tenth century. In the *Vetera Analecta* of Mabillon, v. ii. p. 669, there is an *Anglican Litany* of the 7th century, according to the judicious opinion of the learned editor: we may see in it, St. Patric, St. Brendan, St. Gilda, St. Guinwaloc, St. Munn, St. Servan, St. Columcille, and the virgins St. Columba, and St. Briged. But, there is in it no *St. Colm*; nor, indeed, any of those respectable persons, who were sainted, after the seventh century.

(*c*) There is in Orkney, Eglishay Isle, containing a very ancient church, which obviously derived its name from the Irish *Eaglais*, a church: these coincidences confirm the intimations of Adamnan, that Columba sent his disciples into Orkney, to convert the Pagan Scandinavians.

(*d*) Bede, lib. iii. ch. iv; Lloyd's Hist. Account of Church Government, ch. vii.

(*e*) Usher, indeed, informs us, from the Ulster Annals, that not only an abbot, but a bishop, resided in Hy. Eccles. Primord. 8vo ed. p. 701. Colgan's Collections confirm this position, as a fact.

bishops among the Scots, and Picts, to have been coeval with the introduction of Christianity (*f*). Ternan is declared by tradition, and stated by history, to have been the first bishop of the Picts, and to have resided, at Abernethy, the Pictish capital, as he had the Pictish kingdom, for his appropriate diocese (*g*).

Columba, during four-and-thirty years of active benevolence, continued to send out his pastors to inform the ignorant; to superintend the cells, which his policy had established; and to compose the hasty disputes of rugged chieftains. The contemporary princes often felt the influence of his councils, and sometimes profited from the interposition of his authority: Conal, the fifth king of the Scots, in Argyle, to whom, as a relation, Columba owed the reception of a friend, and the gift of Hy, died in 571. Aidan, the successor of Conal,

(*f*) Innes gives from a MS. Kalendar, and Missal of the diocese of St. Andrew's, which belonged to the Viscount Arbuthnot, and from the printed breviary of Aberdon, 1509, the following list of the earliest bishops: "S. Nachtan, or Nathalan, a bishop, January 8th, at Tulich in Mar; "S. Wollock, or Macwollock, a bishop, January 29th, at Logy in Mar; S. Glascian, a bishop, "30th January, at Kinglass, &c.; S. Modock, a bishop, 31st January, at Kilmodock; S. Mar- "nan, a bishop, 1st March; S. Duthack, a bishop, 8th March, who was famous in Ross; S. "Ronan, a bishop, May 22d, at Kilmaronack, in Lenox; S. Colmack, a bishop, June 6th; S. "Molock, or Molonach, a bishop, June 25th, at Lysmore in Argyle; July 1st, S. Servan, or "Serf, a bishop; August 10th, S. Blan, a bishop, at Dunblain; August 24th, S. Yrhard, a "bishop, at Kincairn-O'neil; September 1st, S. Murdach, a bishop; September 22d, S. Lolan, "a bishop; September 25th, S. Bar, or Finbar, a bishop at Kilbar, in the Isle of Barra, and in "Cathness; September 28th, S. Machan, a bishop; October 16th, S. Colman, a bishop; October "28th, S. Manock, a bishop; October 30th, S. Talurican, or Tarkin, a bishop; November 13th, "S. Devenick, a bishop, at Banchory-Devenick; November 18th, S. Fergusian, or Fergus, a "bishop; December 2d, S. Ethernan, a bishop; December 18th, S. Manir, a bishop; Decem- "ber 22d, S. Ethernase, a bishop." But, Innes was unable to reduce this list to any chronology, which was doubtless impossible, or to give any of them a diocese, which did not, in that age, exist. Yet, the Topographical Dictionary will show, that there exists, in Scotland, various names of churches, which were undoubtedly dedicated to several of those bishops, as sincere tributes of thankful recollection. Innes's MS. Eccles. Hist. § 25. It was altogether consistent with the universal practice of the church, in the earliest ages, to consecrate bishops, who did not enjoy distinct jurisdictions.

(*g*) Innes asserts, in his MS. Eccles. Hist. § 24, that Ternanus is recorded, as the first bishop of the Picts, in the only copy, which he had met with, of the MS. missal of the metropolitan church of St. Andrews; and is named both in the kalendar, and in the collect, "S. Terrenanus archipre- "sul, & archiepiscopus Pictorum." His festival was on the 12th of June. The parish of Banchory-Ternan, in Kincardine-shire, was, no doubt, named from the Pictish Bishop: one of the two annual fairs, which are held near the church, is called S. Ternan's Market, and a small fountain, at no great distance, is named S. Ternan's Well: S. Ternan must not be confounded with S. Ethernan, whose festival was celebrated on the 2d of December, Innes quotes the Book of Paisley, for the intimation, that Abernethy was the seat, both of the Pictish kings, and the Pictish bishops.

thinking

thinking that, the solemnity of inauguration might contribute to the stability of his power, passed over to the sacred isle, for obtaining his object, whether of policy, or religion : and, here, in 574, was the king *ordained*, and *inaugurated*, by the abbot, according to the ceremonial of the *liber vitreus* (*b*). Bridei, who owed to Columba his own conversion, and his people's civilization, died, in A.D. 586, after a reign of thirty years. Gartnaich, his successor, who was also indebted to Hy, for the teachers of his subjects, died in 597. With Columba, was also contemporary Ryderech, the king of Strathcluyd, who partook of the abbot's councils, for the benefit of his country. Columba died on the 9th of June 597 ; leaving his monastery firmly settled, a people converted, by his labours, from paganism to Christianity, and a name for the celebration of every age (*i*).

The

(*b*) Adamnan, lib. iii. ch. v. : F. Martene, a learned Benedictine, observes, in his book, “*De Antiquis Ecclesie Ritibus*,” that this inauguration of Aidan is the most ancient account that, after all his researches, he had found, in respect to the *benediction*, or *inauguration*, of kings, which are the names, that Adamnan gives to this royal ceremony. The cover of the *Liber Vitreus* is supposed to have been encrusted with chrystal. Innes's MS. Eccles. History, § 49.

(*i*) Yet, does Mr. Faber, by a plastic stroke of his mythological wand, convert Columba, from being a real man, to be a fictitious dove. Dissertation on the Cabiri, 398, 403. Happy ! if our mythologists, while they cannot illustrate the dark, if they would not darken the clear. I will here subjoin from Colgan's Triad. Thaum. App. v. § 4, an enumeration of Columba's successors, throughout the present period ; as I find the document, in Innes's MS. Collections :

1. Baithan, the son of Brendan, and Columba's disciple, succeeded him as abbot of Iona ; and died the 9th of June 600 A.D.
2. Lafren, the son of Ferndach, died in September 601, A.D.
3. Fergnan, who was surnamed Britannicus, a bishop, and abbot of Hy, died the 2d of March 622, A.D.
4. Segenius, who founded the church of Rechran, died in 630, A.D.
5. Segenius, the son of Fiacre, died, in 651 A.D. : his festival was the 12th of August.
6. Suibnie, the son of Curthrie, died, in 654 A.D.
7. Cumineus died, in 668 A.D. : his festival was on the 24th of February.
8. Feilbei died, on the 22d of March 677 A.D.
9. Adamnan, the son of Ronam, died the 23d September 703 A.D.
10. Conain, the son of Falbei, died the 11th September 708, A.D.
11. Ceudei, the bishop, and abbot of Hy, died the 24th October 711 A.D.
12. Dorbonei, who had the cognomen of Conei, died the 28th of October 713 A.D.
13. Dunchad died the 25th of May 616, or 617. Bede, l. v. ch. xxiii.
14. Foelcho, who was instituted at the age of 74, died in 720 A.D.
15. Kilian, who had the cognomen of Long, died the 14th, or 19th of April 725 A.D.
16. Kilian, who had the cognomen of Droich, died the 3d of July 747 A.D.
17. Feiblei died at the age of 87, the 10th of March 757 A.D.

The institutions of Columba were not only beneficial to the northern Picts, but they were also advantageous to the northern English. The monastery of Hy furnished an asylum, and instruction, to those princes of Northumberland, who were forced to seek for shelter, from the revolutions of their country. Oswald, who had fled from the power of Edwin, found protection in Iona. Here, was he instructed in the religion of Christ, and taught the Gaelic language of the Scoto-Irish monastery.

Oswald was carried from exile to a throne, in A.D. 634. He had scarcely assumed the government of Northumberland, when, pitying the ignorance of his people, he wished for their instruction. He was induced, by this motive, to desire the abbot of Hy to send him a bishop, who might teach the Northumbrians the enlivening truths of Christianity. A prelate was sent, who, as his temper, and knowledge, were unfit for the difficult task of converting an irascible people, soon returned to the obscurity of Hy. Aidan, a monk of the same learned establishment, who possessed better habits, and more useful accomplishments, now offered himself to the desires of Oswald. Aidan was thereupon consecrated for the Northumbrian mission. The king marked his approbation of him, by giving the prelate, for his episcopal seat, the isle of Lindisfarne, on the Northumbrian coast, which is now known by the appropriate name of *Holy Island*. The Scottish Aidan, as he did not perfectly understand the English language, found some embarrassment, in preaching to the people of Northumbria, which was wholly inhabited by the Anglo-Saxons, in that early age; but Oswald, as he understood the Gaelic, was prompted, by his zeal, to act as interpreter between the preacher, and his people (*k*). Aidan was soon followed, by other teachers, from the same school. The subjects of the pious Oswald were, universally, converted by the Scottish missionaries; and churches were

18. Sleibnie died the 4th of March 762 A.D.

19. Suibnei ii. died, in 767 A.D.: his festival was on the 22d of June.

20. Muredach, the son of Huagal, died in 777 A.D.

21. Bressaliei died, in 786: his festival was the 18th of May, or 30th September.

22. Conmaec, the abbot, and a learned writer, died, in 797: his festival was the 10th of May.

23. Kellach, the son of Congal, died in 810 A.D.: his festival was the 1st April.

24. Diarmid died, in 816 A.D.: his festival was the 12th, or 20th September.

25. Blathmac, the son of Flan, was slain by the Danes, in 823: his festival was the 19th January.

26. Cellach, the son of Abldi, died in 863: his festival was the 18th July.

(*k*) Caxton, in his *Chronicon*, 1482, tells this story, from Bede, l. iii. cap. iv, in the following manner: "Kinge Oswald axed of the Scottes; and had it graunted that bisshop Aidanus scholde come and teche his people: thenne the kyinge yave him a place of the bisshops see in the Ylonde Lyndefarn; there men miggth see wonder: for the bisshop prechid in Scottishe, and the kyinge tolde forth in Englyshe to the people what it was to saye, or meene." See fo. ccxlv.

built,

built, in many places, for the ecclesiastical accommodation of a people, who displayed the usual fervour of recent converts (*l*).

The foundation of the monastery, and episcopate, of Lindisfarne, has for its epoch, A.D. 635. The northern limits of this bishoprick extended far into Roxburgh, and Lothian, during the middle ages (*m*). Mailros, also, owes its original foundation to Aidan. Coldingham, Tynningham, and Abercorn, were probably founded under the reign of Oswald, which extended from 634 to 643 A.D. Those religious houses possessed certain lands, with their labourers, during a period, when parochial rights seem to have been unknown, in North-Britain. The language, that was commonly spoken, in those times, throughout the extensive bishoprick of Lindisfarne, was the Anglo-Saxon, which, on the subduement of the Romanized Ottadini, succeeded to the British tongue (*n*).

(*l*) Bede, ed. Smith, lib. iii. ch. iii. 5, 6.

(*m*) The boundaries of Lindisfarne, according to an ancient book, which is quoted, in Leland's Collectanea, vol. ii. p. 366, extended *beyond* the Tweed from its distant source; comprehending the country, lying between the Leder water and the Ader, from their rise, to their confluences; with the whole lands, that belonged to the monastery of St. Balther at Tynningham; together with the country, extending from Lamermoor to Eskmouth. By a grant of the Northumbrian Ceolwulf, who reigned from 729 to 738 A.D., there were annexed to the same bishoprick the monastery of Abercorn, and other places, lying on the west of Edinburgh. On the *south* of the Tweed, the same bishoprick enjoyed Jedworth, from the donation of bishop Egredius, its founder, during the same age. Lel. Col. vol. iii. p. 181; Anglia Sacra, vol. ii. p. 698. Simeon of Durham, and Brompton, both concur with this specification.

(*n*) That interesting fact will appear, with sufficient certainty, when to the previous history, we add the curious circumstance, that Cuthbert, the celebrated founder of the bishoprick of Durham, who was born, on Tweedside, and bred in the monastery of Mailros, often travelled from the Tweed to the Forth, and always instructed the people, by means of their peculiar language. Innes's MS. Eccles. Hist. sub an. 664. Bede has left us an intelligent life of Cuthbert, from the information of those, who knew that celebrated personage: yet, has the Scoto-Saxon Cuthbert been claimed by the Irish Antiquary, as an Irishman. Ledwich's Antiq. Cuthbert died on the 20th of March 687. Smith's Bede, p. 256. We may judge of the influence, which was annexed to the person of St. Cuthbert, from the ancient churches, which were erected, in the southern districts of North-Britain, under the shelter of his name. The West Kirk of Edinburgh, which is certainly one of the oldest, was dedicated to St. Cuthbert. Kirkcudbright, in Galloway, derives its name from St. Cuthbert, to whom the oldest church of that town was dedicated. In Glencairn, Dumfries-shire, there was a church dedicated to the same patron saint; and named Kirkcudbright. The old parish church of Balantrae, in Carrick, was dedicated to St. Cuthbert, and was named Kirkcudbright. In the parish of Sorn, Ayr-shire, there was a chapel dedicated to St. Cuthbert; and the field, where it stood, is still called St. Cuthbert's-Holm. From those notices, we may even trace the obscure colonization of the Saxon invaders.

At

At the end of seventeen years of useful labours, in conveying to the Northumbrians the comforts of Christianity, Aidan died, in A.D. 651. He was followed by the worthy Finnan, another monk of Hy, who, during ten years, copied the meritorious example of Aidan. In A.D. 661, Colman, who also owed his instruction, and his principles, to Hy, succeeded to Finnan, as bishop of Lindisfarne. His repose was still more disturbed, than the quiet of his predecessor had been, by the disputes, concerning the true time of celebrating the Easter Festival, and the proper mode of cutting the clerical tonsure. An attention to the public tranquillity required, that such debates, whatever might be their importance, should be settled. For this salutary end, Oswy called an ecclesiastical council, at Streanshal, in A.D. 664 (o). Questions, which had formerly exercised the talents of the ablest divines of the Roman empire, were now debated by Colman, and Wilfrid. The bishop of Lindisfarne defended the ancient mode of the Scoto-Irish, from the practice of their fathers. The presbyter, Wilfrid, who having travelled to Rome, knew the customs of the continental churches, insisted, that the calculations, whereon the Columbans, as well as the Britons, proceeded, in the celebration of Easter, were neither consistent with just theory, nor agreeable to the universal usage (p). The tonsure of the British, and Scottish, ecclesiastics, was declared by him to be a Jewish, rather than a Christian, mode. Oswy decided, in favour of Wilfrid. Colman, finding his opinions contested, and his usefulness contemned, relinquished his bishoprick, and retired, with his disciples, to Hy. On the retreat of Colman, Bede is studious to remark, that the whole time of the Scoto-Irish episcopacy, within the Northumbrian territories, extended to thirty years (q).

Changes of greater importance were now at hand. Theodore, a Grecian by birth, and a scholar by profession, was consecrated at Rome, in A.D. 668, the archbishop of Canterbury. And, to him, for the first time, submitted all the churches of England, as he seemed to be worthy of such a trust, from his knowledge, and prudence. In conformity to his direction, the first general council of the church of England was held, at Hethfield, in 673 A.D. It was on this occasion, and in that assembly, determined, that each bishop should have his distinct district, and that the number of dioceses should be in propor-

(o) Bede, lib. v. ch. xxii; Usher's Eccles. Primord. p. 93.

(p) The rule, for the celebration of Easter, which had been fixed, by the Council of Nice, in the Year 325, is, that it be held on the Sunday, which falls upon, or next after the full moon, that happens next after the 21st of March; or in other words, the Sunday, which falls upon, or next after the first full moon, after the vernal equinox.

(q) Bede, lib. iii. ch. xxvi. xxvii.

tion to the diffusion of Christianity. It was in obedience to this resolution, that the diocese of the southern Picts was erected, in 681 A.D.; and that Trumwine was appointed the bishop of the new establishment, whose seat was at Abercorn, on the Forth (*r*). Here, he established, agreeably to the practice of the age, a monastery, whence he sent out his presbyters, to perform the various functions, which the practice of Christianity required. But, the exercise of this salutary jurisdiction did not long continue. On the defeat, and death, of Egfrid, in A.D. 685, Trumwine found it necessary to retire, with his monks, from Abercorn to Whitby. The former authority of the episcopate of Lindisfarne, from that epoch, appears to have shed its beneficial influences over the relinquished people of the Saxon Lothian.

The same disputes, about the time of celebrating Easter, and the mode of the ecclesiastic tonsure, which had agitated the ablest men of civilized countries, now disturbed the quiet of the northern Picts, the wisest of whom were but little instructed, while the weakest were very ignorant. Nechtan, their king, who reigned from A.D. 710 to 725, applied to Ceolfrid, the learned abbot of Jarrow, for instruction, and assistance. The abbot wrote the king an elaborate epistle upon those difficult topics, which the zeal of Bede has preserved (*s*). When the Saxon document of Ceolfrid was translated into the Pictish language, it appears to have made a great impression on Nechtan, and to have convinced, or silenced, the most learned of his ecclesiastics: and, he was induced by his conviction of truth, or his zeal of proselytism, to command, that the Roman modes, with regard to both those points of discipline, should be learned, and observed, throughout his dominions (*t*). But, antient customs do not easily give way to legislative regulations. And, many of the Columbans, who officiated among the northern Picts, and adhered to their ancient practices, were expelled by the zealous Nechtan. Bede delights to tell, at the close of his history, that the nation of the Picts was at peace with the English people; and rejoiced in being made partakers of the Catholic verity, with the universal church.

Nechtán, like the great Constantine, was also induced, by his own temperament, and the ignorance of his people, to request of Ceolfrid, the successor of Benedict Biscop, the improver of the Northumbrian regions, to send him ar-

(*r*) Bede, lib. iv. ch. xii; Innes's MS. Eccles. Hist. sub. an. 668—671—681. Trumwine appears to have been a very active member of the council of Twyford, in A.D. 685, the proceedings of which he signed, by the name of "Trumwine Pictorum Episcopus." Monast. Anglican. v. i. p. 46.; Wilkins's Concilia, v. i. p. 56.

(*s*) Bede, lib. v. ch. xxii.

(*t*) Id.

chitects, in order to build a church, after the *Roman manner* : he promised, indeed, to dedicate the sacred edifice to Saint Peter ; and to follow the edifying mode of the apostolic worship. The architects were certainly sent (*u*). But, whether any church was built, history, and tradition, are silent (*x*). In an age, when Saint Andrew, the celebrated patron of North-Britain, was unknown, Saint Peter appears to have been little regarded : to his name, notwithstanding the assurances of Nechtan, few churches were dedicated, either by the Picts, or Scots, whatever there may have been to the more renowned Patrick, who owed his birth to the first people, and his celebrity to the last.

It is a singular event, which Bede considers as wonderful, that the Columbans, who converted the Northumbrians to Christianity, should, by the Northumbrians, be converted to the *catholic rites of life*. At the end of eighty years, from the mission of Aidan, Ecgbercht had the eloquence to induce the monks of Hy, with their abbot Dunchad, to *rejoice in the certain knowledge of the catholic time*, of celebrating the Easter Festival (*y*).

The zeal of the Northumbrians, in that age, induced them to revive the neglected bishoprick of Ninian, at *Candida-Casa*. In A.D. 723, under the reign of Osric, and during the Episcopate of Wilfrid, in York, was Pecthelme con-

(*u*) Bede is positive upon the point. Lib. v. ch. xxii.

(*x*) At Abernethy, in Stratherne, the supposed capital of the Picts, there is a very ancient church, which was built, in an age, that is beyond memory : but, while its origin defies conjecture, it was certainly dedicated to Saint Brigid, by the command of the zealous Nechtan. There is here, also, as well as at Brechin, a *round tower* of great antiquity ; and of very remarkable proportions, being eight feet two inches in diameter, and seventy-two feet, in height : but, there are no such towers, in Northumberland, while there are many such, in Ireland. Ledwich's *Antiq. of Ireland*, p. 300. By those circumstances, I am induced to think, with Pennant, that the tower, at Abernethy, was built, by the Scots, during the Scottish period. Pennant's *Tour*, v. ii. p. 166—183. The common Irish name, for the *round towers*, in Ireland, is *Clogha*, which, in the Gaelic, literally signifies a *bellfry*, from *clog*, a bell. Collect. Hibern. v. iii. p. 308, Lhuyd's *Arch.* ; O'Brien. Many of those towers have, for several centuries, been used as bellfries. Collect. Hibern. The fact is, that the *round towers* are every where found adjoining to churches : and from all those circumstances, it is more than probable, that they were originally constructed, for the purpose of bellfries, soon after the introduction of Christianity. It is certain, that bells were in common use, at every religious establishment, in the British islands, during the earliest ages of Christianity ; and where there were bells, there must have been bellfries. Columba appears plainly to have introduced a bell into the monastery of Iona. Adamnan's *Life of Columba*, lib. i. cap. viii. They were thence, no doubt, introduced into all the Columban churches of the Caledonian regions. The use of bells was equally carried into Northumberland, by the Columban bishops, who taught the religion of Christ to the Northumbrian people. See Whitaker's *Hist. Manchester*, v. ii. p. 416. 4to edit.

(*y*) Bede, lib. v. ch. xxiii.

secrated bishop of Whithern, for the spiritual government of a confiding people (z). Pecthelme was succeeded, during the eighth century, by several prelates of equal prudence, and greater energy (a). The anarchy, which, in the Northumbrian territories, succeeded the assassination of Æthelred, in A.D. 794, seems to have deprived Whithern of its episcopal authority. From the commencement of the ninth century, the people of that diocese appear to have submitted to the inconvenient jurisdiction of the bishop of Man, amidst the intrusions of various tribes, and the confusions of disputed authorities.

Such was the introduction of Christianity into North-Britain; and such were the forms, which it every where assumed, during illiterate ages. On the continent, *the church* had long acquired a complete establishment, and was generally governed by known canons, which, as they had been settled by universal consent, every Christian community was bound, in the opinions of those times, to obey. The greater authorities appear, in the earliest times, to have gone before the less. The apostles preceded bishops; bishops preceded presbyters; and presbyters went before deacons: Christianity existed before bishopricks; and bishopricks before parishes. Of this order, we see the appearances in North-Britain, during those ill-informed times. But, at the end of the Pictish period, in 843 A.D., we neither perceive any parishes laid out, nor observe any establishment settled: yet, of the *Culdees*, who are supposed, by polemicks, to have governed the churches, in that period, inquiry cannot find the smallest trace (b).

With the introduction of Christianity is connected the practice of sepulture. The burning of the dead was an universal practice, during Pagan times. This earliest usage was relinquished as Christianity prevailed. This change became general, among the Romans, during the age of the Antonines.

(z) Saville's *Chronologia*, ap. *Scriptores post Bedam*.

(a) The following is a chronological list of the earliest bishops of Whithern: (1.) Pecthelm was appointed in 723, and died in 735. (2.) He was succeeded by Frithwald, who died in 763. (3.) He was followed by Pectwine, who died in 777. (4.) To him succeeded Æthelbert, who attended the council of Calcluth; (*Spelman's Councils*, p. 289); and died in 790. (5.) He was succeeded by Eadwulf, who is said by Saville to have been the last of the bishops of Whithern. (6.) Usher, however, has given Eadwulf, a successor, in Heathored, during the year 800; *Saville's Chronologia*, *Usher's Primord.* p. 666. After this epoch, and during the anarchy, in Northumberland, the Scots, coming from Ireland into Galloway, submitted themselves to the bishops of Man. *Usher's Primord.* 666-7, 1172.

(b) The *Culdees* are not mentioned by Adamnan, in his *Life of Columba*, nor by Bede, in his *Ecclesiastical History*: The Scottish *Culdees* were first mentioned by Fordun, in his *Scoti-chronicon*, during the fourteenth century. *Lloyd's Church Government*, ch. vii. Boece improved on the Culdean fables of Fordun.

And the decent ceremony of burial had universally obtained, in the time of Macrobius, who flourished under Theodosius, at the end of the fourth century (*c*). In A.D. 402., St. Chrysostom says, there was not a Christian city, town, nor village, in the world, which had not a cemetery connected with them (*d*). In this fact, the other fathers of the church agree with him, though it must be understood that, the cemetery, in those times of Christianity, lay without the towns. The connection between cemeteries, and churches, seems to have been as early, in this island, as the building of such sacred edifices. The Christianized Britons had their cemeteries thus connected. The converted Saxons had their burial places equally conjoined with their churches, soon after the arrival of Augustine, with his missionaries: and, we may easily suppose, that the Christianized people of North-Britain, in the same manner, adopted the common practice, by dedicating the church yards to the holy purpose of burying their deceased relatives (*e*).

In speaking of the topics, in this chapter, we may perceive, how much it is the business of history to follow mankind, whatever may be their pursuits, either of colonization, or warfare, of legislation, or anarchy, of religion, or fanaticism; to relate the events, which were the consequences of their efforts; and to offer the instruction, that results from their actions.

(*c*) See Dr. Woodward's letter to Sir Christopher Wren, 1712, 8vo.; and Sir Thomas Brown on urn burial.

(*d*) Douglas's *Nenia*, p. 126.

(*e*) Whitaker's *Hist. Manchester*, v. ii. p. 411-12; Douglas's *Nenia*, p. 125: In fact, the Cambro-British term *Llan* was applied to the churchyard, as an inclosure, before it was appropriated to the church. Owen's *Dict. in voce*.

B O O K III.

THE SCOTISH PERIOD. 843 to 1097 A. D.

C H A P. I.

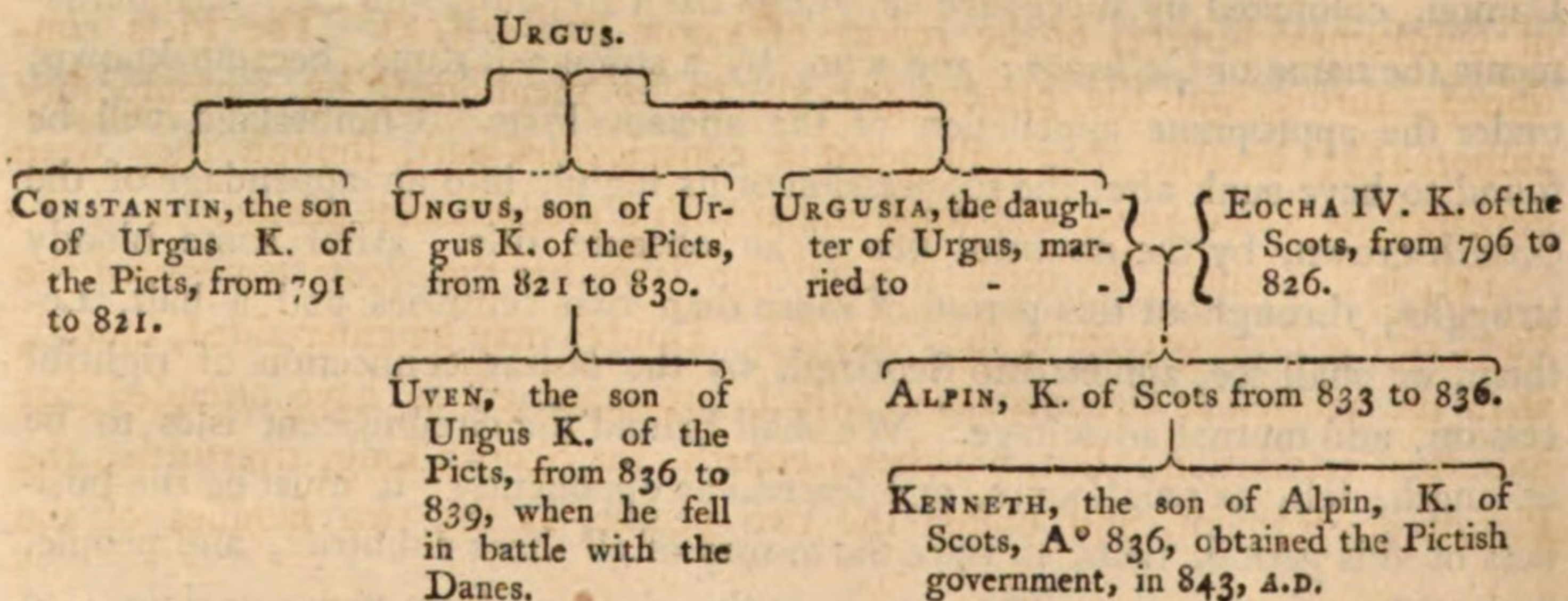
Of the Union of the Picts, and Scots.

THE *Scotish Period* of this *Account of North-Britain*, extending from the accession of Keneth MacAlpin in A.D. 843, to the demise of Donal-bane, in 1097, however dark, will be found to contain several events of great importance, in the North-British annals. The union of two separate nations into one monarchy, as it augmented the power of both, and by the ascendancy of the Scots, gave at length their name to their common country, must be peculiarly interesting to rational curiosity. In this period, we shall perceive the *Strathclyde* kingdom of the ancient Britons merge in the *Scotish* nation. We shall see, meantime, the ancient territories of the *Selgovæ*, the *Novantes*, and *Damnii*, colonized by successive emigrants from Ireland, who gave their settlements the name of *Galloway*; and who, by a strange fortune, became known, under the appropriate appellation of the ancient *Picts*. *Cumberland* will be found to have sunk after the suppression of its *reguli*, into an appendage of the *Scotish* crown, by the doubtful ties of an obscure title. After some bloody struggles, throughout this period of more than two centuries and a half, *Lothian*, we shall see, annexed to Scotland, by the lasting connection of rightful cession, and mutual advantage. We shall behold the circumjacent isles to be at length, felt, as neighbours, and feared, as opponents. It must be the business of this period, then, to trace the history of all those countries, and people, from different sources; to illustrate their singular laws from new principles; to investigate their manners, and customs, from analogous proofs; and to ascertain their antiquities, and language, from a temperament of philology, with interspersions of history.

Soon after the commencement of the ninth century, events occurred, which led to the suppression of the *Pictish* government, and thereby effected the union of the *Picts*, and *Scots*. Disputes were, indeed, to be expected, in a barbarous

age, between irascible tribes, who having many motives of enmity, were often engaged in conflicts. In the eighth century, as we have seen, a civil war broke out among the Picts, which lasted, with various fortune, throughout a dozen years; and which proved fatal to their chieftains, and princes, either in open battles, or from deliberate assassination. These destructive conflicts were succeeded, at intervals, by civil contests among themselves, or by foreign wars with the Scots, which at once enfeebled, and, in the end, annihilated the Pictish government. Those hostile collisions, between the Picts, and Scots, were, at length, mitigated by the gentler ties of marriage. Eocha IV. the king of Scots, married Urgusia, the sister of the Pictish kings, Constantin, and Ungus II. (a). Alpin, the issue of that marriage, did not live long enough to claim the Pictish sceptre, in right of his mother, on the disastrous, yet honourable demise, of Uven, in 839 A.D. He left a son, however, who knew his rights, and had spirit, and power, to enforce them (b). Kenneth, the son of Alpin, an enterprising warrior, found the Pictish people involved in domestic, and in foreign war. After the expulsion, and deaths, of Drest, and Talorgan, in 836, Uven ascended their shattered throne; but, he honourably lost his life, and sceptre, in a bloody conflict with the Danes, who had invaded his unhappy people, in 839 A.D. (c).

(a) The genealogical sketch, which is subjoined, will explain the family connections of the two royal families, much more distinctly than any narrative :



(b) Innes's Critical Essay, v. i. p. 141 : and we must, on this occasion, recollect what Bede relates, a contemporary writer, who knew what he states to have been the Pictish constitution, in his own time ; " that as often as the succession was in doubt, they should choose their king, rather of the next of the house of the woman, than of that of the man." Lib. i. cap. i.

(c) In 839, saith the Ulster Annals, a battle by the Gals (Danes) upon Fortren men, (the Picts,) wherein fell Owen Mac-Aongus and Bran Mac-Angus (Uven the son of Ungus, and Bran, the son of Ungus), Aod Mac Bran, and a multitude of their followers.

It

It was the death of Uven, the male heir of the Pictish crown, which opened the prospect of the succession to Kenneth, a grandson of Urgusia. The Pictish Uven, the Owen of the Irish chroniclers, was succeeded, in the government of a distracted people, by Wrad, who, at the end of three years of disturbed administration, died, in 842. He was followed, both in his government, and misfortunes, by Bred, who was slain at Forteviot, the seat of his power, in 843. In the quick succession of those events, we may easily perceive the distraction of the Pictish affairs, which led on to the annihilation of the Pictish authority, by the overpowering efforts of the enterprising Kenneth.

During such confusions, amidst a rude people, whose forms of government where little fixed, and whose laws were less regarded, the loss of a battle, or the death of a king, was an adequate cause of an important revolution. Of all those events, Kenneth dexterously took advantage; and finding no competitor, he easily stepped into the vacant throne. In his person, a new dynasty began. The king was changed; but the government remained the same. The Picts, and Scots, who were a congenial people, from a common origin, and spoke cognate tongues, the British, and Gaelic, readily coalesced. Yet, has it been asserted by ignorance, and believed by credulity, that Kenneth made so bad an use of the power, which he had adroitly acquired, as to destroy the whole Pictish people, in the wantonness of his cruelty. But, to enforce the belief of an action, which is in itself inhuman, and had been so inconsistent with the interest of a provident sovereign, requires stronger proofs, than the assertions of uninformed history, or the report of vague tradition (*a*). The Picts continued, throughout the present period, to be mentioned, by contemporary authors (*b*); because they still acted a conspicuous part, though they were governed by a new race, and were united with a predominant people.

Yet, is it doubted, by modern scepticism, whether the Scots conquered the Picts, or the Picts overcame the Scots (*c*). Doubts may be entertained, indeed, as to the particular circumstances, which are supposed to have attended that important revolution: But, whether Kenneth, the Scottish king, overturned the Pictish government, and united the two people, as the two families of the

(*a*) Innes has employed upwards of twenty pages of erudite investigation, to refute that absurd story of systematic writers. *Critical Essay*, vol. i. p. 145—166.

(*b*) Asser ap. Gale, fol. 165, sub. an. 875; Sax. Chron. ed. Gibson, p. 83; Ethelred Ap. Saville, cap. iii.: And the Appendix to Nennius, Tigernac, and the Ulster Annals, as quoted by Usher. *Primord*, fol. ed. p. 375.

(*c*) Enquiry into the History of Scotland, 1789, vol. ii. p. 149—174: The late edition of Sibbald's History of Fife, upon the doubtful authority of that Enquiry.

kings were already united, there can be no reasonable question. The ancient chronicles, the constant tradition, and a thousand facts, all uniformly speak of those events, as certain; as indeed the consequences would demonstrate, by the interesting union of two hostile nations, who, in future, formed one people, that inhabited a common country (*d.*)

(*d.*) The *Chronica Pictorum*, which Innes published, in the App. to his Crit. Essay, No. ii. from the Colbertine Library, mentions Bred, who was slain at Fortevoit in 843, as *the last king of the Picts*. The ancient Chronicon of the Scottish kings from Keneth, the son of Alpin, to Keneth, the son of Malcolm, which Innes has published in his App. No. iii. from the Colbertine Library, also asserts, that the son of Alpin reigned sixteen years over *Pictavia*. The Chronicle in the Register of the Priory of St. Andrews (Inn. Ap. No. v.) speaks of the translation of the Scottish kings into the kingdom of the Picts. The *Chronicon Rythmicum* (Innes's App. No. vi.) asserts the same fact, in other language. The document (Innes's App. No. i.) *De Situ Albanie*, in the same manner, states the same event, in terms equally explicit. Fordun may be safely called, as a witness to *the same tradition*. Hearne's ed. lib. iv. cap. ii. iii. Wyntown also speaks to the same point, in the language of his age:

“ Quhen Alpyne this kyng wes dede,
 “ He left a sowne was cal'd Kyned :
 “ Dowchty man he wes and stowt ;
 “ All the Peychtis he put owt
 “ Gret Bataylis, than dyd he
 “ To pwt in fredume his cuntre.”

Wyntown goes on to show, that “ Kyned browcht the Scottis owt of Ergyle ; and quhare that “ the Peychtis had before than thair dwellyng, he gert thame dwell, and wes thair king, in “ A. D. 843.” But, the maps of Fife, Perth, Forfar, the Merns, and Aberdeen, which were the appropriate countries of the Picts, are *the records*, which have transmitted *the thousand facts*, that are mentioned in the text : They prove, that the greatest number of the names of places, in those eastern shires, are significant, in the Scoto-Irish language, which was ingrafted on the Cambro-British, and in no other tongue ; as the dictionaries both of the Celtic, and Teutonic, demonstrate : The *thousand facts*, then, are decisive, with regard to the doubt, whether the Scots overcame the Picts, or the Picts conquered the Scots : For, those places could only have received their Scoto-Irish names, after the Scots over-ran those countries, subsequent to the epoch of 843 A. D.

CHAP. II.

Of the Extent, and Names, of the United Kingdoms.

THE union of the Picts with the Scots, in A. D. 843, necessarily, conjoined the separate dominions of both, and led on to the annexation of other territories.

The Picts had been confined, for ages, before that epoch, by the Forth, on the south, and Drumalban, on the west, and by the German ocean, on the east, and north. Their southern limits had been early fixed, by the prevalence of the Roman power. They were induced, probably, by the long continuance of that power, to consolidate the distant districts of the various tribes, which had, from the earliest times, divided their country, by their spirit of independance, and enfeebled their strength, by their desires of revenge.

We may trace up to those ages of disunion, and disaster, the tradition, which came down to the twelfth century, that *Pictavia* had once been separated into six kingdoms (*a*). The first was supposed to extend from the Forth to the Tay, having *Athrin*, one of the Ochil hills, for its eastern boundary; as indeed the name of Aith-rin imports, signifying the *pointed* mount. The second was said to comprehend Fothreve, and Fife; having the Forth, the sea, and the *Hilef*, for its confines (*b*). The third kingdom was, according to that tradition, bounded by the Hilef, and the Dee; comprehending the fine countries of Angus, and Mearns. The fourth realm extended from the Dee to the Spey, comprising Aberdeen, and Banff. The fifth kingdom had, for its narrow limits, the Spey, and Drum-alban. And, to the sixth realm were given the

(*a*) See the Document, *De Situ Albania*, in Innes's App. No. i. The information, from which Giraldus Cambrensis formed that description of Albany, he acknowledges, to have derived from Andrew, the bishop of Cathness, who died A. D. 1185.

(*b*) The *Hilef* was plainly the Ila, which joins the Tay; and which was called *Yliffe*, in the *Taxatio* of 1175, (Chart. of Arbroth), and gave a name to the parish of *Glen-Yliffe*: This appellation may be found in the British *Y-lif*, the flood, or inundation; and is very descriptive of the qualities of that mountain stream.

extensive

extensive regions of Muref, and Ross. Those fictitious monarchies had long ceased to exist, before the memorable Union of the Picts, and Scots, except in the natural divisions of the country, as they had been named, by a Celtic people.

The Scots, at that epoch, possessed the whole western coast from the Clyde to Loch-Toridon, with the adjacent isles. We have seen the Scoto-Irish settle on the *headland* of Kintire, as the name imports, at the commencement of the sixth century. As colonists arrived, and population increased, they gradually extended their settlements to the bordering continent, and to the neighbouring islands. In two centuries of active enterprize, they made an extensive progress. In the days of Bede, their colonies extended, from the northern margin of the Clyde, along the shores of the Irish sea, far into the north (*c*). During the effluxion of another century, they occupied the ample extent of Argyle, from the river Clyde, on the south, to Loch-Ew, and Loch-Maree, on the north, and from the sea, on the west, to Drumalban, on the east (*d*).

By the voice of fiction, and, indeed, by the recitals of history, the *seventh* kingdom of North-Britain was declared to be *Arregaithel* (*e*). The limits of this celebrated country have not occasioned so much contest, as the etymology of its appellation. "*Iar-gbael* is said not to be the name of the country, but " of those, who inhabited it; signifying the *Western* Gael, in opposition to the "*Eastern* Gael, or the Picts, that inhabited the shore of the German ocean (*f*)."
Yet, both the fact, and the principle of this explanation, have been controverted: And, *Argathel*, or *Iar-gael*, or *Argyle*, is said to signify nothing more than *the Irish* (*g*). There is, indeed, reason to believe, that this name was imposed, on that region, by a Gaelic people, in an age, when the geographical distinc-

(*c*) Bede, lib. 1. ch. i.

(*d*) Innes, p. 769: From its great range, Argyle, in its extreme parts, came to be known by the names of the Southern, and Northern, Argyle. The charter, which Robert I. granted to Randolph, in 1312, for the *Comitatus* of Murray, describes its boundaries to run "per mare usque "ad marchias boreales Ergadiæ, et sic per marchias illas, usque ad marchias Rossiaë." Lord Kaims's Law Tracts, p. 102; Shaw's Murray, App. No. i.; Robertson's Index to the Records, p. 49, which quotes Hadington's Collections. In 1342, David II. granted the lands of *Kentaile*, in *Northern* Argyle, to Reginald the son of Torkil. MS. in the Pap. Off. In 1366, William Earl of Ross granted the district of *Gerloch*, "infra partes Ergadiæ," to Paul Mactyre. Hay's Vindic. of Eliz. More, p. 18; and Robertson's Index, 98—114. From those documents, and the maps, it clearly appears, that Loch-Ew, and Loch-Maree, in Ross, formed the northern boundary of Argyle, during the fourteenth century.

(*e*) "*De Situ Albania*," Innes's App. No. i.

(*f*) Macpherson's Introduction, p. 148.

(*g*) Whit. Genuine History of the Britons, p. 287.

tions of the east, and west, were little understood (*b*). Ear-gaidhal, or Ear-gaoil, signified merely the limit, or boundary, of the Irishmen, or Gael (*i*). And the appropriate appellation of the people, who inhabited this region, for ages, after their settlement, in 503 A. D., was obviously applied to the country; as the Picts gave their name to *Pictavia*, and the Scots communicated the lasting appellation of Scotland to North-Britain, in a subsequent age (*k*).

Such were the dominions, which the Scots brought with them, when, by overpowering the Picts, an Union was effected between them, both of authority, and territories. Modern writers, indeed, have formed, for both those people, claims, which they never formed for themselves. It appears not, that the Picts ever claimed the Orkneys, the Hebrides, Galloway, or Lothian. Of historians, it is the common fault, to apply the prevailing prejudice of their own times to

(*b*) The Irish word *Iar* signified, merely, in its original import, *after, behind*; and secondarily came to signify the *west*, relatively to persons facing the east, at publick worship. O'Brien's Ir. Dict. sub *Iar*, and *Eirin*.

(*i*) See the Dict. of O'Brien, and Shaw, sub *Earr* and *Gaidhal*: This exposition corresponds with the etymology of Andrew, the bishop of Caithness, who told Cambrensis: "Arregathel" "dicitur quasi *margo Scottorum*, seu *Hybernensium*." Innes's App. No. i. This form of the word agrees nearly with the old spelling; and, in the Irish pronunciation, corresponds well with the name of *Argyle*.

(*k*) The name of Argail, Ardgal, or Arregaithel, was originally applied to the middle district of that country, which lies between Kintire and Knapdale, on the south, and Loarn on the north. In the 6th, 7th, and 8th centuries, it formed the middle division of the Scoto-Irish territories; and was inhabited by a particular tribe, who are frequently mentioned in the Annals of Ulster, as the sept of *Ardgal*. This district may probably have derived its appellation from the name of its inhabitants: *Fór*, in the topography of Ireland, during the middle ages, we see, that most of the petty divisions were named, from the clans, who occupied them, or from their chiefs. Ware's Ant. Hibern. ch. vii. The custom of our ancestors, says O'Flaherty, was not to take names, and creations, from places, and countries, as it is with other nations; but, to give the name of the family to the seignior, by them occupied. Ogygia Vindicated, p. 170. So the district of Loarn got its appellation from Loarn, one of the sons of Erc. Considering the name, as borrowed by the *district* from the *tribe*, the meaning of the appellation, as applied to the tribe, is not very obvious. The name *Ard-gail*, as in the Annals of Ulster, would signify the *noble Gael*; or *Ard-gaoil* would signify the *noble family*, or *kindred*: And, the names of *Earr-gail*, and *Earr-gaoil*, would convey the same meaning. O'Brien, and Shaw's Dicts. in vo. *Ard*, *Earr*, and *Gaoil*. *Arigh-gael* would signify the *chiefs* of the *Gael*. Ib. *Eire-gael*, or *Eire-gaidhal*, would denote the *Irish Gael*, or the *Gael of Ireland*. If, however, the name was local, the most probable derivation would certainly be *Earr-gaidhal*, or *Earr-gael*, the *limit*, or *border* of the *Gael*. As the names of *Alban*, and *Caledonia*, were extended to the whole of North-Britain: So the name of *Ardgal*, or *Arregathel*, was, in the middle ages, extended to the whole country, on the west coast, from the frith of *Clyde* northward to *Loch-Ew*, and *Loch-Maree*, in *Ross*; as we have seen.

past events. They do not consider, that nations must exist, before they can enjoy rights, either to retain, or relinquish. England, any more than Pictavia, could neither form pretensions, nor enjoy privileges, till the dissolution of her octarchies gave her the animation of existence, with the energies of unity.

The several districts of Britain appear to have acquired various names, during the successive ages of their devious progress. The nearest parts of South-Britain to Gaul were called *Albion*, from a view of its *heights*. It was denominated by the Britons themselves, in their own language, *Ynys-Prydain*, the beautiful isle: And, it soon obtained from its native designation, the classical name of *Britannia*, which was early given by the Roman writers; and which it will late retain, as the distinguishing appellation of the mistress of the ocean. North-Britain was equally called, in the earliest language, *Alban*, or the upper region: And it was sometimes recognized by this ancient name, as late as the recent period of the twelfth century (*l*). But, from the nature of the country, which was covered with woods, and from the speech of the inhabitants, that was obviously Celtic, North-Britain was called by Tacitus, as we have seen, *Galedonia*. The sister island had also its classic names, which were superseded, during the middle ages, by the well-known appellations of *Hibernia*, and *Scotia*, the Ireland, and Scotland, of Ælfred (*m*).

The Scots, who emigrated to Kintire, in 503, not only carried with them their language, their manners, and their laws, but the name of their original country. Yet, during the subsequent century, Adamnan, who died, in 704 A.D., and who was acquainted with Ireland, as well as with Britain, applied the name of *Scotia* to Ireland (*n*). Bede, however, though he speaks of *Britannia*, and *Hibernia*, never mentions *Scotia*, though he speaks of the Scots, in Britain: but, the venerable, and intelligent monk, calls the Scoto-Irish countries of Kintire, Argyle, and Lorn, “*Septentrionalis Scottorum provincia* (*o*).”

(*l*) In the Irish Annals the name of *Alban* continued to be used even long after the twelfth century. Indeed the Irish people have continued this name to the present times; and they call the Scottish people *Albanaich*.

(*m*) Ælfred's Anglo-Saxon Version of Orosius, by Daines Barrington, p. 14. See before, book ii. ch. iii.

(*n*) The Biographer of Columba, in speaking of the departure of his predecessor, from Ireland to Britain, says that Columba sailed “*de Scotia ad Britanniam*.” Vit. Columb. 1789, p. 58—60. Orosius, as we have seen, equally applied the same name of *Scotia* to Ireland, three centuries before. Barrington's edit. p. 3.

(*o*) Bede, l. iii. cap. iii. The Irish antiquaries, and their followers, have mistakingly applied the expressions of Bede to the northern division of proper Ireland. Ware's Antiq. cap. iii. and Harris's Ware, p. 30. In the age of Ælfred the northern parts of Britain were known to the navigators of that period, by the apposite name of *Ireland*. Barrington's Orosius, p. 15—256.

While the whole coast of Argyle was thus the province of the Scoto-Irish, the more eastern districts of North-Britain acquired the name of *Pictavia*, owing to the residence of the Picts. From these intimations, it is sufficiently obvious, that the name of *Scotia* was not applied to North-Britain, till the union of the Scots with the Picts gave a real cause for its application (*o*). After that epoch, the united kingdom was not mentioned under the Latin designation of *Scotia*, or the Saxon name of *Scotland*, till another age had elapsed, and the Picts became completely mingled with the Scots. In 934 A.D., the Saxon Chronicle informs us, that Athelstan invaded *Scotland*, by sea, and land (*p*). From this period, the Saxon Chronicle frequently mentions *Scotland*, as the well known name of North-Britain (*q*). As early, then, as the tenth century, the prevalence of the Scoto-Irish people conferred their appropriate appellation on the country, which Kenneth had acquired, as much by his valour, and address, as by his descent, and right. Such were the different names, which the British islands adopted, relinquished, and retained, during many ages of their various fortunes. And North-Britain acquired the title of *Scotland*, and her inhabitants the name of Scots, which the many changes of new people, new laws, new conjunctions, and new manners, have not been able yet to efface.

(*o*) See the Document, No. 1, in Innes's Appendix, "*De Situ Albanie*:" it is herein said, during the twelfth century, "*Pictavia nunc vero corruptè vocatur Scotia*." In the same Document, the name is variously spelt *Pictinia*.

(*p*) Gibson, p. 111; the Chronicle of Melros, under the same year, records that, "*Rex Athelstanus vastavit Scotiam usque Dunfeoder*;" and Flor. Wig. 349.

(*q*) Gibson, 153, &c.

CHAP. III.

Of the Orkney, and Shetland Isles.

IT was soon after the year 875, that Harald-Harfagre, having united the several provinces of Norway, by a naval victory, pursued the fugitives into Shetland, and Orkney; subdued the islanders; and there established the authority of his vigorous government. His whole power, the conqueror delegated to Sigurd, the son of Eystain, and brother of Rognwald, who is praised by Wormius, as a poet (*a*): him, Harald created the first Earl of the Orcadian dynasty (*b*). And, after him, a long succession of Earls ensued, who, amid their dissensions, and piracies, probably yielded but slight subjection to the Norwegian kings (*c*). It was an age of barbarism, when protection could only be gained by slavery, and wealth could be most easily obtained by plunder. Torf-Eyner, who ruled the Orkneys, about the year 930, first taught them the use of turf, for fuel, during the scarcity of wood (*d*). In 980, the Orkney men were converted to the Christian faith, which had been early intimated to them, by the zealous Columbans, and at length perfected by Saint Magnus (*e*). At length Sigurd, the son of Laudver, and the fourteenth Earl, succeeded his father, in 996 A.D. (*f*). He appears to have been a personage of great vigour, much enterprize, and many possessions. He enjoyed the Orkneys, Cathness, and Sutherland, with a tribute from the Hebride isles; and he also, for a time, established his power on the coasts of Ross, and Murray. He was of the blood of the vikingr; and he did not disparage the race, by his adventures. The eastern shores of North-Britain felt his frequent piracies. Yet, about the year 1006, he married, for his second wife, a daughter of Malcolm II. the king of Scots (*g*). Sigurd was, at length, engaged by those motives, which

(*a*) *Literatura Runica*, p. 195. (*b*) Torfæus's *Orcades*, p. 10, 11; *Orkneyinga-Saga*, p. 1.

(*c*) See the "Catalogus Comitum Orcadensium, Ordine Chronologico," in the *Orkneyinga-Saga*, p. 558.

(*d*) *Orkneyinga-Saga*; Torfæus's *Orcades*, 19.

(*e*) Torfæus's *Orcades*, ch. ii.

(*f*) *Gunlagh-Sagan*, p. 102. Note 69; Torfæus. *Orc.* p. 27.

(*g*) Snorre, t. i. p. 532-3; *Orkneyinga-Saga*, p. 5-87; Torfæus. *Orcades*, p. 33.

were

were most seductive among vikingr, to aid Sigtrig, the sea king of Dublin. And, in April 1014, the potent Earl of Orkney, and Cathness, fell in the bloody field of Clontarf; fighting against the renowned Brien Boromhe, the illustrious king of all Ireland (*b*). Sigurd, by his first wife, left four sons; Einar, Sumerlid, Brusi, Rognwald; the eldest of whom succeeded to the Orkneys. By the daughter of Malcolm, Sigurd left a son, Torfin, who, as he was born, in 1009, was five years of age, at the death of his father. When Sigurd set his ill-omened sails for Dublin, he left his infant son, in the parental care of the Scottish king (*i*). When the fate of Sigurd was known, Malcolm put his grandson in possession of Cathness, and such other territories, as still remained to Sigurd, after his many conflicts, on the Scottish shore (*k*). Torfin resembled his father, in his stature of body, vigour of mind, and ambition of enterprize. At the age of fourteen, Torfin commenced his career, as a vikingr. His sails often disquieted the coasts of Scotland, during the reign of his grandfather. He refused the usual tribute to the gracious Duncan, who marched into Murray, to enforce its payment. He engaged in avowed warfare with the Scottish king. And he had the honour, during this revolt, to engage in hardy conflicts, with “*brave Macbeth*, who well deserved that name.” Torfæus claims for Torfin, in a doubtful tone, the success, and the advantages of the war; but, Shakspeare bestows, with poetic praise, the victory, and the reward, on “*peerless Macbeth* (*l*).” Yet, was not the power of Torfin crushed; nor his ambition lessened. He engaged in hostilities with his father’s sons, in Orkney. One of them he slew, in battle; another, he obliged to flee; and from his elder brother, he wrested several islands. He compelled the Hebrides to yield him tribute. He emulated the Scottish kings, in splendour, and equalled them, in power. It was the fleets of the vikingr, which gave them such superiority over the Celtic kings, their contemporaries, who never engaged, in naval affairs. Wearied, at length, with savage grandeur, and feeling “the compunctious visitings of nature,” he went to Rome, for remission of his crimes (*m*). And, returning from the seat of pardon, with mitigated feelings, Torfin died, about the year 1074, aged 65 years (*n*). He left by his wife, Ingiburga, two sons, Paul, and Erland, who enjoyed his possession, both in

(*b*) Id. Ware’s Antiq. 8vo ed. p. 114-15.

(*i*) For the history of this great Earl, see Torfæus’s Orcades, c. x.

(*k*) Ib. c. xii.

(*l*) The whole of this war, which is interesting, from the contending parties, and the Drama of Shakspeare, that is partly founded on it, is related darkly by Torfæus, Orcades, c. xiii; and see the Orkneyinga-Saga, p. 5—29. 35. 71. 74. 87.

(*m*) Torfæus. Orc. p. 64-5.

(*n*) Ib. p. 65; Orkneyinga-Saga, p. 87.

Orkney, and in Cathness; and who died, about the year 1090. But, the time was at hand, when the Orkneys were to submit to a new master. In 1098, Magnus Barefoot, the powerful king of Norway, reduced to complete subjection both the people, and their rulers: from this event, those islands enjoyed some repose, and some traffic, rather than adventurous piracy, under one sovereign, in the place of many tyrants (o).

The Scandinavian people, who settled, as we have seen, in the Orkney, and Shetland, islands, in Cathness, Sutherland, and the Hebrides, during the ninth century, built many stone forts of rude construction, for the purpose of defence against the desultory attacks of their piratical countrymen, who so frequently scoured those coasts, in quest of prey, during the ninth, and tenth centuries. The strong towers, which the Scandinavians thus erected, they called *Burghs*, which, in their language, signify *strengths*, or places of defence; and most of those stone forts still retain their original appellations. By the Scoto-Irish people, in the Hebrides, in Cathness, and Sutherland, these stone forts are called *Duns*, which, in the Gaelic, are synonymous to the Scandinavian *Burghs*; and several of those strengths are pleonastically called *Dun-burgh*; but, tradition uniformly states them to have been erected by the Scandinavian settlers, on those inhospitable shores.

During late times, many of those edifices, in the Orkney, and Shetland, islands, and in Cathness, have been erroneously called Pictish castles, Pictish towers, and Picts houses, from a fabulous story, that attributes to Kenneth MacAlpin the impolicy of driving many of the Picts into the northern extremity of our island; whence they fled to the Orkney, and Shetland isles, where they found shelter, and settlement. But, those appellations have never been given to any of the Scandinavian *Burghs*, in the Hebrides, nor even to those, in the western part of Sutherland.

That the whole of these *Burghs*, or strengths, were erected, by the Scandinavian settlers, in the Orkney, and Shetland, islands, in Cathness, and in the Hebrides, and not by the Pictish, or British people, may be certainly inferred, from the following considerations:

Those *Burghs*, or strengths, only exist, in the countries, where the Scandinavian people effected settlements. They are only seen, in the Orkney, and Shetland, islands, in Cathness, on the coast of Sutherland, and in the Hebrides, with a few on the west coasts of Ross, and Inverness. The original, and proper, name of those strengths, is *Burgh*, which is the Scandinavian term, for

(o) Sim. Dun. 223; Chron. Mailros, sub an. 1098; Snorre relates the adventures of this king, in the sentiment of mythology, and the language of romance.

a fort; and most of them still retain this appellation; and have communicated this name to the places, where they are situated (*p*). But, not one of these strengths bears any appellation from the *Pictish*, or British language. The recent appellation of Pictish castles, or Picts-houses, has only been given to those, in Orkney, and Shetland, in Cathness, and in Sutherland; but none of those westward of Strath-Naver have ever been called Pictish castles, or Picts houses, though the same kind of strengths equally exists along the west coasts of Sutherland, throughout the Hebrides, and the west coasts of Ross, and Inverness. In all those countries, tradition uniformly states them to have been built by the Scandinavian settlers.

Those strengths, in the Orkney, and Shetland, islands, in Cathness, and in Sutherland, which have been recently called Pictish Castles, and Picts Houses, are in every respect similar, in their form, structure, materials, and situation; and appear to have been constructed, for similar purposes, as those on the west coasts of Sutherland, Ross, and Inverness, and in the Hebrides, which tradition uniformly assures us were erected by the Scandinavian people; and to which the names of Picts castles, and Picts houses, have never been applied (*q*).

Some

(*p*) Stat. Acco. v. i. p. 401. Even some of the lochs, in which they are placed upon islets, have got from those erections the name of Burgo-water. Ib. v. xx. p. 112. It is therein stated, that there are eight Pictish buildings, called *Burghs*, in the parish of Walls and Sandness. A number of them, in North Mavor, are called Burghs, or Picts-houses. Ib. v. xii. p. 365. Near Dunbeath, in Cathness, says Pennant, there is an entire *Picts* castle, called the *Burg* of Dunbeath. Tour in Scotland, v. i. p. 176.

(*q*) Those strengths, in the Orkney, and Shetland, islands, and in Cathness, as well as those in the Hebrides, and on the west coasts of Sutherland, Ross, and Inverness, are situated generally on rising grounds, along the sea coast; two, or three, and sometimes more of them, being in sight of each other. They are all constructed of stones, without any kind of cement, and many of those stones are of an extraordinary large size; but, in general, they are very well fitted together in the building. Those buildings are all of a circular, or somewhat elliptical form, and are of different sizes. The larger ones appear to have been from 20 to 40 feet high; forming three or four stories of apartments, between the outer, and inner walls; but, the tops of most of them have been more, or less demolished. The smaller ones vary from 10 to 20 feet high; forming one or two stories. The interior area of the larger ones varies from 30 to 50 feet diameter; and, of the smaller ones, from 17 to 30 feet, diameter. They have two walls, one within the other; having an open space between them, all round, from four to five feet wide. In those, which are most entire, this space appears to have been divided off into a number of separate apartments. A few of the smallest had only one wall. The walls gradually contract, in the circumference, from the foundation upwards, and the outer wall appears to have been joined to the inner one at the top; the larger ones are now open at the top; but, whether they were originally so is not certain, as the tops are somewhat demolished. Some of the smaller ones still exhibit a covering, at the top of long flat stones, which are overlaid with sods. The entrances are, in general, low, and small; most of them being no more

Some of those *Burghs*, which are called Pictish Castles, in Shetland, are placed on islets, in small lochs; having a causeway, leading to them, somewhat under water, for the purpose of concealment. In the same manner, some of the Scandinavian *Burghs*, in the Hebrides, which are of a similar structure, are also placed, in a similar situation, on islets, in small lakes; having, in the same manner, a causeway under water, leading to them (*r.*)

Those *Burghs*, which are called Pictish castles, and Picts houses, in the Orkney, and Shetland islands, and in Cathness, have no similarity to any of the strengths, or places of security, of the genuine Picts, or British tribes in North-Britain. The British strengths were formed, by fortifying the tops of eminences, with fosses, and ramparts of stone, and earth (*s*). The Pictish tribes never reared any such stone towers, or forts, in North-Britain, as those burghs, which have been erroneously called Picts castles, in Orkney, and Shetland. And it must be remembered, that the British Picts never were in Shetland; and consequently, could not have erected those buildings, to which their names have been improperly applied.

The secondary appellations of Picts castles, and Picts houses, which have been given to those burghs, in the Orkney, and Shetland islands, and in Cathness, have entirely sprung, from the fabulous story before mentioned. But, it is certain, that the Union of the Pictish, and Scottish governments, produced no such effects, as to drive the people out of the country: And it must be recollected, that the Scandinavians were at the same time in possession of the Orkney, and Shetland islands, which were of course not open, for the Pictish settlements.

From the foregoing intimations, it is sufficiently apparent, that neither the Picts, nor Scots, had any pretence of right over the Orkney, and Shetland isles. The contemporary inhabitants of both were of a different lineage, as we have seen; and owed their obedience to their original country. The Picts, and Scots, far from subduing them, were often harassed, by those enterprising

more than three feet high, and two feet and a half wide. The remains of these strengths exhibit, on the outside, the appearance of a cone, having its top cut off: the largest ones are somewhat like modern glass-houses. Gordon's Itin. Sept. p. 166-7, and pl. 65; Martin's Western Islands, p. 8. 153. 270; Pennant's Tour, v. i. p. 171. 176. 319. v. iii. p. 219. 292. 337; and the Stat. Acco. of Scotland. In the MS. Description of those in Glenelg, by the Reverend Mr. MacIver, which he sent to me in March 1799, he observes, "that professor Thorkelin, who visited the Hebrides, in 1787, and saw several of these strengths, said that, similar edifices are still to be seen, in Norway, and Denmark."

(*r*) Stat. Acco. vol. v. p. 200; Ib. v. xii. p. 365; Ib. v. xix. p. 271; Ib. v. xx. p. 112.

(*s*) See b. ii. ch. i. § 2.

islanders.

islanders (*t*). We shall find, in the course of our inquiry, that the Scottish kings acquired, by negotiation, those many Islands, which they were unable to obtain, by conquest (*u*).

(*t*) Sagan of Gunlaug. p. 169.

(*u*) When the Hebude isles were transferred, in 1266, by Magnus IV. to Alexander III., the Orkney, and Shetland isles were excepted. See the Treaty, in Torfæus's *Orcades*, p. 199; Torfæus *Hist. Norway*, v. iv. p. 343: And see Robertson's *Index*, p. 101, for a confirmation, in 1312. By the marriage treaty between James III., and Margaret, the daughter of Christian, king of Denmark, in 1468, the Orkney, and Shetland Isles, were rather pledged, for her dowry, than assigned to Scotland. Torfæus's *Orcades*, p. 191—95. They were, however, soon after released for ever. And, on the 20th of February 1471-2, they were annexed to the crown, by the Scottish parliament. In Anderson's *Chronological Deduction of Commerce*, v. i. p. 41, 73, 122, 253, there is much apocryphal history, with regard to the Orkney, and Shetland islands.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Hebrides, or Western Isles.

THE conclusion of the ninth century is an epoch, in the history of the Hebrides, as well as of Norway. At that era, the disjointed states of the Scandinavian peninsula were united, by the successful valour of Harald-Harfagre (*a*). He followed the discontented fugitives into the Orkneys, and the Hebrides, which had furnished them retreats, and enabled them to retaliate on his dominions. But, neither the difficulty of the navigation, nor the obscurity of the isles, saved them from his vengeance. In A.D. 881, he pursued them into their fastnesses. Wherever his ships appeared, victory attended their sails (*b*). His return to Norway was, nevertheless, the conspicuous signal, for the re-establishment of the former authority of the Hebridean chiefs. Harald regarded the resumption of their privileges, as an insult offered to his power. And, he sent Ketel, with a fleet, and army, to repress the presumption of the chiefs, and to re-establish obedience to his power (*c*). But, Ketel only conquered for himself. This ambitious officer obliged the Hebridean leaders to acknowledge him, for their prince, by the payment of tribute: He confirmed them in their old privileges; he formed intermarriages with their daughters: And, such was the efficacy of those measures, that Ketel remained master of the Hebridean isles, during his life, notwithstanding the fame, and the threats of Harald, who had other objects, for his ambition to follow (*d*). Harald-Harfagre is said to have died, in A.D. 933, aged ninety-one (*e*).

After the death of Ketel, a new dynasty arose, in the Isle of Man, which, in the days of Bede, contained only three hundred families (*f*); and from the

(*a*) Torfæus Hist. Norw. t. ii. l. ii. cap. 12:

(*b*) Ib. p. 77.

(*c*) Id.

(*d*) Torfæus Hist. Norw. tom. ii. l. i. cap. xxix.

(*e*) Ib. 66—72.

(*f*) Bede Hist. l. ii. cap. ix.: From this fact, we may infer, that the people of the Western Islands, in that age, were not numerous.

narrowness of its dominions was thenceforth a dependent monarchy, till it submitted to Alexander III., the Scottish sovereign, on the resignation of the Norwegian king (g). The Hebrideans, and their chiefs, were never, from that period, perfectly independent of Norway, though they were subject to the kingdom of Man, and paid tribute to the earls of Orkney and Cathness. They acknowledged their vassalage, during the subsequent ages, by receiving rulers, from the Scandian peninsula, which could easily enforce obedience, on the appearance of her fleets; and by paying tributes, which they could not withhold. But, to retain them in subjection was more difficult, from the distance of the power, which was to engage their reverence, and to command their submission. During a part of the tenth, and most of the eleventh centuries, Sigurd, the earl of Orkney, and his son, Thorfin, treated the Hebrides, as dependant territories (h). At length, Magnus, the barefooted, the Norwegian king, came into those seas, with an irresistible fleet. He laid waste the Hebrides; he obliged the people to seek for shelter in Scotland; he compelled the chiefs to bow down to his power: And, in the year 1098, he completely subdued the Orkneys, the Hebrides, and Man; avowing that he came to enforce ancient rights, rather than to acquire a new authority (i).

It is not very easy to discover what right the Picts, or Scots, could claim over the western isles, either in their separate, or united state. The Picts had not any jurisdiction over the British tribes, who, residing in those islands, during those early ages, were as independent as themselves. The Scottish kings may have had, indeed, some authority over the Scoto-Irish colonists, who inhabited the nearest isles. The conquest of Harald-Harfagre broke asunder the slight ties of connection, which may have existed between the Celtic people, who lived in North-Britain, and the Hebrides. The irruption of Magnus, during the civil contests of Scotland, confirmed the rights of Norway. And, the Scottish kings acquired, by treaty, during the happier age of Alexander III., the western islands, which, in the present period, they were unable to conquer by power, or to retain by patronage (k).

The

(g) Camden, ed. 1753, vol. ii. p. 1439; Chronicle of Man, edit. Johnston; Torfæus's *Orcades*, p. 199; Torfæus's *Hist. Norway*, v. iv. p. 343.

(h) See the *Orkneyinga Saga*; Torfæus's *Orcades*; *Sagan of Gunlaug*, p. 169.

(i) Torfæus's *Norw. Hist.* tom. iii. cap. iv. v.; *Chron. Man*, ad an. 1098; *Chron. of Mailros*, ad an. 1098; *Simeon of Durham*, p. 223.

(k) From those facts, we may see how groundless the imputations are, which attribute the sale of those isles to the corrupt motives of Donal-bane; and how romantic the story of Snorro is, when

The influence of this cession aided the zeal of the Scoto-Irish colonists, in spreading into every islet of the Hebrides: And, in the progress of colonization, they acquired such a complete ascendancy over the Scandinavian settlers, as to suppress the Gothic language, and establish their own Gaelic speech, which was recently the common tongue, in every part of those islands (1).

he talks of Magnus having then obtained Kintire by trick. The act of cession, by Magnus to Alexander III., is in Torfæus's *Norw. Hist.* v. iv. p. 343. This was confirmed by a deed, that was executed between Robert I., and Haco V., king of Norway, the 28th October 1312. Robertson's Index, p. 101. Torfæus passed over the story of Snorro, as a romance.

(1) See the Statistical Accounts of the several parishes, in the Hebrides.

CHAP. V.

Of Cumbria ; Strathclyde ; and of Galloway.

SECT. I.

THE north-east part of Cumberland, from the Dudden to the Kershope, was inhabited, as we have seen, by British tribes, at the great epoch of the Roman invasion. The aboriginal people were subdued, and civilized, by their more disciplined invaders. After the Roman abdication, the Romanized Britons maintained a long, and gallant, but unsuccessful, warfare with the Northumbrian Saxons, who appear to have over-run a great part of Cumbria, before the demise of Oswy, in A. D. 670. In 685, when the furious Ecgfrid was about to set out on his fatal expedition into Pictavia, he granted to St. Cuthbert, Carlisle, which yet preserved its Roman form, and still exhibited its Roman beauty, with the surrounding territory (*a*). The pagan Danes, in subsequent times, over-running this western region, deformed what was beautiful, and defiled what they touched. Edward, the Elder, appears, at various periods of his reign, to have extended his power over Cumbria, and to have enforced the submission of the Cumbrian kings (*b*). Their notions of subjection, in that age, seem to have been very imperfect. They obeyed the power, which, during the season of hostility, they could not resist. Thus, the Cumbrian Britons either submitted, or resisted, as they felt the pressures of superiority. By this conduct, Edmund appears to have been provoked to invade Cumbria, which Dunmail, its king, gallantly tried to defend: But, he was overpowered on the bank of Raisbeck river; where a large *Carnedd* of stones was raised by his affectionate people, to mark the disastrous site of his unhappy fall. The conqueror, with savage rage, mutilated the two sons of the vanquished Dunmail, the last of the Cumbrian reguli (*c*).

Edmund

(*a*) Bede's Life of St. Cuthbert, c. 27; and Smith's Bede, p. 782.

(*b*) Flor. Wig. p. 336—347, under the years 901, 921; and R. Hoveden, p. 421—422.

(*c*) Flor. Wig. p. 351; R. Hoveden, p. 423; Mat. Westminster, p. 366. On the mountainous pass between Cumberland and Westmoreland, near the road, which leads from Keswick to Ambleside,

Edmund now transferred the country, which he had wasted, and the people whom he had humbled, to Malcolm, the Scottish king, on the condition of amity and aid (*d*). Indulf, the king of Scots, is said to have appointed, in 953, Duff, the son of Malcolm I., *regulus* of Cumbria (*e*). Duff, the son of Malcolm, was presumptive heir of the Scottish crown, as *tanist*. If we were to form an opinion, from the fact, rather than the authority, we might presume, that it was the office of the *tanist* of Scotland, as presumptive heir of the kingdom, to govern Cumbria, as his right. Duff ceased to rule Cumbria, when he became king of Scots, in 961 A.D. Malcolm, his son, appears to have succeeded Duff, as *regulus* of Cumbria (*f*). Duff was dethroned by Culen, in 965. Yet, Malcolm continued long to rule the Britons of Cumbria. He was one of the eight *reguli*, who are said to have met Edgar, at Chester, in 973 (*g*). Meantime, Kenneth III., the brother of Duff, succeeded to the Scottish crown, during the year 970, according to the settled usage, in preference to his nephew, Malcolm, the Cumbrian *regulus*. On his accession, Kenneth III. renewed the appointment of Malcolm, as *regulus* of Cumbria (*h*). The king of Scots may have exercised this power of naming the *reguli* of Cumbria, without possessing the greater power of abrogating the ancient usage, which regulated the succession to the crown. The fact seems to warrant this intimation. Ambition, however, too often vaulted over the usage; and by assassination, or a battle, seized the bloody diadem. The death of Malcolm, about the year 989, opened the succession, for a new *regulus* of Cumbria. The ambitious Kenneth III. nominated his own son, Malcolm, though he was

Ambleside, there is a large cairn of stones, called *Dunmail-wrays*, which tradition states to have been erected to commemorate the defeat of Dunmail by Edmund. Pennant's Tour, v. iii. p. 37; Burn's Cumberland, v. i. p. 149; with the map prefixed: And see Speed's Map of Cumberland, No. 45. In Wales, there are similar cairns, with a similar name, applied to them; signifying the stones of *cognizance*: Whence, we may infer, that the *Dunmail-wrays* stones mean merely the *memorial* stones of Dunmail.

(*d*) Id.; Sax. Chron. p. 115; Fordun, l. iv. c. 26, intimates, indeed, that it was then agreed, between Edmund and Malcolm, that every heir apparent to the Scottish crown should hold Cumberland, as a fief of England. This is the mere talk of Fordun's times. From the English chronicles, we know, that in fact, there was no such stipulation; and that the notions of feudality were not thought of, in 945 A.D.

(*e*) Fordun, l. iv. c. xxvii.

(*f*) Fordun, l. iv. c. 30, says, in the idiom of his age, that Duff appointed his son Malcolm, as *regulus* of Cumbria; and he always speaks of the several successions of the *reguli* of Cumbria, as *appointments* of the reigning king of Scots.

(*g*) Flor. Wig. p. 359; Sim. Dun. p. 129.

(*h*) Fordun, l. iv. cap. xxx.

still

still young (*i*). Kenneth III. was succeeded, in the Scottish throne, in 994, by Constantin IV.; and he was soon after followed by Kenneth IV., the son of Duff. During their disastrous reigns, Malcolm, the son of Kenneth III., ruled in Cumbria. But, in 1003, after a violent conflict, he defeated, and dethroned, the gallant son of Duff; and he now assumed the gory sceptre, under the name of Malcolm II. He appears to have been a prince, able, valiant, and ambitious. He refused Ethelred the demanded Danegelt, in 1000 A. D.; because none was due; and the English king thereupon wasted Cumbria, which could not resist a conjoint attack, both by land, and sea (*k*). Malcolm II. appointed his grandson, Duncan, *regulus* of Cumbria (*l*). He appears to have governed it, during the subsequent part of the long reign of his grandfather. But, succeeding, at length, to the crown, in 1033, he nominated his son Malcolm Ceanmore, in his stead (*m*). And the son of Duncan continued to rule, with the aid of his uncle, Siward, that dependency, throughout the whole usurpation of Macbeth, without any apparent molestation. When he at length acquired the contaminated crown, he seems to have continued to rule Cumbria; having no son, probably, whom he could nominate to the government, as *regulus*. At length, William, the Conqueror, after much contest with Malcolm Ceanmore, annexed Cumbria to England, as a conquest, which he granted, in 1072, to Ranulph Meschines, to be held by the tenure of the sword (*n*). Ranulph transferred many parcels of that disputed territory to his warlike followers, in consideration of military service (*o*). From that epoch, the

(*i*) Fordun, l. iv. c. xxxvi.

(*k*) Flor. Wig. p. 369; Fordun, l. iv. c. xxxviii.

(*l*) Fordun, l. iv. c. 49.

(*m*) Fordun, l. iv. c. xlix. Flor. Wig. p. 416, intimates, that Duncan, the father of Malcolm Ceanmore, was *regulus* of Cumbria; *rex Cumbriorum*, says he. Sim. Dun, p. 187, concurs with Florence. Dugdale, indeed, states that, in 1042, Edward, the Confessor, committed to the charge of Siward the counties of Westmoreland, *Cumberland*, and Northumberland. Baronage, v. i. p. 4. The fact probably was, that Duncan, having married the sister of Siward, may have been assisted, by this powerful earl, in the government of Cumberland; who may have overawed Macbeth.

(*n*) Flor. Wig. p. 438; Holland's Camden, p. 787; Gough's Camden, v. iii. p. 209; Dugdale's Monast. v. i. p. 400; Hutch. Hist. Cumberland, v. i. p. 20; v. ii. p. 17—19.

(*o*) The limits of Cumberland were probably the same, in that age, which they have continued to the present times. What had been granted by Edmund to Malcolm, in 945 A. D., was now given by the conqueror to Meschines, in 1072. It is certain, that the northern boundary of the *commitatus Cumbriae* was the Solway, the Esk, the Kershope, and the mountains, which send their kindred waters, by those channels, to the Irish sea: For, it is a fact, that Ranulph Meschines granted to his followers various districts, which lie along the southern banks of those rivers; and

the whole œconomy of Cumbria was changed, when the privileges of the ancient people were annihilated, by a single stroke of feudism. And to that grant of the conqueror, may be traced up a new race of inhabitants, who transmitted rights, which are invariably recognized even down to the present day (*p*).

In this manner, then, was the Cumbrian territory separated from the Scottish kingdom. After the demise of Edgar, in 1107, David, the youngest son of Malcolm Ceanmore, became prince of the *Cumbrian* region, which lay on the north of that dividing line, but not of Cumbra-land, that was then possessed by Ranulph Meschines, though David, in 1136, and 1139 A. D., acquired it from Stephen, by his warfare, and negotiations (*q*).

Without

and which prove, by their positions, the northern extent of his Cumbrian possessions. Camden, ed. 1753, p. 1039—42, 1059—62; Dugdale's Monast. v. i. p. 400; Burn and Nicholson's Cumberland, v. ii. p. 461—64, 486; and Hutchison's Cumb. v. i. p. 20.

(*p*) There is a charter of David, after his accession to the Scottish throne, which is dated, at Carlisle; and is addressed to his men; "*Cumberlandiæ, Francis, Anglicis, et Cumbrensibus.*" Dugdale's Monast. v. i. p. 399. We thus see, that *Cumbria* had now acquired the name of *Cumberland*; and that it was inhabited by Normans, and English, as well as by the ancient Cumbrians. The sudden change in the ancient population of *Cumbria* is very remarkable. We may see the cause, by adverting to an important notice, in the Saxon Chronicle, p. 198: "This year, 1092, King William, with a great army, went into the north; restored Carlisle, and built its castle: Returning into the south, the king sent a great multitude of English, with their wives, and flocks, to inhabit, and cultivate that northern land."

(*q*) Chron. Mailros. It is seldom, that history is able to produce such an authority, for such a fact, as the document, which I shall submit, for the deductions in the text. It is the "*Inquisitio Davidis*" "*Principis Cumbrensis de terris ad ecclesiam Glasguensen pertinentibus facta, A. D. 1116,*" which has been more than once published, from the Chartulary of Glasgow. The original Chartulary, which was carried to France, by Archbishop Beaton, at the Reformation, is now in my library. The authenticity of this *Inquisitio* is unquestionable. It is, in fact, the inquest of a jury, which, like other verdicts of juries, must be admitted, as undoubted truth. By this inquest, the Cumbrian region was declared to be situated "*inter Angliam et Scotiam.*" Now, the northern boundary of England, on the west, as we have seen, was the Solway, the Esk, and the Kershope; and the *Scotia*, or Scotland, of that age, lay on the northward of the Forth. This general intimation of the *Inquisitio* is still more confirmed, not only by its own facts, but also by several other documents, in the same Chartulary, which attest, that the *Cumbrian region* of Prince David extended from the Solway, the Esk, and the Kershope, on the south, to the Upper Forth, and Loch-Lomond, on the north: And from the Irish sea, and the frith of Clyde, on the west, this region ranged, eastward, to the confines of Lothian, and the Merse. The grants of Earl David to the monastery of Selkirk, in the Chartulary of Kelso, confirm the documents, in the Chartulary of Glasgow, as to the *eastern* extent of the Cumbrian region, by shewing, that the territory of David, as prince of Cumbria, extended into *Teviotdale*. The northern boundary of England,

Without such a document, as the *Inquisitio*, for our guide, through the dark paths of the middle ages, and such certainty, for our conviction, it would be vain to examine the chroniclers of the twelfth century, whose researches were feeble, and whose expressions are loose, when they speak of the Cumbrian region.

SECT. II.

THE congenerous tribes of *Strathcluyd* felt, during the Scottish period, the same wounds of war, and partook of the same species of polity, as the Cumbrian Britons, on their southern limit. And, the *Strathcluyd* Britons remained, though some of them emigrated to Wales, after the conclusion of the Pictish period, upwards of three centuries and a half, a distinguishable people, under the appropriate name of *Walenses*, amid the English, the Normans, and Galloway Irish, who all settled during that long effluxion of changeful time, throughout the Cumbrian territory (*a*). Yet, whoever is ambitious of accuracy, in historical research, concerning those separate tribes, must carefully distinguish Cumberland, from the Cumbrian region, which was undoubtedly distinct, throughout the present period of the Scottish predominance.

After the death of Alpin, in 836, the *Strathcluyd* Britons were involved, on their western border, in the vigorous hostilities, which enabled his son, Kenneth, to acquire the government of the Picts. During those hostile events,

England, before David acquired Cumberland, in 1136-9 A. D., is again referred to, in his Charter of *Annandale* to Robert Bruce, which bounds his grant, on the south, by the limits of *Ranulph Meschines*.

(*a*) There remain three charters of David I., which are addressed, appropriately, “Francis, Anglis, Scottis, et *Galwensibus*.” *Diplom. Scotiæ*, pl. xiv. and xviii.; *Dug. Monast.* v. ii. p. 54. There is a charter of Earl Henry, the son of David, which is also addressed, “Francis, Anglis, Scottis, et *Galwensibus*.” *Chart. Kelso*, No. 240. There are four charters of Malcolm IV., which are addressed, in the same manner, to those four races of men. *Diplom. Scotiæ*, pl. xxii and xxv. : *Chart. Antiq. Brit. Mus.*; *Chart. Glasgow*, p. 299. There is a charter of William, the Lion, which is also addressed, in the same manner, to the same distinct lineages of men. *Ayloff’s Calend.* p. 348. There is one charter of Malcolm IV., and one of his brother, William, which is addressed still more particularly, “Francis, et Anglis, Scottis, *Walensibus*, et *Galwensibus*.” *Chart. Glasgow*, p. 203, 205. These last charters, we see, were specially addressed, to the people of the bishoprick of Glasgow, which comprehended the ancient kingdom of *Strathcluyd*.

the Britons appear to have carried their flaming torches to Dunblane (*b*). Ku, the *Caw* of the Welsh chronicles, seems to have been then the king of the Britons. His hostility with Kenneth appears to have ended, by the marriage of Ku, with the daughter of the Scottish king. From the epoch of this reconciliation, more intimate connections began, between the two nations of Britons, and Scots. As people of the same lineage, they furnished kings, for each other. We shall find, that the marriage of Ku, with the daughter of Kenneth, produced Eocha, who held the Scottish sceptre, for a while, with Grig (*c*). This connection, however, did not protect Ku from the violence of Artga, who envied his pre-eminence, and connection. His fall was avenged, by Constantin II.; who, in giving his protection to his sister, and his nephew, Eocha, procured the death of Artga, in 871 A.D. (*d*).

The time was now come, when the Britons of Strathcluyd were to feel other evils; and to partake of the misfortunes of the greatest nations, from the wretched manners of piratical times. The Vikingr, who had now settled, on the Irish shores, found an easy course into the secluded Clyde. In 870, they besieged Aldcluyd, which, after a blockade of four months, they sacked (*e*). The spoilers proceeded, without resistance, after the British capital had fallen, to plunder the surrounding country: And, they returned, during the subsequent year, to Dublin, the seat of their adventures, with many captives, Britons, and Picts (*f*). The Strathcluyd Britons were obliged to submit to the scourge of the Danish Halfdane, the Attila of Northern Britain, in that age. And, in 875, the Vikingr, sallying from Northumberland, wasted Galloway, and Strathcluyd (*g*). The Orchards of Lanerch had no longer their former attractions, for the harassed Britons (*i*). Many of them meditated an emigration to Wales, the congenial land of the ancient Britons, the safer country of a rude

(*b*) The Chron. No. iii. in Innes, states expressly, that in the reign of Kenneth Macalpin, the Britons burnt *Dulblaan*.

(*c*) Chron. No. iii. in Innes; and the Enquiry, 1789, v. i. p. 493.

(*d*) Ulster Annals.

(*e*) Brompton says the Danes destroyed Alcluid, in 869 A. D., which may be the true date.

(*f*) Ulster Annals; Ware's Antiq. p. 108; Ogygia, p. 484; Usher's Primordia, p. 719; Caradoc.

(*g*) Sax. Chron. p. 83; Asser. edit. Wise, p. 27; Usher's Primordia, p. 719. Some other inroads are said to have been made into Strathcluyd, by the Saxons. Chron. Princes, A. D. 940; Welsh Archaiol. v. ii. p. 395; Welsh Chron. of the Saxons; Ib. 487. Caradoc states those events under 943 A. D. Ib. p. 489.

(*i*) Merthin, the Caledonian poet, delighted to sing of the *Avallenau*, or the apple trees of Lanerch. Welsh Archaiol. v. i. p. 150.

age. In 890, the emigrants departed, under the conduct of Constantin, their chief, who appears to have been encountered, and slain, at Lochmaban. His followers, however, seem to have repulsed the assailants; as they successfully forced their way into Wales. Anarawd, the king, who was hard pressed by the invading Saxons, assigned them a district, which they were to acquire by their valour, and defend by their policy. This generous condition they performed, by assisting the Welsh to defeat the Saxons, in the battle of *Cymrid*, and to drive the odious intruders from the disputed land. The descendants of the Strathcluydensian emigrants remain a distinguishable people, in North-Wales, even to this day (*k*).

The emigration of the bravest Britons of Strathcluyd added nothing to the extent of their country; and conveyed still less vigour to their government. Their limits were daily narrowed, by the Scoto-Irish, on every side; they were overawed by the Anglo-Saxon princes; and they were dictated to, by the Scottish kings. In 924, they were oppressed by Edward, the Elder (*l*). In 973, Dovenal, their king, gratified the pride of Edgar, at Chester (*m*). Every event evinced either the dependence, or the fall, of the aboriginal Britons of Strathcluyd. About the year 920, they lost their king, Dovenal. Constantin III. had influence enough to obtain the election of his brother Donal, the son of Aodh (*n*). This prudent choice appears to have ensured many years of peace, between the two congenerous nations. In the midst of this happiness, the death of Donal transferred his unimportant sceptre to his son Andarch. This tranquillity, which was equally convenient to both the nations, was at length disturbed, by the misconduct of Culen, who ascended the Scottish throne, in 965. He had the wickedness to violate the chastity of his own relation, the

(*k*) Welsh Chron. of the Princes. Caradoc gives an interesting account of this migration. Welsh Archaiol. v. ii. p. 482. And see Lhuyd's Comment. ed. Williams, p. 41: The boundaries of the country, which the bravery of the emigrants won, would be tolerably well defined, by a line drawn from Chester through Holt, Wrexham, Oswestry; and turning to Mold, by Ruthin, and Denbigh, to the sea. The descendants of those migrants, who dwell in Flintshire, and in the Vale of Cluyd, are distinguished from their neighbours, by a remarkable difference of person, and speech: They are a people, taller, slenderer, with longer visages: Their voices are smaller, and more shrill: They have many varieties of dialect; and generally their pronunciation is less open, and broad, than what is heard among the Welsh, who live to the westward of them.

(*l*) Sax. Chron. p. 110; Flor. Wig. p. 347.

(*m*) Flor. Wig. p. 359; Sim. Dunelm, p. 129: The British king is called, by those Chroniclers, Dufnall.

(*n*) Chron. No. iii. in Innes; Fordun, l. iv. cap. xxi. alludes to this event, though he has mistaken the circumstances; and W. of Malmsbury makes the same allusion, with more mistakes. Saville's Script. p. 150.

grand-daughter of Donal. This insult revived the native spirit of the Britons. They flew to arms under Andarch, their injured king. They marched into Lothian, where they were met by the Scots. A sharp conflict ensued between irascible combatants. And, on this bloody field, Culen lost his guilty life, with his brother Eocha, in 970 A.D. (o). Andarch, however, did not long survive the victory, which does honour to the descendants of those British tribes, who equally opposed Agricola, in battle. He was succeeded by Dunwallon, who was doomed to be the last of the Strathcluyd *reguli*. It was he, who administered, under a different form, his name to the vanity of Edgar, in 973 A.D. Kenneth III. seized the sceptre of Culen, without any purpose of revenging his fall. He was of a different family; and converted the fate of Culen to a step, for his ambition to vault into the throne. But, finding the Scots engaged in war with the neighbouring Britons, his policy resolved to convert this incident to his own interest. He renewed the war of Strathcluyd, with vigour. Success attended his course. The fall of the independant state of the Strathcluydensian Britons was decided on the gory field of Vacornar, where the victor lost many a warrior (p). In 975, Dunwallon, his gallant antagonist, retired to Rome, where he took the cowl, since he could not retain the diadem (q).

Dunwallon, which was the British form of the Irish Dovenal or Donal, was undoubtedly a descendant, perhaps a son of Dovenal, the son of Aodh, the brother of Constantine III. Nor, must Dunwallon be confounded with Dunmail, the king of Cumbria, whose two sons were mutilated, by the barbarous policy of Edmund, in 945 (r). The ancient Britons of Strathcluyd became now wholly mingled with the Picts, and Scots. And, Strathcluyd, their congenial

(o) Chron. No. iii. in Innes; Chron. in the Register of St. Andrews, in Innes's App. No. v. Chron. Elegiacum; Ogygia, p. 487; Ulster Annals, sub an. 970.

(p) Chron. No. iii. in Innes.

(q) The Welsh Chron. of the Saxons, and Caradoc, state, in 975, that Dunwallon went to Rome, took the cowl, and there died. Welsh Archaiol. v. ii. p. 489—494. The Welsh Chron. of the Princes relate this event, in 970. Ib. 394. But, this chronicle is generally four or five years behind, in the dates of its notices; as appears, by comparing it with the Saxon Chronicle, with the Irish Annals, and with the Scots Chronicons. Williams, in his edition of Lhuyd's Commentariolum, states the abdication of Dunwallon, in 974, from the Welsh Annals: But, the above are the correct dates, from the Welsh Chronicles, as they are printed in the Archaiology: And, the year 975 must be regarded, as the genuine epoch of the final annexation of the Strathcluydensian kingdom to the Scottish crown.

(r) Williams, in his Note, on Lhuyd's Commentariolum, p. 41-2, and Langhorn, have mistakingly, supposed Dunmail, and Dunwallon to be the same.

country, was for ever annexed to the Scottish crown, by the successful efforts of Kenneth III., who long enjoyed the ripe fruitage of his conduct, which was as prudent as it was valorous.

SECT. III.

FROM the foregoing history, it is apparent, that the vast peninsula, which is formed by the Solway, the Irish sea, and the Clyde, was inhabited, during the fifth century, by the descendants of the Selgovæ, the Novantes, and the Damnii. The Northumbrian Saxons, as we have seen, over-running that peninsula, retained the ascendancy, which their superiority of character, more than their greatness of numbers, had given them, during the two subsequent centuries. The anarchy, however, which prevailed, in Northumberland, at the conclusion of the eighth age, gave a fatal shock to the Saxon power, which was not supported by a numerous populousness, within that extensive region. The Northumbrians had only mingled with the Romanized Britons, who occupied the country, after the abdication of the Roman government. Yet, had the zeal of Osric, the Northumbrian king, established the bishoprick of *Candida Casa*, or Whithern, in 723 A.D., which came to a premature end with Eadwulf, who was appointed the last of the bishops of Whithern, in 790 A.D. (s). The Saxon population had always been scanty, within those boundaries; and the Saxon authority was annihilated, when the Northumbrian dynasty became extinct, at the end of the eighth century, when that great peninsula was not yet known by the name of *Galloway* (t).

An

(s) Saville's *Chronologia Script.* post Bedam.

(t) Id. Bede, who gave the history of that episcopate, did not know the country, by the name of *Galloway*. The notices of topography come in here, usefully, to illustrate the obscurity of history. The maps of *Galloway* exhibit but very few old Saxon names of places, which could have been applied, as early as the eighth century; a sure proof, that the first of the Saxon invaders of this country could have made few settlements, in that early age. In the stewartry of *Kirkcudbright*, we may trace a few Saxon names, which correspond with the fewness of the Saxon settlers, till recent times. The Saxon *Merse* is applied, in some instances, to fenny tracts, which had been previously denominated *Corse*, by the Britons. The Saxon *Burg*, a fort, or town, appears in a few names; as *Borg* parish, *Burgh* in Colvend, and *Dryburgh*, in Crossmichael. There is only one instance of the Saxon *Berg*, a hill, which appears, in its English form of *Berry*, in *Raeberry*-hill. There are only two examples of the Saxon *Wic*, in the names of *Rerwick*, and *Southwick*. The Saxon *Bye* only appears in the name of *Bombie*: And there is only one instance of the Saxon *Ham*, in *Edingham*, and *Twynham*. The Saxon *Cleugh*, a ravine, appears only in two names. There are a few instances of the Saxon *Hleawe*, or *Law*, a hill; as *Law*, in *Rerwick*, *Ward-law*,

An opening was thus made, for a new colony, within those ample confines (*u*). The *Cruithne* of Ireland, like their progenitors, during the Roman period, had engaged, meantime, in frequent enterprizes against the opposite coasts of North-Briton, though without much success (*x*.) And it was not till the end of the eighth century, that the *Cruithne* made a more successful attempt, near the Rims of Galloway, on the westward, when the British Novantes had been weakened by the domination of the Northumbrian power. Here, the Ulster-Irish commenced a settlement. And, to this commodious shore, they were successively followed, by fresh swarms, from the Irish hive, during the ninth, and tenth centuries, while the Danish sea kings insulted the sacred island. And, the *Cruithne* were joined, in their new settlements, by the kindred Scots of Kintire; who crossing the Clyde, in their currachs, had settled on the opposite shores of Cunningham, and Kyle (*y*).

It is more than probable, that the Irish *Cruithne*, who thus colonized the antient country of the Novantes, and Selgovæ, communicated to the Irish set-

Ward-*law*, in Balmaclellan, Green-*law*, in Crossmichael, *Law*, in Minniegaff. The greater part of those names, perhaps, were applied to the sites of places, in Galloway, subsequent to the Irish colonization of that country: Of this position, the name of *Bar-macach-law* furnishes a plain intimation; as the Saxon *Law*, a hill, was obviously grafted, like some other names, on the Irish *Bar*, a *height*, which had been previously applied. The only river, which appears, in Galloway, to have a Saxon name, is the Fleet, from the Anglo-Saxon *Fleot*. The Saxons, who domineered in West Galloway, or Wigtonshire, during the 7th and 8th centuries, imposed very few names on places; because having a very inconsiderable population, they formed few settlements; and they became merged among the more numerous Britons. A few of the old Saxon names they did impose, during those ages, perhaps: Such as Whit-*hern*, Cunig-*ham*, Craig-*boile*, Apple-*by*, Les-*walt*, Mers-*town*, Brugh-*ton*, Wig-*ton*, and Craig-*law*: Such, then, are the only names, which can be pointed out, as old Saxon appellations, that may have been probably imposed, during the Saxon rule; and even some of those, as the *town*, *law*, and *burgh*, may have been applied, in more recent times; as the Scoto-Saxon speech continued here in use, through many subsequent ages. The remainder of the Scoto-Saxon names are merely English, which were undoubtedly applied, in some subsequent periods, to the Irish colonization of Galloway, after the fall of the Saxon government, at the end of the eighth century.

(*u*) Malmsbury, l. i. c. iii.; Usher's Primordia, 8vo. p. 667, 1172; Gough's Camden, v. iii. p. 330-I.

(*x*) In 682 A. D., Cathasao, the son of Maoledun, the a Maormor of the Ulster *Cruithne*, sailed with his followers from Ireland; and landing on the frith of Clyde, among the Britons, he was encountered, and slain, by them, near Mauchlin, in Ayr, at a place, to which the Irish gave the name of *Rathmore*, or great fort. In this stronghold, Cathasao, and his *Cruithne*, had probably attacked the Britons, who certainly repulsed them, with decisive success. Ulster An. sub an. 682. In 702, the Ulster *Cruithne* made another attempt, to obtain a settlement among the Britons, on the frith of Clyde: But, they were again repulsed, in the battle of Culin. Ib. sub an. 702.

(*y*) Bede, l. i. ch. i.; Usher's Primordia, p. 612.

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tlers, there, the name of *Picts*, as we see it, in the chronicles of the eleventh, and twelfth centuries. The Irish colonists were denominated *Cruithne*, in their native land; *Cruithneach*, in the Irish speech, signifying *Picts*: and, it was as natural for those settlers to call themselves, and to be called by others, by the translated name of *Picts*, as it was easy for ignorant chroniclers to transfer to the Gaelic settlers from Ireland, and Kintire, the well-known name of the genuine Picts of North-Britain. The fact carries up conjecture to probability. It was undoubtedly owing to all those Gaelic colonists, within this vast peninsula, that the new colony obtained, in recent times, the characteristic name of *Gallwallia*, *Gallowidia*, *Gallowagia*, *Gallwadia*, *Galwegia*, *Gallway*, *Galloway* (a). The name of Galloway is not mentioned by Bede, though he knew the country: it is not noticed by the bishop of Cathness, when he wrote expressly "*de situ Albanie*," as we learn, from the documents, in Innes's Critical Essay: and the first authentic notice of this name is in Earl David's charter to the monks of Selkirk, before he acquired the crown, in 1124. From all those intimations, we may conclude, that this great peninsula did not obtain the name of *Galweia*, or Galloway, till some time after the commencement of the *Scotish Period*.

The name, thus recent, in its origin, and barbarized, in its form, was probably derived from some *bay*, whereon some strangers settled. The capacious bay of
Luce

(a) Camden's Brit. 1604, p. 692; and after him, Usher's Prim. p. 667; Ruddiman's Index to the Diplom. Scotiæ, p. 113. In a charter of David I. this country was called *Galwegia*. Sir J. Dalrymple's Col. 171; in a charter of William, the lion, it is called *Galweia*. Dug. Monast. v. iii. p. 38. John granted certain lands, in Ireland, to Allan de *Gallway*, an^o 1213: the same king gave lands, in Ireland, to Thomas de *Galway* an^o 1216. Pat. 14 Reg. Joh. Pat. 17 Joh. This name may be merely *Galliway*, or *Gaelway*, the bay of the Gael, or Irish. We may learn, indeed, from Wachter, that *Galli* signifies the Gael: "*Galli veteribus Gallwalæ, non Franci dicti.*" W. Malmsbury apud Saville's script. 25. *Wage*, in the Teutonic, signifies *Wag* *agua, mare*. Wachter, in vo.: *Wage* was pronounced by the English *way*; as *Leag* is *Ley*, and *Haeg* is *Hay*, &c. Lye's Sax. Dict.: The Anglo-Saxon *Waeg* signifies *fluctus, unda, iter, via*. Somner. From these intimations, we may discover, perhaps, the origin of the *Solway*: *Sole, Sol, Sal*, signify *sal fluidum*. Wachter, in vo.: and *Wage, Waye, Mare*; as in the well known river, *Med-way*. A Gaelic etymologist would probably derive the etymon of Galloway, from *Gall-bhagh*, which the English would pronounce *Gallwa*, or *Gallway*, the estuary, or bay, of the strangers, or foreigners. The Annals of Ulster, under A.D. 1200, call the people of Galloway *the Irish Gáls*. The Saxon Chronicle constantly calls the *Gael* of France *Galwalas*. See Gibson's Index, Nom. Loc. Explicatio, in voce. It seems more than probable, that this difficult name was originally imposed by the Irish settlers, and afterwards Saxonized, from the coincidence of the name. The legends of the country, however, attribute the origin of the name to king *Galdus*, who fought, and fell, on the bay of Wigton. In his description of Wigtonshire, Sir Andrew Agnew
says

Luce would offer the migrants a commodious harbour; and, the principal settlement of the new-comers would gradually communicate its significant name to the contiguous country; as the Shire-town conveys its appellation to the shire. In the effluxion of three centuries, the name of *Galloway* was applied loosely to the whole peninsula, lying between the Solway, and the Clyde; including Annandale, on the south, and Ayrshire, on the north (*l*). In the long effluxion of three busy centuries, the Irish settlers completely occupied the ample extent of Galloway; mingling every where with the enfeebled Britons, whose speech they understood; and amalgamating with the still fewer Saxons, whose language they rejected, as unintelligible, and harsh. The names, which the Scoto-Irish imposed on places, and which still remain, within that country, evince at once the numbers of the colonists, and the extent of their settlements, more satisfactorily, than the uncertain notices of ill-informed annalists (*b*). The Irish topography of Galloway corresponds more exactly with the topography of Ireland, than with that of proper Scotland. This shade of difference concurs with the intimations, which evince, that Galloway was settled by a direct colonization, while proper Scotland, on the northern side of the two friths, was settled by the Scoto-Irish descendants of the first settlers of Kintyre, during the ninth century (*c*).

It

says that, “beside the harbour of Wigton, stands the ancient monument of king *Galdus*, from whence, the shire has its name called *Gallarwidia*.” This is the fabulous *Galdus*, who is said by Boece, and Buchanan, to have opposed the Romans, though conducted by Agricola. We may herein see a slight trait of history, by connecting the fictitious *Galdus* with the real *Galgac*, who fought Agricola at the foot of the Grampian.

(*l*) Sir J. Dalrymple’s Col. 171; Lord Hailes An. i. p. 106.

(*b*) See Blaeu’s Atlas Scotiæ Nos. 13. to 23. The Scoto Irish names of places, in those several maps, prove, clearly, that the Scoto-Irish came in upon the south-west; and that their colonization spread eastward, and north-eastward, over Galloway, and Carrick, into Dumfriesshire, into the upper part of Lanerkshire, and into Kyle. The Irish names, which are so very numerous, in Galloway proper, and in Carrick, decline, gradually, in numbers, as we proceed through Kyle, and Nithsdale, into the upper part of Clydesdale, and even into Annandale, and Eskdale, where there are, now, but a small number of Irish names of places. In Kyle, and in Clydesdale, the Galloway-Irish, in their progress of settlement, northward, appear to have met the Argyleshire Irish, in their progress, southward.

(*c*) Take the following instances: *Currach*, a fen, a swampy ground, the same as the *Currach* of Kildare, and others in Ireland, appears in Galloway, as *Currach-more*, the great fen, &c.; so the *Currach* appears in Ayrshire, and in Clydesdale; but not, in proper Scotland. *Ald*, a rivulet, which is so frequent, in the topography of the Argyle-Irish, very seldom appears in Galloway, where the *Pol*, and the *Lyn*, are the common terms for rivulets. *Bre*, or *Bra*, which signifies, a hill, or acclivity, both in the British, and Irish, is very frequent in proper Scotland, while in Galloway it occurs but seldom. On the other hand, *Bar*, signifying a top, or height, which is

It is, indeed, curious to remark, how much the names of places, within ancient Galloway, correspond with the history of every people, who have ever resided within its ample limits. In Dumfries, in Kirkcudbright, Wigton, and in Ayr, the appellations of rivers, and of rivulets, are chiefly British, the language of the original settlers (*d*). This fact evinces the first colonists to have been British tribes, as we know, as well from history, as from geography, were the Selgovæ, and Novantes. The names of the mountains, headlands, and of other places, are not unfrequently British (*e*). This fact confirms the former intimations; and supports the notices, both of tradition, and archæology. The paucity of Anglo-Saxon names, exclusive of the pure English appellations, in ancient Galloway, prove what has been already intimated, that the Saxons never settled there, in numerous bodies, for any length of years (*f*).

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so frequent in Galloway, is much less common in proper Scotland. There are other topographic variances, which mark the different settlements of those kindred people. In Galloway, the Irish (*gh*) is frequently used for (*ch*), which is the pure orthography; as *augh* for *ach*, and *lough* for *loch*; and the *lough* has been converted into *low*, by the English pronunciation, in Ayrshire, Dumfries-shire, Kirkcudbright, and even in Ettrick Forest.

(*d*) In Dumfries; the *Annan*, the *Nith*, the *Esk*, the *Ewis*, the *Evan*, the *Ae*, the *Eden*: in Kirkcudbright, the *Dee*, the *Cree*, the *Ur*, the *Cargen*, the *Pilnour*, and the *Minick*: in Wigton; the *Ket*, the *Malzie*, the *Messen*: in Ayrshire; the *Irvine*, the *Ayr*, the *Stinchar*, the *Gelt*, the *Gourock*, the *Garnock*, the *Greg*, the *Glasdur*; all have their significant names from the Cambro-British speech.

(*e*) In Dumfries; there are the British, *Cathur-hill*, *Pen-agual hills*, *Pen-hill*, *Pen-law*, *Pen-pont*, *Caer-laverock*, *Keir*, *Aber-tock*: in Kirkcudbright; the many *Càrses*, or *Corse*, *Troqueer*: in Wigton, there are the British, *Ochiltree*, or *Uchil-tre*, and the Cornish, *Heugh*, and the *Rhins* of Galloway: in Ayr; there are, *Ailza-rock*, the *Troon*, or *Truyn-point*, *Dregborn*, and *Cumnock*. There are, indeed, in proper Galloway, many other British words, the language of the Selgovæ, and Novantes, which has been transmitted through every change of people to the present times: such as, the *Pol*, or *Pow*, the British *Pwl*, or Irish *Pol*, a water, or stream; the British *Cnol*, a hillock, *Kelly*, and *Kell-ton*, the British *Cell*, and *Celli*. *Frith*, and *Frie*, a forest, *Cevyn*, a ridge, *Collin*, hazlewood, *Ruy-glan*, the broad bank, *Lawn*, or *Lan*, a church, *Pebble*, and *Pebble-hill*, temporary habitation, *Terreagles*, *Troquire*, *Ross*, and other names, with various compounds. The hill-forts, the hiding places, the Druid remains, the ancient sepulchres, the canoes, the Celts, are all striking monuments of the British people.

(*f*) In Dumfries; along the Solway, we may frequently find the old Saxon words, *Holm*, *Cleugh*, *Hope*, *By*, *Shaw*, *Sbiel*, *Rig*, *Thwait*, or *Thet*. On the Locher-water, which was formerly covered with wood, may be traced the Saxon *Walt*, or *Wealt*, a forest, in *Mouse-wald*, *Ruth-wald*, *Tin-wald*, *Torthor-wald*: in Kirkcudbright, there are very few names of places, from the old Saxon; yet, the *Holm*, the *Cleugh*, the *Law*, the *Shaw*, the *Sbiel*, the *Ham*, the *Burg*, may be traced: in Wigton; there are not above half a dozen old Saxon names; the *Ham*, the *By*, *Wealt*, in *Les-walt*, may, indeed, be traced: in Carrick, there are only a few Saxon names mixed with the great body of Scoto-Irish appellations: in Kyle; the Saxon names are somewhat more nume-

In that country, there is only a sufficient number of Danish names of places to confirm the representations of history, which speak either of the irruption of the Danes into ancient Galloway, from Northumberland, or of their incursions along its coasts, during the ninth, and tenth, centuries (g). In that country, the Scoto-Irish names of places predominate, though they have been much diminished, by recent innovators (b).

In the before-mentioned mode, was Galloway filled, throughout its extensive range, with a new, and cognate, race of people, from Ireland. They did not

rous; but, even there, the number of the Irish names is equal to both the Scoto-Saxon, and the English names; and there are several pleonastic compounds of both those languages, indicating how much the two races of people mingled with each other: in Cunningham; the proportion of Saxon names is somewhat greater than in Kyle, and much greater than in Carrick; in Cunningham, the *Holm*, *Shaw*, *By*, *Cleugh*, *Ham*, *Wic*, *Threap*, are frequently seen in the names of places. Those facts throw great light on the comparative numbers, and influence, of the several colonies, of the Saxons, and the Irish, who poured into those countries upon the original British people.

(g) In Kirkcudbright; the river *Fleet* may be the Anglo-Saxon *Fleot* of Somner: in Kirkcudbright, in Wigton, and in Dumfries, the *Fell*, *Fial*, mons, of the Islandic Dictionaries, but not of Somner, is applied to several hills; but the Scandinavian *Fell* is only to be found in the country along the Solway; it does not appear, in Argyleshire, in Strathclyde, nor in the Lothians. There do not seem to be any other Scandinavian words, which can be discriminated from the Anglo-Saxon.

(b) In the southern tract, along the Solway, in Dumfries-shire, there is but a small mixture of Scoto-Irish names of places; in the upper part of Eskdale, and Annandale, they appear more numerous, and the Anglo-Saxon fewer: and, in the whole of Nithsdale, northward of Dumfries, the greatest number of the names of places is Scoto-Irish. It is a curious, but obscure fact, that in the twelfth century, Annandale was still called Strath-annan, and Nithsdale, Stra-nith. See David's charter to Robert Bruce, in the British Museum. In Kirkcudbright; the great body of the names of places, is Scoto-Irish, even up to the bank of the Solway: on the west of the Nith, the Scoto-Irish names abound much more than on the east of the Nith, where the Saxon names greatly prevail. In Wigton; the Scoto-Irish names predominate greatly over the English, notwithstanding the modern innovations of surveyors. In Carrick; on Pont's Maps, in Blaeu's Atlas Scotiæ, which are chiefly used, the names of places are almost wholly from the Scoto-Irish. In Kyle; according to Blaeu's Map, the names of places appear to be of two classes; 1st, The Scoto-Irish; and, 2d, The Scoto-Saxon, and English; and those two classes are nearly in equal proportions, with pleonastic denominations; which are composed of both those tongues. In Cunningham; on Blaeu's Map, the names of places appear as they do in Kyle, to be of two classes; 1st, The Scoto-Irish; and, 2d, The Scoto-Saxon, and English; but, in Cunningham, the latter are more numerous, and the former somewhat less frequent, than in Kyle. The Map of Ayr, by Armstrong, has made a great change in the names of places; several of the old names, both in the Scoto-Irish, and in the Scoto-Saxon, do not appear, and several English appellations are introduced: this observation applies to the modern maps, of all those shires. The foregoing facts demonstrate, that the assertions of those, who say that, "the whole names in Cunningham and Kyle are Gothic," is visionary.

enjoy,

enjoy, however, tranquillity, in the settlements, which they had thus formed, during three centuries of perturbation. The naval enterprizes of the north-men, who had settled on the coast of Ireland, during those ages; the incursions of the Danes, from Northumberland; the distractions of separate tribes; all inflicted on them the inveterate wounds of savage war (*i*). Yet, the Scoto-Irish retained their settlements, as a distinct people; preserved the independence of their local system; and maintained their customs, and defended their laws, during the various changes of many ages (*k*). We see little, however, in those ages, of rulers, or lords of Galloway, acting on the obscure theatre of their settlements; in the progress of their afflictions, or in the gaiety of their felicities. If we may believe the English chroniclers, Jacobus, the ruler of Galloway, was one of the eight reguli, who met Edgar, at Chester, in 973 A.D. (*l*). As early, if not earlier, than the age of David I. the boundaries of Galloway were confined within the narrow limits, which have been assigned to that Celtic region, in modern times (*m*).

The Galloway Irish appear to have been too intent on extending their colonization, to attend much to the adventures of war, or even to the intrigues of policy :

(*i*) Annals of Ulster; Sax. Chron. p. 83.

(*k*) By the statute of Alexander II. ch. ii. 1214, Galloway, “has her own special and proper laws.” Skene’s Auld Laws, p. 14. Even Robert Bruce confirmed the ancient laws of Galloway; which Edward I. had attempted to abolish. Robertson’s Index to the Records, p. lii. Galloway had her proper judges, who were always called in to decide, when the persons, or property of Galloway-men, were to be affected. Bern MS. of the *Leges Scotie*.

(*l*) Florence Wigorn, 359; Mathew of Westm. 375.

(*m*) David I. granted tithes to the church of Glasgow, within Strathgrife, (Renfrewshire), Cunningham, Kyle, and Carrick: but, Galloway is not mentioned: Fergus of Galloway was a witness to this grant, which must have been made, before the year 1142. Chart. Glasg. We thus see all those countries distinctly mentioned, and their rights clearly marked. In another grant of David I. in which Fergus of Galloway is also a witness, and which must equally have been made, before the year 1142, the eighth penny, arising from his pleas, throughout Cumbria, was given to the church of Glasgow. Id. His grandson, William, addressed a charter to his Sheriffs, and Bailiffs, of Galloway, Carrick, and Levenachs. In 1178, Pope Alexander III. confirmed by his bull to Joceline, the bishop of Glasgow, the churches, and other rights, of the bishoprick of Glasgow, in Thevidale, Twedale, Cludesdale, Eskdale, Ewishdale, Lidelesdale, Drivesdale, Annandesdale, Levenachs, Stratgrif, Meorns, Larges, Cunningham, Kyle, Carrick, Glenkarn, Strathnyth, and all the rights, which the bishop had in Galloway. Chart. Glasg. In 1181, Pope Lucius granted a bull to Joceline, in the same terms. Id. In 1186, Pope Urban confirmed to Joceline the same rights, in similar terms. Id. From those several charters, it is apparent, that the notions entertained by Sir James Dalrymple, Lord Hailes, and more recent writers, that Galloway comprehended all those countries, as low down as the reign of Robert Bruce, are unfounded. It is, however, certain, that the judges of Galloway sometimes sat in judgment, at Dumfries, and at Lanerk, during the reign of William, the lion. Bern MS. of the *Leges Scotie*.

Of course, their history is barren of events. The Irish colonists of Galloway, like the Irish colonists of Argyle, brought with them, from their parent country, the Brehon law, and the law of Tanistry (*n*). They practised their own customs, and they long claimed, and enjoyed, *their own proper laws* (*o*). Under the Celtic polity, in every age, and in every country, the Celtic tribes of the same nation were but slightly connected. Of this disconnection, we have seen fatal examples, in Gaul, and in Britain. The authority of the nation, conjointly, possessed, and exerted, but very slight authority over the tribes separately: for, a body politic, or national society, was scarcely known: and, the separate tribes were each supposed to enjoy rights, and privileges, which the nation, far less the king, could not abrogate, or lessen. In such societies, and among a Gaelic people, the feudal law could not exist; because its fundamental maxims could not prevail against usages, which had a quite different policy, for their end. From those intimations, we may infer, that the connection between Galloway, and Scotland, and the Galloway-men, and the Scottish kings, was but very slight; yet, however loose the tie may have been, we may certainly conclude, that it was not of a feudal nature. Like the British tribes of old, within South, and North, Britain, the Galloway-men were of the same race, with the other Scottish tribes; they spoke the same Gaelic tongue; they professed the same religion; they practised the same customs; and, above all, they obeyed the same king, as Gaelic kings were, in those times, obeyed, by a Gaelic people. It is possible, indeed, that when Kenneth III. had subdued Strathclyde, he may have obtained additional power over those congenerous people, in Galloway. Such, then, was the connection of Galloway with Scotland, and the obedience of the Galloway men to the Scottish kings, throughout the Scottish period!

Yet, was it the opinion of the late Lord Hailes, who ought always to be mentioned, with just deference, “that Galloway, in its largest extent, acknowledged only a *feudal* dependence, on Scotland (*oo*).” This notion, by more recent inquiry, is adopted, as a *well-known* truth, and is enlarged, by uncritical examination, into an assertion, “that the Gallowidian Lords were only *feudatory* “to the Scottish kings.” It is not logical, in any lawyer, to speak of *feudal* rights, among a people, who did not know the meaning of *feudal terms*, and resisted violently *feudal inferences*. The opinion of Lord Hailes is plainly con-

(*n*) See b. ii. ch. iii. § 3. In support of those laws, they frequently broke out into insurrection, during the reigns of Malcolm IV. William, the lion, and of Alexander II.

(*o*) See the statutes of Alexander II. ch. ii. and the statutes of Robert I. ch. xxxvi. in Skene's Auld Laws.

(*oo*) Annals, v. i. p. 106.

tradicted by records, which he might have seen; and is strongly overruled by facts, that he must have recognized. While Henry I. reigned in England, and Alexander I. beyond the Friths, Earl David exercised the essential rights of sovereignty over Strathclyde, and Galloway; as his father had equally enjoyed the same authority (*p*). Malcolm IV. his successor, exerted his rights over Galloway, by the sword; and, William, the lion, who succeeded him, possessed, in Galloway, Castles, and revenues, bailiffs, and, perhaps, sheriffs, which enforced formerly, and denote now, his sovereign power (*q*). The captivity of William, the lion, was the signal, for the Galloway-men to expel his Officers, with impunity. The regaining of his liberty was the reestablishment of his power over Galloway (*r*). It was at the battle of the standard, in 1138, that we first observe the leaders of the Gallowidians, Ulgric, and Dovenald, who both fell, in that disastrous field (*s*). The Lord of Galloway, who next

(*p*) Earl David granted to the monastery, which he founded, at Selkirk, the tenth of his *Can* from Galloway. Chart. Kelso, No. 4.; Sir J. Dalrymple's Col. 404. In consequence of this grant, the monks received the tenth of the *Can* of cheese, of animals, and of swine, from Galloway which was confirmed to them by David I. upon their translation to Kelso. Chart. Kelso, No. 1. This was also confirmed by Malcolm IV. and by king William. Ib. No. 2, 3; Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. 34. The Chartulary of Glasgow contains several grants of tithes to that episcopate by David, within Cumbria, and Strathclyde. Both David I. and Malcolm, his successor, enforced the payment of tithes to the bishop of Glasgow, within the utmost limits of Galloway. William confirmed the charters of his brother, and grandfather, on this subject, by a grant, which he addressed to his *Sheriffs*, and *Bailiffs of Galloway*; and which directs the payment of tithes to the bishop, "sicut servientes mei, *Cana*, et rectitudines meas ad opus meum recipiunt." Chart. Glasg. 213.

(*q*) See his grants, in the Chartulary of Glasgow, which have been already quoted.

(*r*) Roland, the Lord of Galloway, with the judges of that country, assembled a jury, and held a court, at the Shiretown of Lanerk, soon after the return of William from his captivity; and by an inquest found, that the Scottish king had a right to the Gaelic payment of *Can*, in Galloway. This curious adjudication, which is in the Bern MS. Col. of the *Leges Scotia*, must have happened, between the year 1186, the epoch of the pacification of Galloway, and 1196, when Roland became constable. In the same Bern MS. there is an adjudication of the judges of Galloway, sitting at Dumfries: 1st, If any one should be convicted, in Galloway, "per duellum sive alio modo," of a breach of the *king's peace*, shall forfeit twelve score cows, and three bulls; 2dly, If any persons fight in the palace, except those, who have the custody thereof, shall forfeit to the king x cows. It appears this sitting, at Dumfries, happened soon after the peace of Galloway, in 1186, under the reign of William. After this full exposition, I cannot concur with Lord Hailes, that Galloway, in those days, "only acknowledged a feudary dependence on Scotland." Annals, v. i. p. 106. But, his Lordship neither adverted to those charters, nor knew any thing of those adjudications, on the very point of the king's sovereignty.

(*s*) Dal. An. v. i. p. 79. which quotes the contemporary writers, Aildred, 345, and J. Hagustald, 262.

appeared,

appeared, upon the stage of savage life, was Fergus, the father of a long line of distinguished families: but, having contemned the youth of Malcolm IV. he was obliged to follow the ignoble example of Dunyallon, by assuming the *cowl*, in the monastery of Holyrood (*t*). In such darksome inquiries, retrospect, and analogy, must decide, when the intimations of law, and the recitals of history, are silent.

(*t*) In the Chartulary of Glasgow, as we have seen, Fergus was a witness to several charters of David I.: but, of his parentage, there is not any where a single notice. He died, in the monastery of Holyrood, during the year 1161. *Anglia Sacra*, v. i. p. 162. He was born, of course, as he was now old, during the reign of Edgar, at the end of the eleventh century; and, he was consequently advanced to the manful age of forty, at the battle of the standard, in 1138; after which, he probably became Lord of Galloway, either according to the custom of the country, or by the appointment of the Scottish king. The property, and chieftainry of Fergus descended to his son, by Elizabeth, the youngest natural daughter of Henry I. *Yorke's Union of Honour*, p. 9; *Sandford's Genealog. History*, p. 33: when the ambition of Henry II, induced him to interfere in the affairs of Galloway, under the reign of William, he recognized the two sons of Fergus, by that marriage, as his relations. *Hoveden*, 539. In 1234, we shall see, the Gallowidians apply to Alexander II, to appoint them a Lord, upon the death of Alan, whose rights descended to his three daughters. In after times, when the ancient usage, and the Gaelic people, had greatly declined, the Scottish kings appointed the chiefs of Galloway. The Scottish kings seem not, however, to have been possessed, during the reign of Edgar, of Alexander I. or of David I. within Galloway, and Strathclyde, of any lands in demesne: and, having no such lands, they equally appear to have had no *thanages*, which abounded so much on the east coast.

CHAP. VI.

Of Lothian, during this Period.

THE genuine Picts, who possessed the country, on the north of the friths, never enjoyed any part of the Roman province of Valentia. As a people, they had no right to possess any portion of the territories, which were occupied either by the Romanized Britons, in the west of that province, or by the Northumbrian Saxons, who came in, as we have seen, on the east of it. After many conflicts with those Saxons, the Picts remained without the possession of any part of Lothian, at the epoch of their union with the Scots, in A.D. 843 (*a*). This fine district derived its singular appellation from the Saxon policy of a Saxon people: And, long before the age of Malmsbury, it was known, by the vernacular name of LOUDIAN (*b*).

(*a*) Bede Hist. lib. iii. c. 3—6. lib. iv. c. 26. and App. No. xx. in Ed. Smith, evince, that the Northumbrian state extended to the Forth; and that Bernicia was terminated by the Scottish sea, when Bede closed his narrative. Simeon of Durham enumerates the very lands, and towns, which belonged to the bishoprick of Lindisfarn, in 854, along the shore of the Frith; comprehending *Abercorn*, on the west, *Edwinesburg*, *Pefferham*, *Aldham*, *Tynningham*, *Coldingham*. Decem. Scrip. Col. 69—139; Hoveden, 418; Usher's Religion of the Irish, p. 115. The Scottish writers are continually speaking of the rights, which the Picts had to the countries, on the south of the Friths, without being able to make out any title. Robertson's Hist. Scot. v. i. p. 3; Innes's Critical Essay; and, above all, the Enquiry, 1789, v. ii. p. 205—217, wherein the whole subject of Lothian is misconceived, and mistated. The occupants alone had the natural, and just, right to the territories, which they held, after the Roman abdication: the Romanized Britons enjoyed their possessions, from ancient inheritance: the Saxons of Lothian enjoyed what they held, from conquest, and occupancy; and, those several rights are altogether valid against the unfounded claims, which are idly made for the Picts. The important fact, that Lothian was afterwards transferred, by a Northumbrian Earl to a Scottish king, proves, by retrospect, that the Picts, and Scots, had neither possession, nor title, before the epoch of this transfer, in 1020, A.D. if we except, indeed, the fictitious donation of Egbert to Kenneth iii, as we are told by William of Malmsbury, p. 376. of ed. 1570, and by Wallingford, p. 543-45. On this ideal transfer of Lothian, our publishers of poetry are loquacious, while Turner, the Saxon historian, is silent. The fact is, that Egbert died, in 836 A.D. seven years before Kenneth acquired the scepter of the Scots, and Picts: such is the fallacy of Wallingford.

(*b*) Malmsbury, as above, speaking of the before-mentioned gift of Egbert to Kenneth, the historian says; "Dedit preterea eidem regi totam terram quæ *Laudian* patria lingua nuncupatur."

Soon

Soon after the union of the Picts and Scots, Kenneth made incursions into *Saxonia*, as Lothian was called by the chronicler, and burnt Dunbar, and wasted *Mailros* (c). But, whatever he may have destroyed, he certainly retained not any part of the territory, which he had over-run. It was an age of predatory expeditions, when the great object of adventurers was plunder, rather than possession. In the absurd fictions of Scottish history, Gregory subdued Lothian, conquered England, and annexed Ireland to the kingdom, which he had usurped. If we may believe the English chroniclers, Edward, the Elder, in A.D. 924, obliged Constantin III., the Scottish king, to give him marks of submission (d). In 934, Æthelstan, a still more powerful prince, than his father Edward, over-ran Lothian, and spoiled Edwinesburgh, while he considered both, as Northumbrian territories; and he is said to have obliged Constantin to renew his submission, in resentment for the asylum, which Godfrid, the Danish prince, had received, in Scotland (e). Constantin, in retaliation, joined the Danes, in an inroad into England: but, they were worsted by Æthelstan, in the great battle of Brunanburgh, near the Humber; and Constantin returned to his country, with the loss of his son, and with few of his army, in 938 A.D. (f). Such important facts prove more satisfactorily, than the inaccurate deductions of ill-informed annalists, that the Scottish kings were not, during that age, in a condition to seize, far less to retain, such a district as Lothian, which was separated from their country, by the Frith of Forth: they were opposed by a succession of English princes, who were distinguished by their personal vigour, and for their national power. With the annihilation of

(c) Chron. No. 3. in Innes, p. 783; Higden's Polychronicon.

(d) Sax. Chron. p. 110; Hoveden, p. 421.

(e) Sax. Chron. p. 111; Flor. Wig. 349; O'Flaherty's Ogygia, p. 485.

(f) Sax. Chron. 113; Anglia Sacra, v. i. p. 212. On the decisive victory of Æthelstan, an ode was composed, by a contemporary poet, in the Anglo-Saxon language of that age, which is still preserved in the British Museum, and has been often published. Take a few specimens, from Michaeler's "*Monimenta veteris linguæ Teutonicæ*, p. 228-34:

Scotta leode	-	-	Scottish lads,
And scipflotan	.	-	And shipmen,
Feoge feollon.	-	-	In fight fell:
Flotan and Scotta	-	-	The fleet and Scottish men
Thær geflymed wearth.	-	-	There to flee were forced:
Swilce thær eac se froda	-	-	So there eke the prudent
Mid fleame com on his clyththe	-	-	With flight came to his country
Nordh <i>Constantinus</i> .	-	-	The northern Constantin.

the

the Northumbrian kings, in 954, Edwinesburgh, the *opidum Eden* of the chronicle, was evacuated by Osulf, the first of the Northumbrian Earls, during the reign of the Scottish Indulf (g).

Yet, Indulf was too much occupied with the incursions of the Danes, to seize Edwinesburgh, or to conquer Lothian. Such an acquisition was reserved for a more fortunate prince, in a happier age. Malcolm II. obtained Lothian, by concession, from a timid earl of Northumberland. It was during the reign of Canute, A.D. 1020, that Eadulf-Cudel, dreading the vengeance of the Scots, made over to the Scottish king the whole territory of Lothian, in just consideration of lasting amity (b). In this manner, does archæology concur with history, in establishing the previous probability, with regard to this curious portion of Scottish topography. It is impossible, indeed, to satisfy the scruples of scepticism: But, fair inquiry will yield full assent to the best evidence, which the nature of the transaction allows.

Yet, does incredulity withhold her assent, till we discuss what country was intended by the term *Lothene*, though Simeon shows, by his reflection upon the fact, that he meant Lothian, which adjoined to Scotland. But, of such discussions, there would be no easy solution, if they were more agreeable, in their nature, and more satisfactory, in their end (i).

The

(g) Chiron. No. 3. in Innes, p. 787; and see Innes, p. 604.

(b) Simeon of Durham, Ap. Twisden Col. 81; "Hoc modo Lodoneium adjectum est regno Scottorum," says the historian, who was in a situation to know the fact; and who states, emphatically, what he knew to be true: and see Dugdale's Baron. v. i. p. 4. to the same fact; "by which means, says this antiquary, that territory came, at first, to be a member of Scotland." The recent authority of Wallingford. (Gale, v. iii. p. 545.) ought not to be placed against the satisfactory information of Simeon, if the fact could admit the fiction of Wallingford.

(i) Bede, who does not notice *Lothian*, on the Tweed, mentions *regio Loidis*, Hist. lib. ii. c. 14. The *regio Loidis*, which furnished subsequent chroniclers with a name for a different country, was undoubtedly the district of *Leeds*. The Saxon Chronicle says, that Malcolm, in 1091, departed out of Scotland into *Lothene*, in England; in Provincia *Loidis*, says Florence; in provincia *Loudiensi*, says Brompton. Malcolm came out of Scotland, that was bounded, on the south, by the Forth, into *Lothene*, which then lay in England, on the north of the Tweed, as the writer of the chronicle supposed; as the English kings frequently insisted; and the English chroniclers, generally, contended: but, their pretensions do not alter either the fact, or the right! The Saxon Chronicle talks, in 1125, of J. Bishop of *Lothene*. There is a writ, addressed by David Comes *Johanni* episcopo. Smith's Bede, App. No. 20. This John had been tutor to Earl David, and was bishop elect of Glasgow: he is mentioned, in 1127, as bishop of Glasgow, by Robert, bishop of St. Andrews. Ib. p. 767; and he is mentioned as bishop of Glasgow, by Earl David, in the charter of Selkirk. Sir J. Dalrymple's Col. 404. This, then, is the person, who was meant by the Saxon Chronicle; but, there never was a bishop of *Lothene*, in any nation, during any age.

The names of places, which still appear in the maps of the territory, extending along the Forth, from the Tweed, remarkably correspond with the history of the successive settlers; and distinctly evince, that the western boundary of the settlement of the Saxons did not extend beyond the Avon. In Berwick, in Haddington, in Edinburgh, and Linlithgow, British names of the principal rivers, and most remarkable hills, point to the distant age, when those countries were settled by British tribes (*k*). The next race of colonists, in all those shires, were the Saxons, who have left notices of their several settlements, in the names of places, which may still be traced on the maps, and will appear to decrease in numbers, as we proceed through Berwick, Haddington, Edinburgh, and Linlithgow, from the Tweed to the Avon (*l*).

In Berwick-shire, the Scoto-Irish even imposed their names on some places, after the cession of that country to Malcolm II. in 1020 A.D. (*g*). The Scoto-Irish imposed a still greater number of their names, after that epoch, in Had-

There was, indeed, Thor, archdeacon of *Lothian*, who was a witness to Malcolm IV. charter to the monks of Kelso, in 1159. Dalrymp. Camden, 202. But, if there had been a dozen *Lothians*, in so many different countries, the curious information, which is mentioned by Simeon, would remain unimpeached; because he knew the country, whereof he wrote, and states distinctly what he knew. Skene, in explaining the word *Scotia*, says, "it sometimes signifies that part of Scotland, which is on the north part of the water of Forth; and is opposed to *Lodoneium*, which we now call Loudiane: for, David I. in the third year of his reign, by his charter, made "omnibus Scottis, et Anglis, tam in Scotia, quam in *Lodoneio* constitutis," gave, &c. the lands of Coldingham, &c. lying in *Lodoneio*, "quhilk now lyis in the Mers." De Verb. significatione. In A.D. 1125, says Simeon, John of Crema came to David, the king of Scots, "apud fluvium Twedam, qui Northumbriam et *Loidam* disternat, in loco qui *Rochesburh* nominatur." This passage proves how well that intelligent historian knew the boundaries of Lothian.

(*k*) In Berwick, the Tweed, the Adur, the Dye, the Eden, the Leader, the Eye, are all rivers, deriving their remarkable appellations, from the British settlers; in Haddington, there are the British rivers Tyne, and Peffer, and the British names of Aberlady, Tranent, *Pencaithland*, *Pencraig*: in Edinburghshire, the rivers Forth, Esk, Leith, Breich, and Gore, *Pol-leith*; all denote the British colonists, on their banks, who may be still traced, in the names of Cramond, Cockpen, Dreg-horn, Dalkeith, Keirhill, Pendruich, Pennycuick, Roslin: in Linlithgow, the rivers Amon, and Avon, have their names from the British, together with Abercorn, Bangour, Carreden, Ochiltree, and the *Peels* of Linlithgow, and Livingston, which all owe their names to the British.

(*l*) Of the names of places, in those countries, from the old Saxon words, Cleugh, Law, Shaw, Hope, Shiel, Lee, Rig, Dod, Ham, Chester, Dean, Burg, Wic, By, and Threap, there is a smaller proportion, in Haddington, than in Berwick; a still smaller proportion, in Edinburghshire; and in Linlithgowshire, they decrease still more, and shew by their paucity, that the Saxons never formed populous settlements, within its bounds.

(*g*) The most obvious Scoto-Irish names are; Achincraw, Bunkle, or Bon-kill, Dunse, Eccles, Glengelt, Kill-inch, Knock, Old-Camus, Press, Rait, Blanern, Lough-loch, Lorgy-lough, Ross-point.

ington:

ington: the old Saxon appellations, in this shire, only out-number the Scoto-Irish, by a very small proportion (*b*). As we proceed westward, from Haddington to Edinburgh, the Scoto-Irish names increase, in proportion; intimating the paucity of the Saxon settlers, and the progress of the Gaelic people, from the west to the east (*c*). These observations apply still more strongly to Linlithgow, which contains a still greater number of Scoto-Irish names, than Edinburgh-shire. They will appear to a discriminating eye to be nearly equal to the English names, which, in all those shires, owing to recent settlement, and modern map-makers, are the largest number. In the west, and south-west parts of Linlithgow-shire, which border on Lanerk, and Stirling, the proportion of Scoto-Irish names is nearly as great, as it is along the east coast, on the north of the Forth; where the Scoto-Irish people predominated, from A.D. 843 to 1097 (*p*). The prevalence of the Scoto-Irish names of places, in the west, and south-west of Linlithgow-shire, proves, satisfactorily, that the Saxons, during the Scottish period, never made many permanent settlements, on the western side of the river Avon. And, the foregoing facts also prove, that a late historian was not very fortunate, in his topographical opinion, when he remarked, with more confidence, than knowledge, “that Lothian was “entirely peopled by Saxons, who afterwards received a great mixture of Danes “among them (*q*).”

But,

(*b*) The most prominent Scoto-Irish names are; the Bass, Bal-gone, Baln-crief, Craigendinna, Dunglass, Dunbar, *Down*-hill, *Duncra*-hill, Dalgowrie, *Drem*-hills, Fassney-water, Garvald, Inver-wick, Kil-spindie, Kil-duff, Pressminnan, Spot-water, Stoop-horn-rin, Tor-buck-lin-hill, Fantassie, Gul-en, Lin-plume, Nuckle-Duns, Tam-tallan, Wamphray.

(*c*) Of the Scoto-Irish names of places, the following are the most remarkable: Achincorth, Achenlecks-walls, Achenhound-hill, Achtigamel, Allerniore-hill, Achendinny, Badds, Balgreen, Badleith, Balernoe, Braid, Catcuin, Corstorphin, Calder, Crossannit, Carnethe-hill, Craigentarrie, Currie, Dalry, Drumsheugh, Dalmahoy, Drum, Drumaben, Drumdryan, Drumbraiden, Fordell, Garvalt, Glencross, Inveresk, Inch, Inchkeith, Inverleith, Killin-water, Kil-leith, Kames, Lumphoy, Malouther-hill, Moredun, Phantassie, Ratho, Torphichen-hill, Torquehan, Torsonce, Tipperlin, Torphin, Torbreck, Torucaving-hill, Craigmillar, Craig, Dalhousie, Kipps, Linfast, Linhouse-water.

(*p*) The most obvious are: Achin-head, Barnbogle, Buchans, Binns, Bonhard, Barbauch-law, Bedlormie, Bagornie, Brieck, Binny, Bormy, Balncrief, Balbardie Balgreen, Craigie, Carlowrie, Curruber, Cairnie, Craigmairie, Craigs, *Craig*-hills, Cult, *Carn*paple-hill, Dalmenie, Dundas, Drum, Drumbeg, Duntarvie, Drumtassie, Drumlyon, Drummelzie, Drumduff, Drumbonie, Drumshags, Drumforth, Drumcross, Deichmont, Eckline, Ecclesmachan, Flass, Glendevon, Inch-Garvie-Island, Inveravon, Inch, (several), Inch-corse, Kenneil, Kinglas, Killicanty, Kilpunt, Kincavil, Knock, Linlithgow, Logie-water, Minniefree, Niddrie, Ogilface, Powflat, Polkemmet, Strath, Tannach, Torphichen, Torbane-hill, Tartravan, Lin-burn.

(*q*) Hume's Hist. vol. ii. p. 503. In the Maps of Berwick, Haddington, Edinburgh,

But, this topographical inquiry furnishes strong confirmations of the foregoing intimations, with regard to the successive settlements of various people, in Lothian, which extended from the Tweed to the Avon, and from the Forth to the heights, that send their kindred streams to the eastward. Ancient Lothian lay from the Tweed, on the south-east, to the Forth, and the Avon, on the north, and north-west. On the east, it was bounded by the ocean; and on the west it marched with the Cumbrian kingdom. Thus, Lothian comprehended not only the Lothians of the present day, but also the Merse, and that part of Roxburghshire, which lies on the north of the Tweed. Before the acquisition of Lothian by Malcolm, it was included in the bishoprick of Durham: after this epoch, it was annexed to the bishoprick of St. Andrews, in which it appears, in the earliest records (*r*). Yet, the whole extent of Lothian to the Forth was claimed, even in 1075, as a part of the bishoprick of Durham (*s*). The limits of the country, between the Forth and Tweed, which belonged to the bishoprick of St. Andrews, are distinctly fixed by the ancient *taxatio* of the churches, in the thirteenth century (*t*). It was co-extensive with ancient Lothian, as it is described above: and the bishoprick of Glasgow, which had conterminous limits, with the bishoprick of St. Andrews, was co-extensive with the Cambrian kingdom of the Romanized Britons.

After some fluctuations of alternate possession, Lothian became a territory of Scotland, by the transfer of Eadulf to Malcolm, as we have seen, in 1020 A.D. During forty years, it continued in this state, owing to the distractions of the English, more than to the vigour of the Scottish government. Malcolm Ceanmore had the fortune, or the address, to retain this disputed district, in opposition to two such able princes, as William the Conqueror, and William Rufus. Lothian remained unalterably annexed to the Scottish crown, notwithstanding the imbecility of rulers, and the changes of times, till the junction of

and Linlithgow, there is not to be found the Danish word *Fell*, which is applied to some of the mountains, in Galloway: neither do there appear, in those Maps, any genuine Scandinavian words, that are intermixed with the proper Saxon. Thus are facts opposed to assertions!

(*r*) Smith's Bede, Ap. xx^o; Chart. Glasgow, fol. 8.

(*s*) It is stated, as extending from the Humber, "ad ultimas Scotiæ fines." Hist. Episc. Dunelm. Anglia Sacra, v. i. p. 703. But, the ambiguity of this expression must be restricted to the southern boundaries of Scotia.

(*t*) Chart. of Arbroth.

the

the crowns, and the union of the nations, fixed its political relations, for ever (v).

(v) Whether Malcolm IV. resigned, either the *possession*, or the *sovereignty*, of Lothian, to Henry II. is a question, which has supplied matter of inquiry, and a subject for dispute. The charters of Malcolm, which still remain, show, with strong conviction, that he uniformly exercised over Lothian every species of sovereign power, in exclusion of every other potentate. See a list of his charters among the archives of Durham, in Nicholson's Scots Hist Lib. p. 364; Anderson's Dipl. pl. 24; and see the Chartularies of Kelso, and Newbottle. The *fact*, then, overrules the assertions of the English chroniclers, upon the point: for, Malcolm could not both resign, and retain Lothian, at the same moment. Neither does there appear to me, after every research, to have ever been but one Lothian, which always lay, on the *north* of the Tweed: when the compiler of the Saxon Chronicle spoke of Lothene, in *England*, he meant, the same district, and he supposed, that England extended to the Forth; as his context evinces. The copyists of the Chronicle, who changed the form of his expression, are unworthy of regard. It is perfectly clear, from an attention to every notice, that there never was but one Lothian; and that this one Lothian always lay, where Lothian lies now, along the Forth, from the Tweed to the Avon, notwithstanding what is mistakingly said, in the Enquiry, 1789, v. ii. p. 205 to 217. David I. addressed his charter, which was witnessed by Herbert, the chancellor, "De fugitivis qui vocantur Cumberlach," to all his faithful subjects, "tocius Scotie et *Laudonie*." Fragments of Scot. History, Ap. N^o ii.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Civil History of the Scots, and Picts, from 843 to 1097 A.D.

FROM investigations, with regard to the Union of the Picts, and Scots; to the extent of their dominions; to the topography of the various territories, which, in successive years, were finally conjoined with the original countries of those united people; we are naturally led to a chronological adjustment of the accessions, of their kings; the length of their lives; the demise of each; and the events of their reigns. Without an adjustment of the chronology of the several kings, the History of the Scottish Period of the North-British Annals is written in vain. Embarrassed, as this chronological series has been, by ignorance and inattention, by scepticism and system, it is of great importance to truth, that a chronological *Table* should be settled, from a deliberate consideration of the four Chronicles, in Innes's *Critical Essay*; from an attention to the *Chronicon Elegiacum* (*a*); and still more, from a regard to the *Vera Series* of the same Critical Essayist, which remains unpublished (*b*); and from a consideration of the latest investigation of this interesting subject (*c*). The commencement of this *genuine chronology* is 843, a memorable epoch, in the Scottish history; the length of the *Scottish period* is 254 years; and this duration brings the several reigns of the kings to the demise of Donal-bane, in 1097 A. D.; and these coincidences, with the confronting authorities, in the *TABLE*, conduct the inquisitive mind to such certainties, as cannot be hereafter shaken by system, or enfeebled by scepticism (*d*). History may now proceed to adopt, as her own, what demonstration has settled, from the various sources of accurate investigation; and from a wide view of an entangled field of satisfactory discussion.

(*a*) In the Chronicle of Melros.

(*b*) I have had the benefit of the whole MS. Collections, and Notes, of the laborious Innes, during fifty years, which are deposited in my library.

(*c*) An Enquiry into the History of Scotland, preceding 1056, published 1789.

(*d*) See the Chronological *TABLE*, in the following page.

A TABLE

A TABLE, containing the *Genuine Chronology* of the Scottish Kings, from 843 to 1097 A.D.; as the same has been adjusted, by an attention to the four Ancient Chronicles, in Innes's Critical Essay; to the *Chronicon Elegiacum*; to the *Vera Series* of Innes; and containing also the Systems of the same Chronology, by the Gaelic Bard, by O'Flaherty, and by Pinkerton.

THE NAMES OF THE KINGS.	Ancient Chronicle in Innes's App. No. 3.	Ancient Chronicle in Innes's App. No. 4.	Ancient Chronicle in Innes's App. No. 5.	Chronicon Rythm. in Innes's App. No. 6.	Chron. Elegiacum in the Chron. of Meiros.	THE GENUINE CHRONOLOGY:			Innes's <i>Vera Series</i> .	The Gaelic Bard.	O'Flaherty's General Catalogue.	Pinkerton's System.
	Years	Years	Years	Years	Years	Accessions.	Reigns.	Demise				
KENNETH MACALPIN over the Scots and Picts	16	16	16	16	16	843	16	859	16	30 in all	16	16
DONALD MACALPIN	4	4	4	4	4	859	4	863	4	4	4	4
CONSTANTIN II., the son of Kenneth	16	20	16	17	15	863	18	881	15	30	14	18
AODH, or HUGH, the son of Kenneth	1	1	1	1	1	881	1	882	1	2	2	1
EOCHA, or ACHY and GRIG jointly	11	12	12	12	18	882	11	893	11	—	17	11
DONAL IV., the son of Constantin	11	11	11	11	11	893	11	904	11	4	5	11
CONSTANTIN III., the son of Aodh	40	25	40	40	35	904	40	944	40	46	46	40
MALCOLM I., the son of Donal IV.	11	9	9	9	9	944	9	953	11	4	7	9
INDULF, the son of Constantin III.	8	9	9	9	9	953	8	961	8	8	8	8
DUF, the son of Malcolm I.	5	4½	4½	4½	4½	961	4½	965	5	7	7	4
CULEN, the son of Indulf	5	4½	4½	4½	4	965	4½	970	5	4	4	5
KENNETH III., the son of Malcolm I.	—	22 2 Mo	24 2 Mo	24 2 Mo	24	970	24	994	24	27	24	22
CONSTANTIN IV., the son of Culen	—	1½	1½	1½	1½	994	1½	995	1	7	1½	1
KENNETH IV., surnamed Grim, the son of Duff	—	1½	8	8	8	995	8	1003	8	4	7	8
MALCOLM II., the son of Kenneth III.	—	30	30	30	30	1003	30	1033	30	30	30	30
DUNCAN, the grandson of Malcolm II.	—	6	6	6	6	1033	6	1039	6	6	6	6
MACBETH, the son of Finlech	—	17	17	17	17	1039	17	1056	17	17	17	17
LULACH, the son of Gruoch and Gilcomgain	—	4½ Mo	— 4 Mo	— 4 Mo	— 4½ Mo	1056	— 4½ Mo	1057	— 4 Mo	7	— 6 Mo	— 4 Mo
MALCOLM-CEANMOR, the son of Duncan	—	37 10 Mo	37 8 Mo	37 8 Mo	36 8 Mo	1057	36 8 Mo	1093	36	—	35	—
DONAL-BANE, the son of Duncan	—	— 7 Mo	— 6 Mo	— 6 Mo	— 6 Mo	1093	— 6 Mo	1094	—	—	—	—
DUNCAN II., the son of Malcolm III.	—	— 6 Mo	— 6 Mo	— 6 Mo	—	1094	— 6 Mo	1094	—	—	—	—
DONAL-BANE, again	—	3	3	3	3	1094	3	1097	—	—	—	—

KENNETH.

The great exploit of the son of Alpin was the suppression of the Pictish government, which led to the Union of the conquered with the conquerors, a congenerous people, at a happy epoch for both. Whether the Scots overpowered the Picts, under Kenneth, or the Picts over-ran the Scots, has been made a question by system; by perverting tradition, and embarrassing history; by confounding facts, and vitiating truth; though without much success (e). Kenneth appears, from the events of his reign over both those people, to have been an able, and a warlike prince. He frequently invaded Lothian, the *Saxonia* of the Chronicles. He burnt the castle of Dunbar, and violated the abbey of Melros, during the embarrassments of Northumberland, without pretending to retain what he could not have easily held (f). It required, indeed, all the vigour, and all the valour of Kenneth, to defend the kingdom, which he had acquired by address, and fortitude. The Britons of Strathclyde appear to have burnt Dunblane. The Danish pirates, wasting *Pictavia*, advanced into the interior, as far as Clunie, in Stormont, and Dunkeld on the Tay, under the influences of Ragnar Lodbrog, whose desire was plunder, and whose delight was blood (g). He soon after met his merited fate, in Northumberland, amid a congenerous people. Kenneth was also a religious prince, as religion was then understood, and practised: And, in 850 A. D., he removed the reliques of Saint Columba from Iona to a church, which he had built, at Dunkeld. To him also is attributed, with as much certainty, the removal of an object of equal veneration, and more efficacy, the *fatal stone*, which he brought with him from Argyle, and placed at Scone. He has been celebrated as a legislator. The Macalpine laws, which have been attributed by folly, or fiction, to the son of Alpin, are undoubtedly spurious. Yet, may it be allowed to probability, of such a prince, that, when he united two people under one government, he may have established some general regulations, for the common observance of his united people (h). Kenneth died, at Forteviot, the Pictish capital, where he,

(e) See book iii. ch. i. and xi.

(f) Chron. No. iii. in Innes's App.; Higden's Polychronicon, p. 210.

(g) Chron. No. iii. in Innes's App.; Langebek's Scriptores Dan. v. ii. p. 2, 3, &c.; Turner's Hist. Ang.-Sax. v. ii. p. 115—117.

(h) The ancient Chronicles, in Innes, speak of the laws of Kenneth. He may have interwoven some of the congenial laws, and usages, of the Picts, with those of the Scoto-Irish. Several of the terms of the Scottish law are traced to the Irish language, and some of them to the Cumbro-British speech. See the Introduction to the Top. Dict. It is even possible, that some of the Macalpin

he, and his Scots, naturally ruled, on the 6th of February 859 (*i*). Kenneth left a son, Constantin, who did not immediately assume his sceptre; and a Daughter, Maolmhuire, who is extremely celebrated, in Irish story, as the wife, and mother, of many kings (*k*).

DONAL III.,

The son of Alpin, succeeded his brother Kenneth, in 859. He is characterised by the Gaelic bard, “*Dhomhnaill dhreachruaid* ;” Donnal of *rudly countenance*. The Chronicon Elegiacum speaks of him, by a feature of his mind, as *strenuous in war*. Fiction, directing the pen of Buchanan, attributes to Donal all the vices of peace, with none of the attributes of war. Yet, the praise, which was given him by ancient chronicles, is assigned him by modern inquiry. During his short reign, the laws of Aodhfin, the son of Eocha III., were re-enacted by the Scoto-Irish chiefs, at Fortevoit (*l*). He died at his palace of Balachoir, in the year 863 (*m*): Yet, was he carried to Icolm-kill, “the sacred storehouse of his

Macalpin laws, as we see them, in the fictitious pages of Boèce, may be borrowed, from some ordinance of Kenneth. The first section of the Macalpin code provides, “that in every district there shall be a judge, for deciding controversies, well skilled in the laws, and that the sons of every judge should be brought up in the same study.” What is this, but a repetition of the Brehon law of the Irish, which was practised by the Scoto-Irish of Kenneth: Every chief, or *flaith*, had a Brehon, or judge, within his district; and *this office was hereditary*, descending to the sons, who were instructed, in their father’s knowledge. See Harris’s Ware, p. 76.

(*i*) Innes’s MS. Collections. The accuracy of this date reconciles some of the contrarieties of chronologists, on this important point. Every authority agrees, in the length of Kenneth’s reign over the Picts, which is restricted by each to sixteen years; except the Gaelic bard, who extends his reign over both Scots and Picts to thirty years, instead of twenty-three: If the epoch of his accession over the united kingdom was 843 A.D., and he reigned sixteen years, as all inquirers agree, the date of his demise must be 859 A.D., whatever scepticism may doubt.

(*k*) O’Flaherty’s Ogygia, p. 484; Kennedy’s Chron. and Geneal. Dissert. on the Family of the Stuarts, 1705, p. 184. *Maolmhuire* is a Gaelic name, signifying the devotee of Mary. The pious daughter of Kenneth was married first to Aodh-Finliath, who reigned in Ireland, from 863 to 879 A.D.; and she married for her second husband the successor of the first, Flann-Sionna, who ruled that island, from 897 to 916 A.D. Ogygia, p. 434. This follower of Mary died, in 912 A.D. Ulster Annals. She had several sons, by both her husbands, who reigned in Ireland, during their appointed periods; and a daughter, Ligach, who married Congal, the king of Ireland, and died in 923 A.D. Kennedy’s Stuarts, p. 184.

(*l*) The Colbertine Chronicle, in Innes, No. iii.; and the Enquiry, 1789. vol. i. p. 492.

(*m*) Chron. No. iii., in Innes. The Chronicle, in the Reg. of St. Andrews, states, that he died in *Rathinveramon*, the same place, where Constantin IV. finished his career, in 995. *Rath-inveramon*, as the name imports, was a *strength*, or *fortress*, which the Scottish kings had at the influx

“his progenitors,” where many a successor found lasting repose, from the turmoils of savage times.

CONSTANTIN,

The son of Kenneth, immediately succeeded his uncle Donald. The new king found his country in the unhappy state of France, Ireland, and England, doomed to suffer all the miseries of the Danish depredations, which the policy of an unexperienced age was unable to prevent. The first serious attack of the Danes was made on Ireland, and vigorously repulsed, during the year 812 (*n*). But, the vikings of those times, as they lived amidst adventure, and perils, were not to be discouraged, by whatever danger. It required half a century of bloody conflicts, and of alternate success, to make good their settlements along the shores of the sacred isle, which was now defiled by the footsteps of the felons (*o*). North-Britain was at length subjected to the unhappy fate of being attacked, on both her shores, by the most desperate invaders, whose hope was pillage, and whose desire was slaughter. From those commodious stations, in Ireland, the vikings were now enabled to attack the vulnerable coasts of Scotland, on the west. From their native havens, they had but an easy voyage to the eastern shores of that devoted land. From Ireland, they found, in the Clyde, a commodious inlet into the country; and inflicted many a wound on

of the Amon into the Tay. This strength, with the adjoining village of Bertha, was swept away by a river-flood, in the beginning of the 13th century. Stat. Account, v. xv. p. 529. All the authorities concur, in limiting the reign of Donal III. to four years.

(*n*) Ware's Antiq. p. 102.

(*o*) Ib. 100—8. Ulster Annals, sub. an. 852; Langebek's Scrip. t. i. p. 415. Aulaf, or Olave, according to the Genealogical Table of Langebek, t. ii. p. 415, may be traced up through the Northumbrian and Danish kings to that mighty viking Ragner Lodbrok. In the year 853, Aulaf arrived in Ireland with a great fleet, and many adventurers; and the Danes, who were already settled along the Irish shores, submitted to his congenial power. Ulster Annals; Ware's Antiq. p. 106. About the same time, arrived Ivar, the brother of Aulaf, with whom he confederated, in some of his expeditions; and in many of his Irish conflicts. Ulster Annals; Ware's Antiq. p. 107-8. Sitric, a third brother, at the same period, took possession of Limerick, on the opposite coast of Ireland. Girald. Camb. Top. Hibern. l. iii. c. xliii.; Ware's Antiq. p. 106-7. The Danish rovers had also considerable establishments, at Waterford; and they rendezvoused in several commodious harbours, on the east, and north, coast of Ireland, at Wexford, Strangford, Carlingford, Belfast-Loch, Loch-Foyle, which is called Loch-Fevall, in the Annals of Ulster. Strangford, which, in the same Annals, is called Loch da Caoch, was their chief resort, when they were driven from Dublin, by the Irish, at two different times. But, Dublin was the usual seat of their power, the mart of their plunder, and the scene of their dissensions. Ware's Antiq. chap. xxiv.

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the enfeebled Britons of Strathcluyde. The frith of Murray, the river Tay, and the estuary of Forth, offered the Danish pirates attractive harbours, on the east. The towns, the capitals, the royal seats, and the religious houses, appear to have been generally the chief objects of their attack, and plunder. Those odious expeditions against North-Britain, from Ireland, were begun, about the middle of the ninth century, and were continued till the middle of the tenth, when the Ostmen of Ireland were converted to christianity. This important change, in their religious principles, will be found to have greatly mitigated their natural ferocity, and, in the progress of improvement, to have subdued their piratical practices (*p*). The predatory incursions, from the Danish shores, against the eastern coast of North-Britain, we shall see, in the tenth, and in the beginning of the eleventh, century. We shall perceive Malcolm II. crush the Danish power, in North-Britain; as Brian Boromhe, in 1014 A.D., gave the Danish intruders a deadly wound, in Ireland. The spirit of piracy, meantime, evaporated, as christianity had been introduced into the pagan regions of the North: And, the gradual improvements of the European governments lessened the expectation of impunity, as well as the hope of pillage (*q*).

In the meantime, Constantin II. had to meet the fury of their devastations, while the rage of piracy was at its highest paroxysm. In 866 A.D., the Danes of Ireland under Aulaf, their ferocious chief, ravaged the Caledonian coasts, from the 1st of January to the 17th of March (*r*). Gorged with prey, they retreated to their Irish strengths, where they soon prepared, for a greater voyage. In 870, the Danish rovers sailed, from Dublin, for the Clyde, with augmented numbers. And, Aulaf, and Ivar, their leaders, besieged the British Alcluyde,

(*p*) The following chronological series of the chief reguli of the Ostmen, in Ireland, which was compiled from the Irish Annals, (Ware's *Antiq. Hibern.* ch. xxiv.) ; from Usher's *Primord.* ; from Langebek's *Scriptores* ; will exhibit the principal actors, in the successive scenes of piratical devastations, during the period of their expeditions into North-Britain :

Aulav, and Ivar, his brother, ruled from	853 to 872 A.D.
Ostin, the son of Aulav, ruled from	- 872 to 875
Godfred, the son of Ivar, ruled from	- 875 to 888
Sitrig, the son of Ivar, governed alone from	- 888 to 892
Sitrig, and Godfrid Merle, jointly, ruled from	- 892 to 896
Ivar, the son of Ivar, governed from	- 896 to 904
Reginald, the son of Ivar, ruled from	- 904 to 921
Godfrey, the son of Ivar, governed from	- 921 to 934
Aulav, the son of Godfrey, ruled from	- 934 to 941
Blackar, the son of Godfrey, ruled from	- 941 to 948
Godfrey, the son of Sitrig,	- 948

(*q*) Harald Harfagre is said to have discountenanced piracy. Snorre's *Harald's Saga*, p. 80.

(*r*) Ulster Annals ; Chron. No. iii. in Innes's App.

which they took, at the end of four months, by blockade, rather than assault. They now plundered the whole extent of North-Britain; and they at length, in 871, set their triumphant sails, with much plunder, and many captives, for Dublin, the seat of their power, and the mart of their pillage (s). The Strathcluyd Britons had soon to sustain another blow: In 871, Artga, their king, was slain, by the procurement of Constantin, on whatever motive of revenge, or enmity (t). In 875, the Danes, under Halfden, their furious leader, issued from Northumberland, and wasted Strathcluyd, and Galloway (u). Such was the frequency of the Danish invasions, that the wretched land was seldom at rest. In 876, they again invaded North-Britain, where they remained, amidst doubtful conflicts, for several months (x). In 881, Constantin had to sustain a still greater invasion of the odious foe; on the shores of the Forth, he encountered them bravely; and here, he worthily fell, in fighting for his people (y). The Gaelic bard tried to perpetuate his fame in oracular verse:

“ ————— Gona bhrigh

“ Don churaidh do Chonstantin:”

The hero Constantin bravely fought,

Throughout a lengthened reign (z).

AODH

(s) Annals of Ulster; Caradoc; O’Flaherty’s Ogygia, p. 484; Ware’s Antiq. Hibern. p. 108; Langebek’s Scriptores, t. v. p. 19. In 872, Aulaf appears to have led another expedition into North-Britain, when he met his merited fate, from the injured hand of Constantin. Chron. No. iii. in Innes’s App. and in the Enquiry, 1789, p. 493. In 875, Ostin, the son of Aulav, king of the Northmen, in Ireland, defeated the Scots, and was afterwards treacherously slain, by his own countrymen. Annals of Ulster; Ware’s Antiq. Hibern. p. 108. Ivar died, in 878. Ulster Annals; and Ware, p. 108. Godfrid, the son of Ivar, was treacherously killed by his brother Sitric, who succeeded him, in 888 A.D. Ulster An.; Ware’s Antiq. p. 109.

(t) Ulster Annals.

(u) Sax. Chron. p. 83; Florence Wigorn, p. 314; Usher’s Primord. p. 719; O’Flaherty’s Ogygia, p. 485.

(x) Chron. No. iii. in Innes’s App.

(y) Innes’s App. p. 801; Chron. Elegiacum, in Chron. Melros. During this invasion upon the coast of Fife, several of the Scottish Ecclesiastics, taking refuge in the Isle of May, were slain by the pagan Danes. Langebek’s Script. vol. v. p. 57. Tradition still recollects, with a sort of horror, the several conflicts, which the inhabitants of this part of Fife, had to maintain with the Danish rovers: And the skeletons, which are frequently found upon the shore, from Leven river to the eastern extremity of Largo bay, are regarded by the people, as the remains of the heroes, who then fell in battle: The standing stones, which still appear along this coast, though they may have been erected for very different purposes, in prior ages, are supposed, by antiquarian prejudice, to have been set up, as memorials of the repulse of the Danish intruders: The site of the glorious death of Constantin, is pointed out, even now, within the parish of Crail: In a small cave, near a rampart, called *the Dane’s dike*, Constantin is said to have been sacrificed to the manes of the Danish leaders. Stat. Account, vol. iv. p. 546; vol. v. p. 116; vol. ix. p. 454.

(z) The ancient Chronicles differ, as to the length of the reign of Constantin. See the Chron. Table,

AODH.

To Constantin succeeded, in 881 A.D., his brother Aodh, or Hugh. The Gaelic bard characterizes Aodh by an epithet, which seems to denote effeminacy of character :

“ Da brathair do Aodh *flionsgothach* :

To his brother, followed Aodh, *the fair hair'd*.

His reign was as short, and troublous, as it was unfortunate, for the unhappy Hugh. The bard speaks feelingly of the wretchedness of the age, and of the fate of Aodh :

“ Da bliadhain *ba daor a dhath* : ”

Two years were *hard complexion'd times*.

It was his misfortune to reign, while Grig was *Maormor* of the extensive country, between the Dee and Spey. This artful chieftain found no great difficulty, to raise up a competitor, with a faction, to oppose the king. The contending parties met in Strathalan, on a bloody field, wherein the son of the great Kenneth was wounded ; and being carried to Inverurie, he died two months after this fatal conflict, and one year after his sad accession, during

Table, before. After the minutest investigation, the real period of Constantin's reign appears to have been eighteen years. The genuine chronology evinces the fact. Aodh, his successor, reigned only one year ; as all the chroniclers agree : An eclipse of the sun happened, on the 8th of August 891 ; being the day of St. Siriac, in the 9th year of the conjoint reign of Eocha, and Grig. Chron. No. iii. in Innes's App. ; Chron. des Eclipses, L'Art de verifie les dates. Now, all those circumstances, and dates, concur to demonstrate, that the length of Constantin's reign must have extended to eighteen years :

Thus, the date of the sun's eclipse was in	-	891 A.D.
the 9th year of Eocha and Grig, <i>being the same</i>	-	891
Deduct their nine years reign	-	9
The date of their accession	-	882
Deduct for the reign of Aodh	-	1
The accession of Aodh, and the demise of Constantin	-	881
The year of Constantin's accession <i>deducted</i>	-	863
Leaves, for the length of his reign,	-	18 Years

The Enquirer into the History of Scotland, 1789, though he is wrong, in placing the accession of Constantin II., in 864 ; yet, he is right, in stating the length of his reign, to have been eighteen years. Enquiry, vol. ii. p. 178.

wretched

wretched times, in 881 A.D. The same stroke of treachery, which sent Hugh untimely to Iona, entailed upon his people the usual miseries of a disputed reign (a).

EOCHA, and GRIG.

The bloody sceptre of Hugh was, immediately, seized by Grig. To colour his usurpation, this ferocious chief associated with himself Eocha, the son of *Ku*, the British king of Strathclyde, and the grandson, by a daughter, of Kenneth Macalpin (b). Eocha, and Grig, are said to have reigned jointly: But, we may easily suppose, that this able usurper actually governed Eocha, and his kingdom. This is Gregory, the Great, of Scottish fiction, who is said to have overwhelmed the Picts; to have crushed the Britons; to have conquered England; and subdued Ireland. Beyond these assumptions of fablers, fiction cannot go. The virtues, the valour, the successes, of Gregory, which shine so resplendent, in Buchanan's pages, may be all traced up to the pious gratitude of the monks of St. Andrews (c). But, it were as idle to trace fable to its fountain, as to attempt to ascertain the chronology of events, which never happened (d). Grig, like other usurpers, appears to have conferred some privileges on the ecclesiastics of his age (e); and they were studious, by grateful falsehoods, to defile his predecessor with vices, and to crown himself with greatness. The Gaelic bard, who certainly never tasted the bounty of Grig, bestowed not any blandishments on Eocha, and his guardian: But, the favour

(a) All the authorities agree, in giving Aodh a reign of only one year, except the Gaelic bard, who is followed by the congenial O'Flaherty. See the Chronicles in Innes's App. No. 3, 4, 5, and 6; and the Chron. Elegiacum: The Annals of Ulster, under the year 878, say, that Aodh, the son of Kenneth, was killed, "*a sociis suis*," which intimates, that he was slain by the sword of civil discord. O'Flaherty's Ogygia, p. 485. The Chron. in the Reg. of St. Andrews, and the Chron. Elegiacum, state, that he was slain, in the battle of *Strathalan*: The Chron. No. 3, in Innes, states his death, in *Nrurin*. The fact appears to be, that he was wounded in the battle of *Strathalan*, and died two months after, at *Inverurie*. See Fordun, l. iv. cap. xvii. It is impossible to read the narrative of the reign of Hugh, as it is written by Buchanan, without disdain, for the prostitution of such talents, to the ends of fiction.

(b) The Chronicon, in Innes's App. No. 3; and in the Enquiry, 1789, v. i, App. p. 493.

(c) See the Chron. in the Reg. of St. Andrews, in Innes's App. No. v.

(d) Wise on the *Chronology of the Fabulous Ages*.

(e) The Chronicle in the Register of St. Andrews says, that he gave liberty to the Scottish church, which before had been held in slavery.

of

of the church did not protect the usurper from the indignation of the people. At the end of eleven years, they were driven from the throne, which they had mounted, by the dangerous steps of civil war (*f*). The filiation of Grig is doubtful: But, the weight of evidence gives him *Dungal*, and not *Donald*, for his father: And, it is obvious that, from descent, he was merely the *Maormor* of the ample country, comprehending Aberdeen, and Banff. He appears to have been a chieftain of vigorous character, a man of unprincipled morals, with studied attention to religious appearances. His name has been as cruelly tortured, as his nature was cruel. O'Flaherty, indeed, calls him *Grig*, the son of *Dungal*, or in the Irish form *Gairig Macdungal* (*g*); and *Geirg*, in the Gaelic, signifies *fierce*, or *cruel* (*h*). Owing to some cause, which is not intimated, in any of the chronicles, though it is so unusual, Grig was allowed to live four years, after his dethronement: And, he died, by a quiet expiration, at his castle of Dunadeer, during the year 897 A.D. (*i*).

(*f*) Chron. No. iii.; Innes's App. p. 785. The eclipse of the sun, which happened, in the 9th year of this reign, fixes its commencement to 882 A.D. Ib. 784-5; Chron. des Eclipses, in L'Art de verifie les Dates, v. i. p. 68. The Chron. No. iv. v. and vi. in Innes's App. concur to extend this odious reign to twelve years. The Chron. No. iii. in Innes, restricts it to eleven years; and this length of reign is adopted by Innes, in his *Vera Series*, and by Pinkerton, in his Enquiry. The Chronicon Elegiacum extends this reign to eighteen years; an elongation this, which appears to have arisen from carrying it beyond the dethronement of Grig to his death, which is said to have happened, in 897. Chron. of Melros. But, the context of the Genuine Chronology only allows eleven years to the wretched reign of Eocha, and Grig.

(*g*) Ogygia, p. 485.

(*h*) O'Brien, and Shaw. The Chronicon in the Reg. of St. Andrews, calls him *Girg*, of which *Grig* is a corruption, by transposing the letter (*r*); and this transposition is frequently made by the Scoto-Saxon people; as *brugh* for *burgh*, and as *Lanerk*, and several other places of the same name, are generally pronounced *Lanrick*.

(*i*) The *Dundurn*, in the Chronicle of St. Andrews, and the *Dunduren* of the Cronicon Elegiacum, mean *Dunaduire*, the well-known hill of Dunadeer, in the Garviach, Aberdeenshire. On the summit of this conical mount, there is the remain of an ancient castle, which had consisted of a double court of buildings, that appear to have been partly constructed of the ruined ramparts of a still older vitrified fortification, around the summit. The tradition of the country states, that this castle was inhabited by Grig, who therein finished quietly his guilty career. Description of the Garioch, in the Edinburgh Mag. 1760, p. 452; Cordiner's Antiq. p. 32-3; Stat. Account, v. xvii. p. 468. And, the same tradition appears to have existed before the days of Fordun, who says, that Gregory, after a strenuous reign, closed his career, at *Dornedeore*. l. iv. cap. xviii.

DONAL IV.,

The son of Constantin, succeeded Eocha, and Grig, in 893 A.D. Yet, did he not enjoy, in quiet, what he had acquired with vigour, while the Northmen continued to agitate the sea, and nations around trembled for their fate. Donal had to sustain a fresh invasion of the Danes, from whatever coast. As the object of the invaders was either Forteviot, or Dunkeld, they landed on the Tay. The chiefs, with a gallant people, hastened to defend the *fatal stone*, the *sacred palladium* of the state. Donal met the invaders, in the well-fought field of Collin, on the Tay, which is still remarkable, in the vicinity of Scone (*k*). The ferocity of the foe shrunk up before the valour of Donal, who was animated by a greater object. And the Danes fled from the patriot swords of the Scots, who fought for the dear object of the national safety. Yet, this great defeat did not restrain the restless Vikingr from their odious practices. In the year 904, the Danes of Ireland, under Ivar O'Ivar, invaded North-Britain, on the west; and having penetrated into the country, eastward, with a view to the plunder of Forteviot, the Scottish capital, they were bravely encountered, and their leader killed, by Donal, who fell himself, in gallantly defending his harassed people. He thus ended a meritorious reign of eleven years, in 904 A.D. (*l*). The Gaelic bard characterizes the son of Constantin as,

“ Domhnal Mic Constantin *chain* :

Donal, Constantin's son, *the eloquent*.

But, the Gaelic epithet *chain* rather means *chaste*, or *beloved* : And, even the malignity of Buchanan allows, that Donal was equally dear to the high, and low.

(*k*) See Stobie's Map of Perthshire. The old Chronicles specify *Collan*, as the scene of this battle; and Innes, with his followers, suppose this place, from the similarity of the name, without authority, to have been Inverculen, on the Murray frith, where, indeed, a still more bloody conflict happened, during the reign of Indulf.

(*l*) Chron. No. iii. in Innes's App. and in the Enquiry, 1789, v. i. App. p. 493; Annals of Ulster. See the Chron. Table; Innes's *Vera Series*, and his four Chronicles; all agree, in this length of reign: But, he, and the Enquirer of 1789, have quite mistaken the place of his death; being again misled by the similarity of names. The Chronicle plainly says, “ *Opidum Fother* “ *occisum est a gentibus* : ” This obviously means *Fother*, the residence of the Scottish kings, now Forteviot, in Strathern, and not Forres, in the North. Enquiry, 1789, v. ii. p. 181. Their mistake is also evinced by the Ulster Annals, which say, under 904 A.D., that “ Ivar O'Ivar was “ killed by the men of *Fortren*,” the name, by which they call the *Pictish capital*.

CONSTANTIN

CONSTANTIN III.,

The son of Aodh, immediately began a reign of unusual length, but of little quiet. As he assumed the sceptre, and sword, of his predecessor, in 904 A.D., he was doomed to reign in troublous times. And, he appears himself to have been enterprizing, and warlike. The Gaelic bard says that,

“Constantin ba calma a gbleac :”

Constantin was valiant in battle (l).

All his enterprize, and all his valour, were soon required, to protect his people from invasion. In 907, the Danes, from whatever shore, made a general ravage of North-Britain. And they seem to have even plundered Dunkeld, before they could be opposed by the efforts of Constantin (m). But, attempting to attack Forteviot, in Strathern, the Pictish metropolis, during the subsequent year, they were met in conflict; they were defeated; and they were driven from this afflicted country, by a gallant people (n). The land was now for a while quiet. But, another invasion was made from Ireland by the Danes, under Reginald, who directed his fleet into the Clyde. This incursion is said to have happened in the eighteenth year of Constantin (o). Yet, the Ulster Annals date this odious expedition, in 918. The Scots, who were said to have been assisted, on this occasion, by some of the Northern Saxons, at length attacked the invaders, at Tinmore. To meet this onset of an enraged, and intrepid people, the Danes are said to have been drawn up in four divisions. The first was conducted by Godfrey O'Ivar; the second by Earls; the third by chieftains; and the fourth by the skilful Reginald; who, as he commanded the reserve, seems to have placed his party in ambush. The four first divisions were unable to withstand the attack of the Scots, which was furious, and well directed, by Constantin (p). The success of Reginald's ambuscade is but faintly claimed. And, the retreat of the invaders, during the night, proclaimed the

(l) This is mistranslated, in the Enquiry, 1789, v. ii. p. 325. “Constantin was powerful, and expert.” But, see the words *Calma*, and *Gleac*, in O'Brien, and Shaw.

(m) Chron. in Innes's App. No. iii.

(n) Colbertin Chron. in Enquiry, 1789, v. i. App. p. 493.

(o) Chron. No. iii. in Innes's App. which calls the place where the battle was fought, Tinmore.

(p) The Annals of Ulster mention, particularly, two Danish chiefs, *Otter*, and *Gragava*, who commanded a party, of whom the Scots made great slaughter, in this battle. Simeon Dunelm. p. 131, mentions *Otter*, *Comes*, and *Osvul Cracaba*, as being with Reginald, *rex*, at the taking, and pillage of Dublin, about the year 912.

victory of the Scots, which was the more glorious, as it was obtained, without the loss of either king, or maormor (*q*). This defeat forbade the return of the Irish Danes, for many Years. Constantin was, however, disquieted from the south. During the year 924, Edward, the Elder, came into the north of England; and made pretensions, which he lived not to support (*r*). Edward, in 925, left his sceptre, and his sword, to his son Æthelstan, who knew well how to exercise both. Were we to credit the English chroniclers, who have their fictions in policy, as well as their errors of ignorance, we ought to believe, that Æthelstan, in 934, entered Scotland, by land, and sea; and wasted a country, which he could not subdue (*s*). All the circumstances, attending this expedition, concur to evince, that Constantin had the prudence to remain in his fastnesses, behind the friths, till the storm of war, which the wrath of Æthelstan had raised, passed unheeded over a wasted land. Constantin is said to have provoked this invasion, by breaking the league, which he had made with the invader (*t*). He perhaps gave full as much offence, by affording an asylum to Godred, a fugitive prince of Northumberland. And, he was now compelled, says Florence, to renew the peace, by giving valuable presents to the invader,

(*q*) *Ulster Annals*; Ware's *Antiq.* p. 110. Godfrey, the son of Ivar, who commanded one of the divisions in the battle of Tinmore, in 918, must be distinguished from his uncle Godfrey, the son of Ivar, who was assassinated by his brother Sitric, in 888. After this deed, Sitric enjoyed the rule of the Ostmen of Dublin, alone, till 892, when Godfrey, who was surnamed Merle, started up, as the rival of Sitric, and shared with him the rule of Dublin, with the vikingr. Ware's *Antiq.* p. 109. Sitric, the son of Ivar, was himself assassinated, by Godfrey's partizans, in 896. Id. Aulaf, the son of Ivar, was slain, in a conflict with the people of Ulster, in 896. Id. In 902, the vikingr of Dublin were defeated, with great slaughter, by the Irish, who expelled them, from that piratical haunt. The Danish rovers now found a commodious rendezvous, during their banishment from Dublin, in Lochdacaoch. *Ulster Annals*; Ware's *Antiq.* p. 109. Ivar, the son of Ivar, who was slain, in 904 A.D., left three sons; Reginald, who succeeded him as the ruler of the Irish Ostmen; and Sitric, and Godfrey, who were also vikingr. Reginald was obliged to maintain his authority by force. He was induced, by his desire of employing the vikingr, to conduct them to the fatal shore of Loch-Fine, in Cowal. In 921, Reginald was, in his turn, slain; and was succeeded by his brother Godfrey, who was infamous for cruelty, even among the vikingr; and who died in 934. *Ulster Annals*; Ware's *Antiq.* p. 110.

(*r*) *Sax. Chron.* p. 110; *Flor. Wigorn.* p. 437, who places this expedition of Edward's, in 921 A.D.

(*s*) *Sax. Chron.* p. 111.; *Flor. Wig.* p. 349. O'Flaherty states this event in 933; and adds, that Edinburgh was spoiled; but that Æthelstan was obliged to retire, without a victory. *Ogygia*, p. 485.

(*t*) Florence, as above.

with

with his son, as an hostage (*u*). Subsequent events evince, however, that Constantin regarded Æthelstan, with feelings of enmity, perhaps, of resentment: he formed an extensive league with several princes of various lineages, who all hated Æthelstan; because they feared him. The most powerful of all those was Anlaf, who had married Constantin's daughter; and was at once king of Dublin, and Northumberland (*x*). The most distant vikings hastened to join the confederates against Æthelstan, from the hope of plunder, as they knew not danger. A vast fleet was now collected, probably, into the Tay, and Forth: and, in the year 937, they sailed, without obstruction, into the Humber (*y*). Æthelstan was too wise not to foresee this invasion, and too vigorous, not to provide against its effects. He had collected a great army; and he had assembled the ablest, and bravest, of his chiefs, with Turketel, the chancellor of England, at their head. Near Brunanburgh, at no great distance from the southern shore of the Humber, ensued a battle, which was then unexampled, in the English annals; and which lasted, with alternate success, from the dawn of day till the going down of the sun. Of the many warriors, who displayed the most hardy deeds, on that bloody field, Turketel distinguished himself by superior skill, and unconquerable bravery: and the chancellor of England was most ably supported, by the prudence, and valour, of his sovereign. On the side of the invaders, Anlaf was most remarkable, for the artifices of war, and the intrepidity of his spirit. Constantin was now too far stricken in years, for feats of hardyhood: but, his son exerted many acts of forward valiance: and, when he was slain, after a violent conflict, victory delivered the wreath to Æthelstan, which he had fairly won. Yet, the field had been so manfully

(*u*) Flor. Wig. p. 349. But, the Saxon Chronicle is silent, as to the presents, and the hostage. About these events, the Scottish Chroniclers imitate the silence of the Saxon Chronicle, rather than the loquacity of Florence. Malmsbury has some monkish eloquence, on this occasion. He reports, that Æthelstan declared, when he had given peace to Constantin, that he *would rather bestow kingdoms than enjoy them*. Lib. ii. c. vi. We might ask Malmsbury, who gave him this fine speech, which history is studious to repeat. This question is too seldom asked of ancient historians.

(*x*) Flor. Wigorn. p. 349.

(*y*) The Saxon Chronicle, and Florence, place that event, in 938 A. D. The ancient Chron. in Innes's App. No. iii. says, that it happened in the 34th year of the reign of Constantin, which corresponds with 937-8. Yet, the Chron. of Mailros, the Irish Annals, and Usher, in his Primord, p. 720, place the battle of Brunanburgh, in 937; for which date, he quotes Turgot, Henry of Huntington, Florence, mistakingly, Roger Hoveden, Mathew Flor. Langebek concurs with Usher, in Script. Dan. t. ii. p. 412; wherein may be seen the Anglo-Saxon poem, which was composed on that important event.

fought, that Constantin, and Anlaf were able to make good a retreat to their shipping, though with the loss of many a life (z).

From this epoch, Scotland was quiet: Æthelstan, in 941, left his kingdom to his brother Edmund; and Constantin brooded over the infirmities, and misfortunes, of his years. With all his bustle, and his bravery, Constantin appears to have been religious. In the sixth year of his reign, the king, with Cellach, the bishop, and the Scottish chiefs, solemnly swore, on the Moot-hill of Scone, to maintain the faith, with the laws, and discipline of the church (a).

(z) Among the Danish reguli of Ireland, and Northumberland, the same names occur so frequently, that different persons are often confounded. Such has been the case, with Anlaf, the antagonist of Æthelstan, and the son-in-law of Constantin: He has been confounded with another Anlaf, who succeeded him, as *regulus* of Northumbria. Sitrig, the kinglet of Northumberland, who married the sister of Æthelstan, in 925, died in 926; leaving two sons, Godfrey and Anlaf, by a former marriage. These young princes were expelled from Northumberland, by the jealousy of Æthelstan. Godfrey sought refuge, in Scotland; and afterwards became a vikingr: Anlaf fled to his kindred, the vikingr of Ireland. Godfrey, the son of Ivar, who was then *regulus* of the Irish Danes, was, in 934, succeeded, in this rule, by Anlaf, whom Ware, from the Irish Annals, calls the son of Godfrey. *Antiq. Hibern.* p. 110, ann. ult. In 937, Anlaf confederated with his father-in-law, Constantin, the king of Scots, and with several reguli, against Æthelstan. This confederacy was dissolved by the decisive battle of Brunanburgh; and Anlaf returned to Dublin. Upon the death of Æthelstan, the restless Northumbrians threw off their allegiance to his successor, Edmund; and elected Anlaf, the *regulus* of the Danes in Ireland, to be their king. After some vigorous, and successful hostilities, by Anlaf, against the English king, a peace was made, by which Anlaf obtained *all* that part of England, lying on the north of Watling Street. In 941, he spoiled the church of St. Balthar, and burnt Tynningham, in East-Lothian; and he died in 941. For all those events, see the Annals of Ulster; Ware's *Antiq.* ch. xxiv.; Sax. Chron.; Florence Wigorn. p. 348—350; Hoveden, p. 422-3; Sim. Dun. p. 134, 154-5; Malmsbury, in Saville, p. 50, 53; Walingford, in Gale, v. iii. p. 540; Higden's *Polychron.* in Gale, v. iii. p. 262; Mathew of Westminster, p. 365. The Saxon Chronicle places the death of Anlaf, in 942; but, in several of its notices, about this period, the dates of this invaluable Chronicle are one year behind the other authorities. Ware states, from the Irish Annals, that Anlaf died, suddenly, in 941. The hero of Brunanburgh was succeeded, as *regulus* of the Danes, in Ireland, by Blackar, the son of Godfrey, (Ware, ch. xxiv.), and as *regulus* of Northumbria, by Anlaf, the son of Sitrig. Roger Hoveden, p. 423; Sim. Dun. p. 134. In 944, Anlaf, the son of Sitrig, and Reginald, the son of Godfrey, the reguli of Northumberland, were expelled from that country by Edmund, the English king. In 949, Anlaf, the son of Sitrig, returned to Northumberland; but he was again expelled, in 952; being supplanted by Eric, who was himself defeated, and killed, by the Northumbrians, in 954 A. D. From that epoch, this turbulent country was governed by earls, of whom Osulf was the first, who was appointed by Edred the king of England. Sax. Chron.; Florence Wigorn, p. 351-2; Sim. Dun. p. 135, 155; Hoveden, p. 423. The genealogy of the reguli of Northumberland, in Langebek's *Script.* v. ii. p. 415, is by no means correct.

(a) Chron. No. iii. in Innes's App.; Critical Essay, p. 588; Enquiry, 1789, v. i. p. 493. The intimation in the text evinces how laws were, in that rude age, enacted.

And,

And, in the fortieth year of his reign, when he had declined into the evening of life, he relinquished his diadem, for the cowl; and retiring into the monastery of St. Andrews, he became abbot of the Culdees. Here, having thus relinquished his sceptre, he rested from his turmoils on the staff; and here, he closed a long, and various life, in the retirement of the cloister (*b*).

MALCOLM I.,

The son of Donald IV., and the great grandson of Kenneth, the illustrious founder of the Scottish, and Pictish, kingdom, immediately assumed the sword of the aged Constantin. The abdication of the preceding king occasioned, among a rude people, those perturbations, which such anomalies produce, under the best established governments. The Moray-men, instigated by Cellach, their chief, rose in discontent. But, the great event of this short reign was the obtaining of Cumbria, from Edmund, in 945 (*a*). The interest of both parties seems to have dictated this transaction. After wasting Cumberland, the English king resigned what he could not easily retain, on condition of amity, and aid: the Scottish sovereign acquired a convenient territory, on the easy terms, of defending that northern country, and of acting as the ally of Edmund. The king of England, dying by the dagger of assassination, in 946, left his difficult charge to his brother Edred. Northumberland, inhabited as it was by a very mixed people, was again agitated by Anlaf. Edred restored tranquillity, by wasting the land, in 950. On that occasion, he required the stipulated aid of Malcolm (*b*). The Scottish king did not hesitate; as his interest concurred with his policy. He over-ran Lothian, which then formed part of England; he entered Northumberland; and, imitating the example of Edred, by exerting the same powers of mischief, Malcolm wasted the country, and carried off the

(*b*) Usher's Prim. p. 659. The Book of Cluan states the death of Constantin, in 952. Ogygia, p. 486. The Ulster Annals record it, in 952 A. D. The Chron. No. iii. in Innes's App. says, that he died in the *tenth* year, after his resignation of the crown; and this intimation would carry up his life to 953 A. D. The Chron. in the Register of St. Andrews, which is followed by the Chron. Elegiacum, says, that he survived his abdication *five* years; and here died, and was buried. The Chronological Table will shew how much the ancient Chronicles disagree in the length of the Reign of Constantin III. Some of those writers may have confounded the extent of his reign with the length of his life; while others seem to have deducted the period of his retirement from the real length of his reign; erroneously supposing, that the latter included the former.

(*a*) Sax. Chron. 115; Flor. Wig. 352.

(*b*) Sax. Chron. p. 115; Fordun, lib. iv. cap. 26.

people,

people, with their cattle (c). The Scottish king, meanwhile, did not remain quiet, amidst turbulent chiefs. Malcolm marched into Moray, to suppress the insurrections of Cellach, the Maormor, whom he slew, in the traitorous conflict. The men of Moray, in a subsequent year, marched southward, to revenge the death of their chief. And Malcolm, meeting them in the Merns, was slain, at Fetteressoe, by an insidious stroke of doubtful treason (d). Fiction is studious to tell, in modern idiom, that the nobles were diligent to discover the conspirators, and were equally severe, in punishing their aggravated treason (z).

INDULF,

The son of Constantin III. assumed the gory sceptre of the murdered Malcolm, in 953 A.D. It was, in Indulf's reign, that *the town of Edwin*, which had been wasted by Æthelstan, in 934, was at length relinquished, during the distractions of Northumberland, and the reign of Edwy. In this state of desertion, it probably remained, till Lothian was formally resigned to the Scottish king, at a subsequent period (a). The vigour of Edgar was such, as induced Indulf, probably, to respect the power of England; and, Edgar was so power-

(c) The Chron. No. 3, in Innes's Appendix, states this inroad, during the *seventh* year of his reign. The Ulster Annals, under the year 951, which was the *seventh* Year of Malcolm, speak of war against the *Scots*, Welsh, and Saxons, by the *Gals*, or Northmen.

(d) The ancient Chronicles differ somewhat, in giving an account of the time, place, and circumstance, of Malcolm's death. The Chron. No. 3. in Innes, says, that he was killed, by the men of *Moerne*, in *Fodresach*. The Chron. No. 5, in Innes, and the Chron. Elegiacum, state, that Malcolm was slain, "*per dolum*," by the Moravienses, in *Uluarn*: and these two are followed by Fordun, lib. iv. c. 27; by Wyntown, vol. i. p. 179; and by Buchanan, who transfers the scene of this tragedy into Moray. The men of Moerne had no perceivable motive of enmity against Malcolm, who had irreconcilably incensed the men of Moray, by killing their chief. The *Fodresach* of the Chron. No. 3, undoubtedly, means *Fotheressach*, the *Fetteressoe* of the present day, a hamlet, and parish, in the Merns. The position of *Uluarn*, the Chron. No. 5, is not so certain. In a charter of Alexander II., indeed, there is a place mentioned, by the name of *Uluarn*, as lying near Burgie, in Moray: MS. Charters, in my Coll.; and Dalrymple's Collections, p. 99: he is said by David Macpherson, to have been killed in a *battle*, at *Uluarn*, near Burgie. Illustrations of the Scot. Hist. But, the Chron. No. 5, intimates, that he was killed by *guile*, rather than by *magnanimity*: the *per dolum* of the one chronicon, and the *in claidam* of the other, which, in Gaelic, signifies a *ditch*, evince, that Malcolm did not fall in *battle*. The proper name of this king is *Maol-calm*, as it is in the Ulster Annals, and in the Gaelic Duan: and, it signifies the *devotee* of Columba; Maol-Brigid is the devotee of Brigid; and Maol-peder, the follower of Peter.

(z) Buchanan edit. Man, 141.

(a) Chron. No. 3, in Innes's App.

ful,

ful, as to drive the Danish pirates on the Scottish shores. They landed at Gamrie, in Buchan, with the hope of plunder: but, the *Maormor* of that district gallantly repulsed them (*e.*) Tradition has transmitted both the invasion, and the repulse, with circumstances of barbarism, which may even now be traced (*f.*) Indulf was doomed to sustain a more powerful invasion of those odious plunderers, and to support a more bloody conflict. In 961, the Danish rovers landed within the bay of Cullen, in Banffshire. Indulf hastened to meet them. A furious action ensued on the moor, which lies westward from Cullen: the Danes were repulsed to their ships: but, Indulf lost his life, with honour, in the eagerness of his pursuit. This victory has come down, in the traditions of the people, by the name of *the Battle of the Bauds* (*g.*) Such was the honourable end of Indulf, in 961 A.D., after he had ruled supreme, “*aird*” “*riagbla*,” saith the Gaelic Bard, only eight years (*h.*)

DUF,

The son of Malcolm I., hastened to wield the potent sword of Indulf. This short reign was much infested by civil discord. Culen, the son of Indulf, seems to have been instigated by Doncha, the abbot of Dunkeld, the St. Dunstan of Scotland, to claim the sceptre of his father, contrary to the constitutional usage. The competitors met at Drumcrub, in Strathern, the Duncrub of the present

(*e.*) Chron. No. 3, in Innes's App.

(*f.*) The memory of this descent, and defeat, is still preserved, in the tradition of the country; and the vestiges of some encampments, at the place, are still called the *Bloody Pots*. A church was soon after erected near the scene of action, into the wall of which, several of the skulls of the piratical North-men were built; and there they still remain. Stat. Acco. v. i. p. 469. A similar instance of barbarous triumph took place, after the defeat of the Danes, at Mortlach, in 1010.

(*g.*) The Chron. No. 5, in Innes's App. relates, that Indulf was slain, by the Norwegians, “in *Inverculan*,” “ad fluminis *ostia Collin*,” adds the Chronicon Elegiacum; “prope locam qui *Collin* dicitur,” says Fordun, Herne, p. 328. On the moor, at no great distance westward, from Cullen, at the influx of the rivulet Culen into the Moray-frith, which town was of old called by the Gaelic name of Inver-Culen, there are some large, and many small *tumuli*, which at once point to the scene of this battle, and indicate the numbers of the slain. At a little distance, near Woodside, within Lord Findlater's Inclosures, there is, upon an eminence, a large heap of stones, which is called the *King's Cairn*; and which tradition attributes to the funeral commemoration of the intrepid Indulf. Pennant's Tour, 1769, v. i. p. 146; Stat. Acco. v. xii. p. 154; Ib. v. xiii. p. 432.

(*h.*) See the Chron. Table. Tigernach states the death of Indulf in 961. Ogygia, p. 486. Abercrombie's Achievements states it in 961, v. i. p. 147.

day.

day. The conflict was contested by a valorous people, with the usual fury of civil war. Duf had the good fortune to vindicate, by his victory, the constitutional rule. Doncha, the abbot, and Dubdou, the Maormor of Athol, met the fate, which their rashness merited (*i*). Yet, this victory seems not have been decisive. The friends of the pretender, and the partizans of the abbot, were still powerful enough to drive Duf from Forteviot into the north (*k*). And, he was assassinated on the classic ground of Forres, in the year 965, after a troublous reign of four years, and a half (*l*). The unfortunate son of Malcolm has been mentioned by a variety of Gaelic names; and the Gaelic Bard has applied to him the epithet *den*, or the *brown* (*m*).

CULEN,

The son of Indulf, seemed now to enjoy, without a competitor, the blood-stained sceptre of Duf. The silence of the Gaelic Bard does not prevent the subsequent chroniclers from applying to Culen various epithets, which evince the insignificance of his character, if not the baseness of his heart (*n*). The election of Dovenal, the brother of Constantin III. king of the Scots, to be king of the Strathcluyd Britons, as we have seen, produced a long, and salutary peace, between those congenerous people. This desirable tranquillity was interrupted, and the two nations plunged in bloody warfare, by the baseness of Culen. The Scottish king was prompted by his temperament, to violate the chastity of the daughter of Andarch, the king of Strathcluyd, the son of Dovenal. The Britons enfeebled, as they were, snatched their arms, to avenge the wrong of their prince. They were met in Lothian, by the Scots, who seem not to have passed the Forth, with alacrity, in such a cause. Culen,

(*i*) Chron. No. 3. in Innes; the Ulster Annals place this battle, in 964 A.D.

(*k*) Chron. No. 3, in Innes.

(*l*) The Chron. No. 5, in Innes; Chron. Elegiacum; Annals of Ulster; and see the Chron. Table.

(*m*) Innes's App. No. 1. The Annals of Ulster denominate him *Dubb*, which is the proper Gaelic name. The Gaelic Bard, and O'Flaherty, speak of him, by the same name; adding the epithet *Oda*. In the ancient Chronicles, No. 4, 5, and 6, in Innes's App.; and in the Chron. Elegiacum, he is called Duf, and Duff: the Chron. N. 3, in Innes, calls him *Niger*, which is a Latin translation of the Gaelic *Dubb*.

(*n*) The Chronicon Elegiacum calls him *vir insipiens*: *Cuilean*, in the Gaelic, means a *whelp*; and hence, the Chron. No. 3, in Innes, calls him *Caniculus*.

and

and his brother, Eocha, were slain, by the valorous Britons, in the field (*o*). Thus perished the unworthy Culen, after a disgraceful reign of four years, and a half, in 970, A.D. (*p*). The story of Culen, however, as it is told by Buchanan, is a continued fiction, which is as disgraceful to the writer, as it is destructive of truth (*q*).

KENNETH III.,

The brother of Duf, and the son of Malcolm I., assumed the contaminated sceptre, with the dishonoured sword, of Culen, in 970 A.D. The English historians have supposed, that he wished to offer his duty to Edgar, who arrogated the pre-eminence of king of Great Britain, and that he was conducted, in 971, to the English king, who gave him many presents (*n*). Kenneth certainly renewed hostilities with the Britons of Strathcluyd, rather with ambitious views of conquest, than to revenge the merited fate of his predecessor, who was of a rival family. The enfeebled Britons made a gallant struggle, for their independence; but the superior power of the Scots prevailed. Kenneth, after various success, ultimately gained the important object of his ambition, in annexing the kingdom of Strathcluyd to the territories of the Scottish kings (*r*).

(*o*) Chron. No. 3, in Innes; Chron. No. 5, in Innes; Chron. Elegiacum; Tigernach places this event in 971. Ogygia, 487. The Ulster Annals record this battle, and the fate of Culen, in 970.

(*p*) See the Chron. Table.

(*q*) Man's ed. p. 142—46. How much more dignified is the reserve of Fordun, as we see it in Herne's edition, v. i. p. 330, than the amplification of Buchanan: during this reign, says Fordun, which was equally unfit, and remiss, nothing either kingly, or worthy of recollection, is to be recorded.

(*n*) Kenneth III. is said by M. of Westminster, p. 375, to have been conducted to Edgar, in 975, by Ælfsig, the bishop, and Eadulf, the Earl. The historian of Durham adopts this story, without much examination. Hutchinson's Durham, v. i. p. 75. If, indeed, we could allow to be genuine a paper, which is published by Dugdale, in the Monasticon, v. i. p. 17, as one of the title-deeds of the monastery of Glastonbury, we must admit, that Kenneth did visit Edgar, in 971: for, Kenneth is made to witness the charter of Edgar thus: "Ego Kinadius rex Albanie, adqueievi." But, this pretended charter is very suspicious: its style is too declamatory; its date is too minute: and, Oswald, the bishop of York, is made to sign it, as a witness, in 971, though he came not to that see till 972.

(*r*) Colbertin Chron. No. 3, in Innes's App. which is more accurately printed, from the original, in the Enquiry, Hist. Scot. 1789, v. i. p. 495; it is, however, unfitly interpolated, by the editor, as a continuation of the *Chronicon Pictorum*, which in fact ends with Bred the last Pictish king. Ib. p. 492—95, for the continued interpolation. Dunwallon, the last king of Strathcluyd, as he was driven from his throne, retired to Rome, where he took the cowl, and died. Welsh Chron. of the Saxons, and Caradoc, in the Welsh Archaiol. v. ii. p. 489—494.

He is, however, said to have now fortified the fords of the Forth (s). It was, in 973, that Kenneth III. was required by Edgar to perform the terms, on which he enjoyed the English province. From Cumberland, he sent a detachment to harrass the Danish settlements, as far as Stanmore. He marched himself through Lothian, and penetrated into Deira: according to the odious practice of a ferocious age, he spoiled the country, and carried off the son of the Northumbrian ruler (t). In this manner, did Kenneth perform the duty, which he owed to Edgar (u)! As far, indeed, as the stipulations of the several kings were unequal, they admitted themselves to be inferior to Edgar. Kenneth had alone to defend his kingdom, from the incursions of the northern invaders. Nothing could prevent their piracies, but the wise policy, which was prescribed by Edgar, for his own interest. The vigour of Kenneth's government could not hinder a dangerous invasion of his country, towards the end of his guilty reign. After making partial attacks on the north-eastern coast of Scotland, the Danes sailed into the Tay, with a numerous fleet. Their object appears to have been the plunder of Forteviot, or Dunkeld. They were met, meanwhile, by Kenneth, with such chiefs as he could hastily bring into the field, at Luncarty, in the vicinity of Perth, on the southern side of the Tay, at a small distance from Inveramon. Both parties prepared for a decisive day. Malcolm, the *Tanist*, and prince of Cumberland, commanded the right wing of the Scottish army; Duncan, the Maormor of Athol, conducted the left; and Kenneth placed himself in the centre. After awhile, a furious conflict began. They fought long, with all the fury of single combat; the one side, for safety, the

(s) Chron. No. 3, in Innes's App. p. 788.

(t) Chron. No. 3, in Innes; in Enquiry, 1789, v. i. App. 495; and the Sax. Chron. p. 122.

(u) Malmsbury, Hoveden, and Huntingdon, concur to relate a story of Edgar, which is unworthy of the manly character of that king: being at Chester, they say, that he commanded himself to be rowed on the wizard Dee, by eight reguli, including Kenneth. Strange! that those intelligent monks would depart from the simple story, which is told by the Saxon Chronicle, that being at Chester, there came to Edgar *six* kings, who entered into a treaty with him, that they would be his co-operators, in future, by sea, and land. See Gibson, p. 122. Florence concurs with this statement, only enlarging the number of kings to *eight*, and making Kenneth III. and Malcolm, "*rex Cumborum*," two of those kings. He makes all those sovereigns whom he enumerates, swear, that they would co-operate by sea, and land, with Edgar. If we could suppose, what is not far from the truth, that the king of England, after making his fleet circumnavigate the northern parts of Britain, had adopted the wise policy of inducing the several kings of our island, whether dependant, or independant, to co-operate in the common defence against the Danes, this enlarged wisdom would raise his character superior to the just fame of Ælfred. But, the story of his being rowed on the Dee, by kings, would only degrade a great policy into the grossest frivolousness.

other,

other, for a kingdom. The two wings of the Scottish army gave way to the Danish battle-axes. They rallied behind the centre; they renewed the fight, on stronger ground: and, the Danes in their turn, were finally compelled to yield to the Scottish spears (x). The piratical intruders were now involved in the distress, and danger, wherein they delighted. Kenneth, after this celebrated victory, found leisure, and safety, to execute his domestic projects. He certainly adopted the dangerous design of changing the ancient custom, which regulated the descent of the crown. In the execution of his purpose, he probably procured the untimely death of Malcolm, the son of Duf, the Tanist of the kingdom, and the prince of Cumberland. Malcolm, the son of Duf, certainly never occupied the throne; to those projects, and to that death, may be traced up much civil conflict, and many obvious crimes (y). Such a law may have been proposed by Kenneth; and such a law may have been passed, on the Moot-hill of Scone: but, the fact is, that two other princes were preferred to the diadem, before his son, Malcolm, could mount the throne. Kenneth III. seems not to have borne his faculties, with much meekness. While he suppressed an insurrection in the Merns, which was not remarkable for habits of quiet, he put to death the only son of Finella, the wife of the Maormor of the Merns, and the daughter of Cunechat the Maormor of Angus (z). Finella's son appears to have fallen by a stroke of justice: but, Finella's revenge was implacable, and restless, for its gratification. Kenneth, either in pursuit of the chase, or in pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Paddy at Fordun, was induced to lodge in the castle of the revengeful Finella, near Fettercairn. This artful woman, was at no loss for the means to obtain her long-looked for end. She fled: but, justice found her retreat; and punished her crime (a). Tigernach has

(x) The narrative of the battle of Luncarty is so artless, and so circumstantial, as given in Belenden's Boece, that there is nothing superior to it for simplicity, and minuteness, in Lord Berner's Froisart. Tradition has transmitted most of those circumstances, and the existing tumuli show, with sufficient distinctness, the true site of this memorable conflict. Many of those tumuli have been levelled of late; and have disclosed many human bones, with broken swords, spears, and bridles. See Gordon's Itin. Septent. p. 150; Pennant's Tour, vol. ii. p. 71-2; Stat. Acco. v. xv. p. 525-7. Tradition has also transmitted what Scottish history has assumed as her own; the story of the peasant Hay, who, with his two sons, and the yokes of his oxen, rallied the flying Scots, and regained the desperate battle. I believe the whole story is an egregious fable. I suspect, the surname of Hay did not exist, in that age; and the family of Hay came into Scotland during the 12th century. I conjecture, that such yokes of oxen were not then in use.

(y) Tigernach has recorded the death of the son of Indulf by Kenneth, in 977. Ogygia, 487.

(z) Chron. No. 5, in Innes.

(a) Finella's odious name has long been remembered in the Merns. An ancient ruin, in the parish

has recorded the assassination of Kenneth (*b*). This king's piety, or remorse, appears to have given Brechin to the church (*c*). By his liberality to the clergy, the guilty king may have endeavoured to allay the perpetual torments of a mind, which was conscious of terrible crimes: his death happened in 994 A.D. after an active, able, and guilty, reign of four-and-twenty years (*d*).

CONSTANTIN IV.,

The son of the worthless Culen, assumed the tarnished sceptre of Kenneth III. His reign was short, and unquiet. His pretensions even to such a sceptre seems to have been disputed, by Kenneth, the Grim, the son of Duf. A conflict ensued between the pretenders to a wretched government, near the river Amon, in Perthshire (*e*). And, Constantin, who is mentioned by the Gaelic Bard, with the epithet *cluin*, or *deceitful*, closed his inglorious days, within the *Rath* of Inver-Amon, in 995, A.D. (*f*).

KENNETH IV.,

The son of Duf, who was surnamed *Grim*, from the strength of his body, rather than the force of his character, immediately seized the gory sceptre of

parish of Fettercairn, is still called *Finella's Castle*. Stat. Acco. vol. v. p. 334. In Fordun parish, there is a place called Strath-Finella-Hill. Garden's Map of the Merns. And many suppose, that the neighbouring Castle of *Kincardine* was also Finella's residence. Stat. Acco. vol. iv. p. 498-9. The parish of Ecclesgreig, within the same shire, claims the honour of her punishment. Here, they show *Den-Fenel*, or *Den-Fenella*, to which she is said to have fled from her Castle of Kincardine; in which she was discovered; and whence she was carried to her merited end. Stat. Acco. v. xi. p. 95.

(*b*) Ogygia, 487: and the Ulster Annals state the same event, under the year 994; and the Chron. Elegiacum concurs in the time, the place, and circumstance, of Kenneth's violent death.

(*c*) Chron. No. 3, in Innes.

(*d*) See the Chron. Table.

(*e*) Fordun, mistakingly, supposes this event to have happened, on the Amon-water, in Lothian, lib. iv. c. xxxvii.

(*f*) The Chron. *Elegiacum* applies to Constantin the epithet *calvus*, which corresponds, nearly, with the Gaelic *cluin*. The Chron. No. 5, in Innes, states, that Constantin was slain, in Rathveramoen. This place is plainly the Rath Inver-Amon, where, as we have already seen, Dónal MacAlpin ended his days, and which had continued to be a strength of one branch of the royal family, from the age of Kenneth MacAlpin. Tigernach attributes the death of Constantin to a sad stroke of civil conflict: but, he erroneously places the event, in 997, instead of 995. Ogygia, 487. The authorities all agree, nearly, in the length of the reign of Constantin, except the Gaelic Bard, who extends it, mistakingly, to seven years. See the Chron. Table.

Constantin.

Constantin (g). But, what he had thus gained by violence, he did not long enjoy in peace. In 1000 A.D., Æthelred, the king of England, almost depopulated *Cumberland*, on whatever pretence, while his fleet attempted to circumnavigate North-Britain (b). Malcolm, the son of Kenneth III., who was then presumptive heir of the Scottish crown, had already been declared the *regulus* of Cumberland. As he refused an unjust demand, he was driven from his charge by a power, that he could not resist. Peace was, however, restored on the original terms, of common defence. And Malcolm was left free to intrigue for the crown, which his father had untimely endeavoured to settle on him, by so many crimes. In a barbarous age, and among such a people, it was easy to animate pretensions into commotion. The partizans of the two princes flew to arms, when the dread of Æthelred was withdrawn. A bloody conflict ensued at *Moighavaird* of the chronicle, the *Ach-na bard* of Fordun (i). Grim fought the whole field, with the vigour of his nature, and the valour of his family. He at length received a mortal gash: but, he had no father, to inquire, like Siward, “if he had his hurts before?” The death-wound of Grim decided the fortune of the day, with the fate of the kingdom. Thus, honourably died Kenneth IV. the gallant son of Duf, after an unfortunate reign of eight years (k).

MALCOLM

(g) “*Grim* is a common Danish name,” says the *Enquirer* 1789, systematically, v. ii. p. 189. But, *Grim*, in the Gaelic, signifies *war, battle*. O’Brien; and Shaw. *Grym*, in the British, means force, energy, power, strength. Owen’s Dict. Buchanan, indeed, talks, as if he had seen the king, of the *tallness* of Grim’s stature, of his beauty, of his courtesy! Man’s ed. 155.

(b) Sax. Chron. 130; Florence Wig. 369; Sim.: Dunelm, 164: but, none of these add a single circumstance to explain the cause of this unneighbourly irruption into Cumberland. Fordun supplies that defect of explanation. Lib. iv. ch. xxxviii. Æthelred demanded *Dane-gelt* of the Cumbrians, which Malcolm, the *regulus*, refused.

(i) Chron. No. 5, in Innes: the Chron. Elegiacum; Fordun, l. iv. ch. xli. The Ulster Annals state, under the year 1004, mistakingly, a battle between the Scots at *Monedir*, where *Kinloch MacDubh* was slain. The proper Gaelic name *Moigh-a bhaird*, signifies the *plain* of the *Bard*. The appellation of this ever-to-be remembered place is now corrupted into *Monivaird*, the name of a church, and parish, in the upper part of Strathern. “Some miles to the northward of the church,” says the minister of Monivaird, there is a very large barrow, called *Carn chainichin*, the *Carn* of “Kenneth.” Stat. Acco. v. viii. p. 576. Thus, the intimations of the chronicles, and the tradition of the country, concur with the monumental *Carn*, to ascertain the true site of this important battle. Chronology fixes the undoubted epoch of it, in 1003 A.D.

(k) See the Chron. Table. Kenneth IV. left behind him a son Boidhe, who was the father of the celebrated Gruoch, Lady Macbeth; and also of a son, who was killed by Malcolm II. in 1032. Regr. of St. Andrews; Annals of Ulster. Kenneth IV. had the merit of giving a hospitable reception to *Sueno*, the king of Denmark’s son, when he was driven from his country, on account

MALCOLM II.,

The son of Kenneth III., in this manner, plunged through blood, to seize the sceptre, and the sword, of the valorous son of Duf, in 1003, A.D. (l). Of the reign, and fortune, of Malcolm, the Gaelic Bard has said ;

“Trocha bliadhain breacaid rainn ;”

Thirty years of variegated reign ;

“Ba rìgh manaidh Maolcholaim ;”

Was king by fate Malcolm.

From the ancient chroniclers, he obtained the epithet *victoriosissimus*, though they did not explain the means, by which he had merited this honourable distinction (m). He appears, indeed, to have deserved the praise of turning into distant channels the devastations of the Danes, who then deluged England with blood. Though the government of Denmark, Sweden, and of Norway, had now acquired firmer consistence, and better morals, the vikingr continued to roam through the northern seas, in quest of plunder, from every shore. The eastern coasts of Scotland were particularly infested by their piracies. They even seized, during this reign, the burgh-head of Moray, the *Ptoroton* of Ptolomy, if we may believe the obscure annals of Ireland, instructive tradition, and obvious remains. Here, the vikingr found, what they greatly wanted, a commodious harbour, and impregnable retreat. Earl Uchtred of Northumberland, meantime, invaded Cumbria : but, he was sharply encountered by the Scots, near Burgh-upon-sands, though with doubtful success (n). It was, in the north, near the coasts of the Moray Frith, that the Norwegians collected plunder, from a wide extent of country. Sigurd, the Earl of Orkney, carried on his depredations along the shores of this frith, in the end of the tenth, and beginning of the eleventh, century. Even after he married the daughter of Malcolm, he was not restrained by this connection, from continuing his ac-

account of his religious innovations. The Scottish writers dwell on this praise-worthy incident. Buchanan's ed. Man, p. 156. But, Messenius places the same incident, in his abridged Chron. of Scandia, about the year 994 ; and in his *Scandia Illustrata*, he speaks of Sueno, as still living, in Scotland, and aided by the Scottish king, in 997, A.D. Messenius's *Scandia Illustrata*, t. ii. p. 31.

(l) Chron. in the Reg. of St. Andrews ; Chron. Elegiacum : Both the date of the accession, and the filiation of Malcolm II. are stated, mistakingly, in Enquiry Hist. Scot. 1789, v. ii. p. 189.

(m) Chro. No. 5, in Innes.

(n) The Ulster Annals, under the year 1005, speak of a battle between the Scots and Saxons, in which the Scots were defeated. And, see Fordun, lib. iv. ch. xxxix, who claims the victory, for the Scots.

customed

customed depredations (o). A vikingr felt no emotions of delicacy; friends, and foes, were equally the objects of his plunder. The Danes, having made a descent in Moray, were met, in 1010, A.D. by Malcolm II., at Mortlach. A fierce conflict ensued. And, the northmen, after defending themselves, with their usual obstinacy of valour, were obliged to yield the bloody field to the numbers, and bravery, of the Scots (p). This year was as unfortunate for England, as it was happy for North-Britain. The great infelicity of the southern parts of our island, at that period, arose from the mixed nature of the people, which was the natural effect of the wrong policy of Ælfred, who conceded the settlement of the Danes to his necessities. But, the Scots had hitherto remained uncontaminated in their blood, and uncorrupted in their spirit. They had never allowed the odious Danes to gain a permanent footing, within their country. Malcolm, in gratitude for his recent victory, soon after endowed a religious house at Mortlach, with its appropriate church, which was erected near the scene of the bloody conflict (q). The piety of Malcolm was approved by the confirmation of Benedict, who ruled the universal church, from 1012 to 1024 A.D. (r). *Tradition, and remains*, confirm the intimations of Fordun;

(o) *Gunnlaughi-Sagan*. Hafn. 1775, p. 169; and Torfæus's *Orcades*. The Enquirer into the Hist. Scot. 1789, v. ii. p. 190, says, that no incursions were then made from Orkney; because Sigurd was in strict amity with Malcolm II.: but, general reasoning must give way to special facts. The *Gunnlaughi-Sagan*, a contemporary writer, is positive upon the point; because he knew the fact.

(p) The minister of Mortlach appears to have investigated the local evidence of this conflict, with appropriate attention. He states, (1.) There still remain the vestiges of an entrenchment, on the summit of little Conval-hill, which is called by the people the *Danish Camp*; (2.) There are a number of tumuli, which are supposed to have been raised over the bodies of the fallen; (3.) There is still a huge stone, which is said to have been placed over the grave of a Danish chief; (4.) There is now to be seen a standing stone on the glebe, having on two of its sides some rude sculpture; (5.) Human bones, broken sabres, and other military armour, have been discovered; and, in plowing the glebe, about 50 years ago, a chain of gold was turned up, which looked like the ornament of one of the chiefs; and, (6.) Several skulls of the Danes were built, according to the practice of a savage age, into the walls of the church, which was, soon after the conflict, erected on its site; and in the same walls they remained till recent times; Stat. Acco. v. xvii. p. 444. We have already seen a similar instance of this barbarous practice on the defeat of the Danes, at Gamrie, in the reign of Indulf.

(q) Fordun is the first writer, who mentions the establishment of a bishoprick, at Mortlach, by Malcolm, in pursuance of his vow, at the commencement of the battle. Lib. iv. ch. xl. But, with some facts, Fordun has mingled some fictions. It was not the practice of the age of Malcolm, in Scotland, to erect *bishopricks*. The usage was to endow a religious house, wherein a bishop resided; and whence he performed his functions.

(r) Id.: The reference to Pope Benedict shows the date of the endowment.

and

and record carries up those traditional intimations to historical certainty, whatever may have been opposed, by the objections of ignorance, or by the doubts of scepticism (s).

The hostile descents of the Danes were not, however, confined to the Moray Frith, in that enterprizing age. The coasts of Angus, and the shores of Buchan, equally felt the scourge of their hostilities, and shared in the glory of their defeats. At Aberlemno, which is so celebrated for its sculptured pillars of obscure memorial, the Danes were encountered, and repulsed. Tradition, and remains, transmit the event, and ascertain the locality, where a brave people repelled the desultory foe (t). Sueno, hearing of so many defeats of his congenial people, is said to have sent against North-Britain a fresh body of warriors, under the valiant Camus. Landing on the coast of Angus, near to Panbride, Camus had only penetrated a few miles into the country, when he was boldly encountered, and bravely defeated, by the Scots. He attempted to retreat northward. But, he was closely pursued, and fortunately slain, where a monumental stone, called Camus'-Cross, continues to mark the sad scene of his overthrow. Time, the great revealer of secrets, has at length disclosed the manner of his death: as the conflict was hand to hand, the skull of Camus was cleft, by the deadly blow of a battle-axe (u).

(s) Owing to the destruction of the earliest charters of the diocese of Aberdon, and the fabrication of other documents, instead of the lost chartulary, the first charter, which is free from suspicion, is the bull of Pope Adrian IV. to Edward, the bishop, in 1159; whereby the Pope confirmed to the bishop, "*Villam, et monasterium de Murthlach, cum quinque ecclesiis et terris eisdem pertinentibus.*" Chart. p. 329. The monastery of Cloveth, which was a cell of Mortlach, was also confirmed, by the same bull. Those churches, and those monasteries, were undoubtedly granted to the bishop of Aberdon, by a charter of David I, which does not now exist. The *Taxatio* of the 13th century, and Bagimont's Roll, 1275, confirm the bull of Adrian, by shewing, that those churches of Mortlach, and Cloveth, did, at those several dates, belong to the bishoprick of Aberdon. Bein, who was the first bishop of Mortlach, has obtained a place, in the Scottish Calendars, on the 26th of October. Keith, 233: his effigy, which was cut in stone, formerly stood in the wall of the church of Mortlach, with other singular monuments of those savage times. Ib. p. 60; Orem's Aberdeen, p. xxxv.

(t) Gordon's Itin. Sept. p. 151, says, there were, in his time, five ancient obelisks, which were called "The Danish Stones of Aberlemny." Pennant's Tour, v. ii. p. 166. The minister of that parish adds, that, in the neighbourhood of those obelisks, a few tumuli have been opened, wherein were found rude stone-coffins, containing black earth, and mouldering bones. Stat. Acco. vol. iv. p. 50.

(u) Buchanan edit. Man, 147. Gordon's Itin. Sept. p. 154. There is, in this neighbourhood, an ancient entrenchment, which, though it were originally a part of the Roman camp, at Kaer-buddo, is called by the people Norway Dikes. Near Camus Cross, a plough laid open a sepulchre, which was enclosed with four stones: here, a huge skeleton was dug up, which was supposed to have

But, the Danes were not to be discouraged by defeat, nor to be restrained by fear. They again landed on the coast of Buchan, about a mile west from Slaines Castle, in the parish of Cruden. Here, those persevering pirates were attacked, and overthrown, by the Maormor of the district. The certainty of the conflict, and the site of the engagement, are ascertained by undoubted remains of the mournful scene (x).

So many repulses contributed, with the fortune of Malcolm, and the events of the times, to free Scotland from the horrible devastations of the Danish vikings. The Danes had made good their settlements in Normandy; they had well nigh established themselves, in England; they were overpowered by Brian Boromhe, in Ireland; and their attempts on Scotland were all, meantime, repelled, by the vigour of Malcolm. The evacuation of the Burgh-head of Moray by the Danes, and their final retreat, before the brave people, who had given them so many repulses, seems to have been at length obtained by some convention with Sueno, before his death, in 1014 A.D. National tradition, and the memorial-stone, may seem to willing antiquaries to carry up this rational probability to historical truth (y). The Scots, after so many conflicts, for

have been the body of Camus: he appears to have received the mortal stroke upon his head; as a part of the skull was cut away. This is the account of Commissary Maule, who relates what he saw, about the year 1610. Add to this, a few other circumstances: a little more than two miles west from Panbride, there is, in the parish of Monikie, a farmstead, named Camus-ton; another near it is called Camuston-Cross; there is a third place, which is known by the appropriate name of Camuston-Den. Ainslie's Map of Forfar. Tradition connects all those notices with the reign of Malcolm II.; with the several intrusions of the Danish rovers; and with their ultimate fortunes. Sueno tried to conquer Scotland, says an impartial Frenchman; his generals sustained several combats, wherein they were sometimes the vanquishers, and sometimes the vanquished. But, the intrepidity of Malcolm, at length, obliged Sueno to come to a convention. Lacombe's Ab. Chron. de l'Histoire du Nord. v. i. p. 74.

(x) Gordon in Itin. Septen. p. 155, says that, at Cruden, even now bones of a large size are frequently turned up. The minister of Cruden confirms this fact. Stat. Acco. vol. v. p. 431. He adds, that the different places, where the dead were buried, do yet strongly mark the field of battle, where the blowing of sand frequently discovers human bones, in several places; and here a chapel was erected which was dedicated to St. Olaus; but the site of it cannot now be traced, as the ground is overblown with sand.

(y) See the fine obelisk at Forres, which is so celebrated for its elegance in Gordon's Itin. Sept. pl. 56; and better representations of it, in Shaw's Moray, p. 209, and Cordiner's Antiq. p. 54. By the traditional language of the country, this memorial stone "is still called *King Sueno's Stone*." Gordon's Itin. Sept. p. 155; Shaw's Moray, p. 209; and Pennant's Tour, vol. i. p. 149. Stat. Acco. v. xvi. p. 346. Yet, scepticism doubts, whether there be any ground for the wars of Malcolm with the Danes. Enquiry Hist. Scot. 1789, v. ii. p. 190. "In short, adds the same Enquirer, in the subsequent page, *there is not the shadow of authority* for those Danish wars of Malcolm II." Popular tradition, with well vouched remains, are historical documents of sufficient authority, for narrative facts. Who would doubt, whether Grim, the son of Duf, was vanquished, and slain, at Monivaird?

some years, enjoyed peace, the result of their struggles, and the reward of their valour. A dispute with the Northumbrians, who were connected by lineage, and habits, with the Danes, again called forth their action, and tried their bravery. In 1018, Malcolm conducted his warriors to Carham, near Werk, on the southern bank of the Tweed: and here, he was met in hostile conflict by Uchtred, the Earl of Northumberland. The battle was long contested with desperate valour. The palm of victory was claimed by Uchtred: but, Malcolm enjoyed the perennial fruits of his success (z). Uchtred was soon after assassinated, on his way to offer his duty to the great Canute: and, his earldom descended to his brother, the less valiant Eadulf. The wounds of Carham were still felt; the swords of the Scots were still feared, in Northumberland: and, Eadulf was induced, in consideration of a firm concord, to cede Lothian, for ever, to Malcolm (a). This event alone entitled Malcolm to the epithet of *vic-toriosissimus*, as a just tribute from his country, for so important an acquisition. On that occasion, the king of Scots, who is by gratitude praised, for his liberality, gave many oblations to the churches, and gifts to the clergy, who recorded his victory, and transmitted his fame (b).

Malcolm was afterwards engaged with an antagonist of greater consequence, than either Eadulf, or Uchtred. Owing to some cause, which history has not explained, the great Canute penetrated into Scotland, during the year 1031. After obtaining from Malcolm an engagement to perform what he owed for Cumberland, Canute returned into England: and Malcolm certainly retained both Cumberland, and Lothian, whatever prejudice may say of his subduction (c).

(z) Chron. No. 4, in Innes, p. 791; Simeon Dun. p. 177; Chron. of Mailross, p. 155.

(a) Sim. Dun. p. 81: "Hoc modo Lodoneium adjectum est regno Scottorum." The fact is thus distinctly stated by Simeon, who had an opportunity of knowing the truth. Dugdale equally shows, that Eadulf transferred *Louthian* to the Scots; "by which means, he adds, that territory came, at first, to be a member of Scotland." Baronage, v. i. p. 4.

(b) Chron. No. 4, in Innes, 791: the Chron. in the Register of St. Andrews, called him, in grateful recollection, *rex victoriosissimus*.

(c) The Sax. Chron. p. 153, says, Canute went into Scotland, and subdued Malcolm, the king of Scots, with two other kings, Mœlbeth, and Jekmare. Neither Florence, nor Simeon, adopt this passage: Huntington, however, copies it, uncritically: Snorro, and the other fablers of the north, talk wildly of the subduement of Scotland, and the appointment of a viceroy, by Canute. Fordun explains this transaction, with sufficient distinctness, but with too much attention to the notions of his own times. Hist. lib. iv. ch. xli. The English king had no other pretension to Cumberland, nor any other claim on the Scottish king, than amity, and aid, in the north: but, there was nothing of feudality, in the connection, or contract: when Malcolm, therefore, promised his amity, and his aid, in Northumberland, to Canute, he had stipulated for all, that he owed.

Yet,

Yet, the vigorous reign of Malcolm II. could not pass away, without some civil conflicts, among such a people, and during such an age. Finlegh, the Maormor of Ross, and the father of Macbeth, fell a sacrifice to the demon of enmity, in 1020 (*d*). Revenge never sheathed her dagger, though she long concealed it, till she avenged the fall of Finlegh. Maolbride, the Maormor of Moray, the grandfather of Lulach, was burnt, within his *rath*, with fifty of his clan, during the year 1032 (*e*). These events covered the royal family with blood, and steeped Scotland in wretchedness. Yet, the aged Malcolm died, in the subsequent year, without feeling the point of the dirk, or the poison of the bowl, though revenge stood panting for her prey (*z*).

Malcolm II. appears to have had no son, but two daughters, by whatever queen. Bethoc, or Beatrice, undoubtedly married Crinan, the abbot of Dunkeld, a character of great consequence, in that age (*a*). A daughter of Malcolm II. married Sigurd, the Earl Orkney (*b*).

As a legislator, Malcolm is entitled to less commendation, than fiction has bestowed. The *leges Malcolmi*, which exhibit an anachronism, in every paragraph, have been shown to be spurious by all the modes of proof, that have ever detected forgery (*a*). The legislative fictions, which have been applied to

(*d*) The Ulster Annals, speaking of that bloody event, calls Finlegh *king* of Scotland, mistakenly. The Irish terms for a king, as *Righ*, *Triath*, *Flath*, also signify a *lord*, a *chief*, a *ruler*: now, Finlegh was ruler of Ross.

(*e*) Ulster Annals.

(*z*) The Chron. No. 5, in Innes, p. 803; the Chron. Elegiacum; the Chronicle of Melross, concur with the Irish Annals, in saying, that Malcolm died quietly, at Glamis. Fordun was, perhaps, the first, who said, that the aged king died a violent death. Hist. lib. iv. c. xli. There is still shown, in the church-yard of Glamis, "king Malcolm's grave-stone," which is a rude mass, without an inscription, sixteen feet high, and five broad; and which was erected there, say the Tourists, "in memory of his murder." Gordon's Itin. p. 162-3; Pennant's Tour, v. i. p. 170. Stat. Acco. v. iii. p. 126. Malcolm II. was entombed, with his fathers, in Iona.

(*a*) Chron. Elegiacum; Chron. in the Register of St. Andrews.

(*b*) Snorro states the fact very circumstantially. T. i. p. 532-3; the Orkney-inga Saga confirms it, p. 5, and 87; and Torfæus, in his Orcades, p. 33, adds this additional circumstance, that the daughter of Malcolm was Sigurd's second wife: by him, she had a son Thorfin, who was an infant, at his father's death, in the battle of Clontarf, in 1014, A.D. Malcolm II. immediately carried into effect the destination of Sigurd, by putting his grandson, Thorfin, who lived at his court, in possession of Cathness, and Sutherland. Thorfin afterwards, acted as conspicuous a part, as any vikingr of his age. Orkney-inga Saga throughout; Torfæus Orcades.

(*a*) Lord Kaimes's Essays on British Antiq. 3 ed. p. 6—11: He is yet willing to allow this obvious fabrication to have been the undoubted code of Malcolm-Ceanmore. On the contrary, Lord Hailes has proved, "that the *Leges Malcolmi* bear the certain marks of forgery." Enquiry into the authenticity of the *Leges Malcolmi*, 1769.

Malcolm II., sometimes with censure, and often with praise, were originally raised by Fordun; afterwards legitimized by Skene (*b*); and finally exploded, by the late Lord Hailes.

DUNCAN,

The grandson of Malcolm II., by his daughter Bethoc, as tanist of the kingdom, and prince of Cumberland, immediately succeeded the aged king, in 1033 A. D. It fell to the lot of Duncan to perform the stipulations of his grandfather, with Canute: And, he marched through Northumberland, in 1035, and attacked Durham, whence he was repulsed, with the loss both of men, and reputation, if we credit the English historian (*c*). Canute died, on the 12th of November, in the same year: And Scotland was left, during the five subsequent years of Duncan's reign, to enjoy quiet, and to engender mischief. Fiction represents this short period, indeed, as disturbed by some rebellion, and as afflicted by some depredations of the Danes (*d*). We may easily suppose, indeed, that Sigurd's sons, the earls of Orkney, may have tried their young pinions, as eaglet vikingr; and soared for prey along the shores of the Moray frith, while the maormor of that district was yet an infant (*e*). The time was now at hand, when the "gracious Duncan," while his "plenteous joys wantoned in fullness," was to expiate, by his blood, his grandfather's guilt, and his great-grandfather's crimes. Kenneth III., as we have seen, attempted to change the old mode of succession, by the murder of princes, who stood before his son: He put to death, on whatever pretence, the only son of Finella, who was the daughter of Cunechat, the maormor of Angus: And, Kenneth fell a sacrifice to a mother's vengeance, as we may remember, in 994 A. D. Kenneth IV., while reigning lawfully, was slain in 1003 A. D., as we have perceived, by Malcolm II., at the battle of Monivaird. Kenneth IV. left a son, Boedhe, the

(*b*) Ford. l. iv. c. xliii; Skene's Old Laws; Lord Hailes's Tract, 1769.

(*c*) Simeon. Dun. p. 33: But, the Saxon Chronicle, and Florence, are both silent, as to this irruption of Duncan.

(*d*) The rebellion of Macdonald, from the western isles, as feigned by Shakspeare, is mere fable: The old historians may have confounded, indeed, the rebellion of Gilcomgain, the maormor of Moray, in 1033, with the rebellion of Macdonald, during the reign of Duncan. In the same manner, there was no invasion of Fife, by "Sueno, the Norway's king," at that period. Shakspeare, and Holinshed, were misled by the Scottish historians, who confounded times, and personages: "The Norweyan banners may have flouted the sky, in Fife," during the preceding reign.

(*e*) See Torfæus Orcades, ch. xiii.; Orkneyinga Saga, p. 41 to 87.

the heir of his rights, and the successor to his wrongs. Seeing how unable he was to contend with the slayer of his father, he seems to have provided for his safety, by his insignificance: And, he left a son, and a daughter, to enjoy his pretensions, and to avenge his injuries: His son, however, was slain, in 1033, by one of the last orders of the aged Malcolm. His daughter was the Lady Gruoch, who married, for her first husband, Gilcomgain, the maormor of Moray, a person of the first consequence, next to the royal family; and, for her second husband, she married the never to be forgotten Macbeth. The Lady Gruoch, with great strength of character, had the most afflictive injuries constantly rankling at her heart; a grandfather dethroned, and slain; a brother assassinated; and her husband burnt, within his castle, with fifty of his friends; herself a fugitive, with Lulach, her infant son. Such were the injuries, which prompted the Lady Gruoch's vengeful thoughts; and "which filled her, from "the crown to the toe, topful of direst cruelty." Amidst her misfortunes, she married Macbeth, the maormor of Ross, who was then in the prime of life; and who was of still greater power, than her first husband: For, after his marriage with this injured woman, he became maormor of Moray, during the infancy of Lulach. If Macbeth was, indeed, as we are assured by Boece, and Buchanan, and Lesley, the son of Doda, a daughter of Malcolm II., he might well enter into competition with Duncan, for the crown. And, we thus perceive, that Macbeth wanted "no spur to prick the sides of his intent." This *intent* was at length carried into effect, by the insidiousness of assassination, rather than the magnanimity of conflict. And, notwithstanding the popularity of Duncan, owing to his mildness, he was cut off, in a premature age, by a stroke of "treasonous malice," at Bothgowanan, near Elgin, in 1039 A.D. (f). From the place of his death, we may perceive, that the unhappy Duncan had

(f) All the authorities concur, in extending the reign of Duncan to six years. See the Chron. Table. Ogygia, p. 488; Ulster Annals. For the site of that sad event, see the Chron. No. v. in Innes, p. 803; Chron. Elegiacum, in Gale, v. i. p. 597; Fordun, l. iv. c. xlv; Lord Hailes's An. v. i. p. 1. The scene of this tragical event is laid, by Shakspeare, in Macbeth's castle, at Inverness: Here, says Johnson, is a castle, called the castle of Macbeth, *the walls of which are still standing*. Journey to the W. Islands, p. 343: And Steevens, in his Commentary on Shakspeare, v. vii. p. 367, re-echoes this story. There was, in fact, a castle built, at Inverness, as early, perhaps, as the twelfth century, which, even as late as the eighteenth century, was, with some modern barracks, used as a royal fort, and was destroyed by the rebels, in 1745. The remains of this castle were a shapeless mass of ruins, when Johnson visited Inverness, in 1773. And, it was an illusion, both in the traveller, and the commentator, to talk of the walls of Macbeth's castle, where he never had a castle, nor a residence. In Shakspeare, it was fiction, to lay the murder of Duncan, at a place different from Bothgowanan, where the Chronicle had veraciously fixed it.

been drawn, by some urgent duty, within the territorial government of Gruoch, and Macbeth, as indeed Shakspeare has feigned (g). Duncan left two infant sons, Malcolm, and Donal, by a sister of Siward, the earl of Northumberland; Malcolm, on the death of his father, fled to Cumberland, and Donal found an asylum in the Hebrides (h). Of Duncan, the Gaelic bard says, with an allusion to his character, rather than his person,

“ Se bliadhna Donchadh *ghlain gaoith* : ”

Six years [reigned] the *pure-breathed* Duncan (i).

MACBETH,

Immediately, seized “ the barren sceptre,” in his firmer gripe. About the lineage, and station, of this celebrated personage, whose misdeeds have been dramatized, writers have written variously, as their purposes were either narrative, or dramatic. The fabulous Boece was the first, who said, that Macbeth’s father was thane of Angus, and married Doda, the second daughter of Malcolm II (k). Buchanan, without inquiry, adopted the fables of Boece (l). Holinshed followed Boece, as to the station of Macbeth; and Shakspeare repeated the echoes of Holinshed (m). The more veracious Wyntown, calls Macbeth,

(g) A commentator on Shakspeare supposes, indeed, that Duncan was in the legal act of performing his annual progress, for the administration of justice, throughout his dominions. Shakspeare, ed. 1793, v. viii. p. 367. And he quotes Fordun, and Buchanan, who talk in the idioms of their own times. In the Celtic days of Duncan, there were no such juridical progresses made, in any year. The fact is, that Torfin, the earl of Cathness, and the cousin of Duncan, refused to pay the tribute, which he owed for Cathness to the Scottish king. Duncan marched into the North, to enforce what was due; and he was obliged to traverse, in his course, both Moray, and Ross, the countries of Gruoch, and of Macbeth. The refractoriness of Torfin was converted, by history, into the revolt of Macdowal of the western isles; and the fictitious revolt of Macdowal was dramatized by the magic pen of Shakspeare. For the facts, see Torfæus *Orcades*, c. xii.; the *Orneyinga Saga*, p. 5, 29, 35, 71—4, 87: And see before book iii. chap. iii.

(h) Dugdale’s *Bar.* v. i. p. 4.; Fordun, l. iv. c. xlv.

(i) In 1235, Alexander II. founded a chapel in the cathedral church of Elgin, for the soul of king Duncan. *Chart. of Moray*, p. 110; Innes’s *MS. Collections*.

(k) B. xii. c. i.

(l) L. vii. c. i.

(m) The story of Boece is wholly his own: For, none of the more ancient authorities support his fictions: The old Scottish chroniclers, as well as Fordun, call Macbeth the son of Finlegh, or Finley; and the Irish annalists call Macbeth, the son of Finlaogh, which is the Gaelic form of the name: But, not one of all those authorities mentions any thing of Macbeth, or his father, being either *maormor*, or *thane of Angus*. The commentators on Shakspeare are content to travel in the humble track of Holinshed, who communicated the fictitious tales of Boece to that inimitable dramatist.

beth, the thane of *Crumbachty*, which is the Gaelic name of *Cromarty*: And, in the well-known story of the weird sisters, the chronicler makes the first witch hail Macbeth, thane of Crumbachty; the second, thane of Moray; and the third hails him king (*n*). These intimations lead directly up to the several fictions of Boece, Holinshed, and Shakspeare. Macbeth was, by birth, the thane of Ross, by marriage with the Lady Gruoch, the thane of Moray, and, by his crimes, the king of Scots. Finley, as we may learn from Torfæus, was maormor, or as the Norwegian historian calls him, *jarl* of Ross, who, at the commencement of the eleventh century, carried on a vigorous war, in defence of his country, against the incursions of that powerful vikingr, Sigurd, the earl of Orkney, and Caithness (*o*). With his dominions, the district of Finley was contiguous, while the country of Angus lay, southward, at a great distance. Finley lost his life, about the year 1020, in some hostile conflict with Malcolm II. (*p*). This fact alone evinces, that Finley would scarcely have fought with his wife's father, if he had been the husband of Doda. The Lady Gruoch, when driven from her castle, by the cruel fate of her husband, the maormor of Moray, naturally fled, with her infant son, Lulach, into the neighbouring country of Ross, which was then ruled by Macbeth, who married her, during the reign of Duncan. We have now seen distinctly, that Macbeth was maormor of Ross, the son of Finlegh, and the grandson of Rory, or Roderick; and that he was the husband of Gruoch, who was the daughter of Boedhe, and the grand-daughter of Kenneth IV. Macbeth thus united in himself all the power, which was possessed by the partizans of Kenneth IV., all the influence of the

dramatist. The Chronicle, in the Register of St. Andrews, calls the tyrant of the drama Macbeth, Mac-Finleg; the Chron. Elegiacum calls him Macbeth, the son of Finleg; Fordun calls him *Macabeda*, the son of Finele; and this last name has deluded Guthrie to confound *Finle*, with *Finella*, the daughter of Cunechat, the maormor of Angus.

(*n*) Wyntown's Chron. v. i. p. 225. Macbeth was herein called thane of *Crumbachty*, where his family, the Maormors of Ross, probably had their seat.

(*o*) Torfæus's Orcades, p. 27. In Olave Tryggveson's Saga, *Finleik Scots Jarl* is also mentioned, as the antagonist of Sigurd, at the end of the tenth century, before Sigurd married the daughter of Malcolm II. Enquiry Hist. Scot. 1789, v. ii. p. 197.

(*p*) Ulster Annals, sub an. 1020, state, that Finloch, the son of Rory, a king of Scotland "a suis occisus." These expressions convey the idea of civil war. By a *king* of Scotland, the Annals mean a *prince*, *chief*, or *maormor*, in Scotland. The Irish annalists generally considered the chiefs of the several divisions of Scotland, during that period, in the light of petty kings, or princes, the same as the petty kings of Ireland; and they frequently mention the proper kings by the title of supreme, or arch king. Indeed, the Gaelic terms *Righ*, *Triath*, *Flath*, &c. are equally applied to a king, a prince, and to a lord, or ruler: Hence, it is only by an attention to the fact, that a proper translation can be given.

Lady

Lady Gruoch, and of her son Lulach, together with the authority of maormor of Ross, but not of Angus. With all these powers, in superaddition to his own character, for address and vigour, Macbeth became superior to Duncan, and the partizans of his family. Macbeth had to avenge the wrongs of his wife; and to resent, for himself, the death of his father. The superiority of Macbeth, and the weakness of Duncan, were felt, when the unhappy king expiated the crimes of his fathers, by "his most sacrilegious murder." And, Macbeth hastily marched to Scone, where he was inaugurated, as the king of Scots, supported by the clans of Moray, and Ross, and applauded by the shouts of the partizans of Kenneth IV. If Macbeth had been, in fact, what fiction has supposed, the son of the second daughter of Malcolm, his title to the throne would have been preferable to the right of Duncan's son, according to the Scottish constitution, from the earliest epoch of the monarchy. Whatever defect there may have been, in his title, to the sullied sceptre of his unhappy predecessor, he seems to have been studious to supply, by a vigorous, and beneficent, administration. He even practised the hospitality, which gives shelter to the fugitive (*q*). During his reign, plenty is said to have abounded; justice was administered; the chieftains, who would have raised disturbances, were either overawed by his power, or repressed by his valour. Yet, injury busied herself, in plotting vengeance. Crinan, the abbot of Dunkeld, who, as the father of Duncan, and the grandfather of his sons, must have been now well-stricken in years, put himself at the head of the friends of Duncan, and made a gallant, but unsuccessful attempt, to restore them to their rights (*r*). Yet, the odious crime, by which Macbeth acquired his authority, seems to have haunted his most prosperous moments. He tried, by distributing money at Rome, by largesses to the clergy, and by charity to the poor, to obtain relief from "the affliction of those terrible dreams, that did shake him nightly (*s*)."
Macbeth, and the Lady Gruoch, his wife, gave the
lands

(*q*) See Sim. Dun. p. 187.

(*r*) In an. 1045, the Ulster Annals record a battle between the Scots themselves, wherein Crinan, the abbot of Dunkeld, was slain. Lord Hailes states, from Fordun, that the partizans of Malcolm often attempted his restoration; but, that their feeble, and ill-concerted efforts, only served to establish the usurper. Fordun, l. iv. c. xlv. ; l. v. c. i—vii ; Annals Scot. v. i. p. 2. Lord Hailes, throughout his Annals, talks too often, in the idiom of his own times: We thus see, that he did not perceive how Macbeth could have any right: The superiority of Duncan's title arose from his possession, not from the representation of his grandfather, Malcolm II.

(*s*) Marianus Scotus, a contemporary writer of great judgment, was the first, who asserted that, "Rex Scotiæ Macbetad [Macbeth] Romæ argentum seminando pauperibus distribuit." Chron. sub an. 1050. ed. Struvius, v. i. p. 650. Marianus was followed by Flor. Wig. p. 409; Chron. Mail. p. 157; Sim. Dun. p. 184; and with them concurred Wyntown, and Fordun, l. v. c. ix.

Goodal,

lands of Kirkness, and also the manor of Bolgy, to the culdees of Lochleven (t). Yet, the friendship of the pope, and the support of the clergy, did not ensure Macbeth a quiet reign. His rigour encreased with his sense of insecurity. The injuries of Macduff, the Maormor of Fife, constantly prompted the son of Duncan to attempt the redress of all their wrongs. With the approbation, perhaps, by the command, of Edward, the Confessor, Siward, the potent earl of Northumberland, and the relation of Malcolm, conducted a numerous army into Scotland, during the year 1054 (u). The Northumbrians, led by Siward, and his son, Osbert, penetrated, probably, to Dunsinan (x). In this vicinity, were they confronted by Macbeth, when a furious conflict ensued. The numbers of the slain evince the length of the battle, and the bravery of the combatants (y). Osbert was slain: Yet, Macbeth, after all his efforts of valour, and

Goodal, the editor of Fordun, was the first, who was so absurd as to suppose, on those authorities, that Macbeth went to Rome. He was followed, by the Enquirer, 1789, v. ii. p. 193, who, in order to convert an improbability into a likelihood, shows how many princes went to Rome, in the same age. While Lord Hailes laughs at this supposition, he insists, that the Original insinuated "Macbeth bribed the court of Rome." An. v. i. p. 3. We have seen above what the Original says, which is copied by Fordun.

(t) Register of St. Andrews.

(u) Flor. Wigorn. p. 416; Sim. Dun. in Twisden, p. 187. Bromton, lb. 946; Chron. Mailros, in Gale, v. i. p. 158; Fordun, l. v. c. vii. The Saxon Chronicle, indeed, is silent: But, William of Malmsbury, Hoveden, Matthew Flor. and Usher, speak to the same fact, and to the same year.

(x) Wyntown relates, as the notion of his times, that the Northumbrians passed the Forth, and Tay; marched to Brynnane, and thence to Dunsanane, "ilka man baring intil hys hand a busk of that wode there." Cronykill, v. i. p. 238-9 Wyntown adds, from tradition, a very curious circumstance of Birnam wood:

"The flyttand wod thai callyd ay

"That lang tyme eftyre-hend that day."

Birnam was anciently a forest, and a part of the royal domain. Near Duncan's hill, which forms a part of this classic scenery, there are a number of tumuli, which seem to indicate, that Macbeth did not wait for the arrival of Malcolm, with his English auxiliaries, at Dunsinan hill. Stat. Account, v. vi. p. 374.

(y) In 1054, the Ulster Ann. record a battle between the Scots, and Saxons, wherein 3000 Scots, and 1500 Saxons were killed. The site of this memorable battle has not yet been ascertained. In the inclosures of Belmont, indeed, within the parish of Meigle, which is so justly celebrated, for its antiquities, there is a tumulus called Belli-duff, where tradition asserts, that Macbeth fought, and fell. Stat. Account, v. i. p. 505-6, by the Rev. Dr. Playfair, who properly intimates, that Macbeth was slain at a quite different place. At some distance from Belli-duff, there is a standing stone of granite, 20 tons weight, which, the same tradition says, was raised to commemorate the death of one of his generals. The site of this tumulus, and stone, is about eight miles north from Dunsinan hill, in Strathmore, the great passage, which leads from the Tay into the North. See

and vigour of conduct, was overcome. He retired into the North, where he had numerous friends, and where he might find many fastnesses. Siward returned into Northumberland, and died, at York, in 1055 (z). Meantime, Macbeth continued his bloody contest with Malcolm. And, this uncommon character was, at length, slain, at Lumphanan, on the 5th of December 1056, by the injured hand of Macduff (a).

The singular story of Macbeth has furnished a subject to one of the sublimist of poets, for one of the noblest of dramas. The age, the subject, the country, the notions of the times, wherein lived the dramatist himself, were all highly favourable to this great production of the human genius. Every fiction, every tradition, every locality, were allowable to Shakspeare: But, no poetic licence descended to his commentators, who were bound, in their strictures, to adhere to the truth (b). Much of this drama is made to turn upon two points of history,

Stobie's Map of Perthshire. This tradition is the more worthy of credit, as it is not reared on the fictions of Boece. I have searched, without success, for some memorial of Osbert, the gallant son of Siward, whose fall even gave satisfaction to his heroic father.

(z) Sim. Dun. p. 187; Flor. Wigorn. p. 416. The Saxon Chron. states the death of Siward, in 1055, while less veracious authorities state this event, in after times.

(a) Fordun, l. v. c. vii. asserts, that Macbeth was slain on the 5th of December 1056; and Fordun is followed by Lord Hailes. An. v. i. p. 3. The genuine chronology evinces, that he must have died, in 1056 A. D., after a reign of seventeen years. See the Chron. Table. Yet, is the year, wherein Macbeth was slain, given out as a theme, for the discussion of the antiquaries of Scotland. Enquiry, 1789, v. ii. p. 349. The ancient chronicles seem to convey the tradition of the times, that Macbeth was killed, by a cruel death. Macbeth's cairn, which lies about a statute mile northward, from the kirk of Lumphanan, on the brow of a hill; is forty yards in circumference; and is pretty high in the middle: Farther up the hill, there are several smaller cairns. Stat. Acco. v. vi. p. 388. These facts seem to intimate, that here, in some skirmish, Macbeth finished his guilty career. Here too, if we may believe tradition, and remains, a son of Macbeth also fell, in his retreat from the same skirmish, which decided his father's fate. In the parish of Tough, a few miles north of Lumphanan, there is a large standing stone, twelve and a half feet of perpendicular height, and nine and a half round, which, as tradition repeats, was raised to commemorate the fall of *Macbeth's son*, who was interred under it. Stat. Account, v. viii. p. 269. Of this event, and of the children of Macbeth, the chronicles are silent.

(b) There are a thousand blunders in the introductory note to the play of Macbeth, in Steevens's edition of Shakspeare, 1793. (1.) Crinan, who married the daughter of Malcolm II., was not thane of the isles; nor of the western parts of Scotland. Crinan was, in fact, abbot of Dunkeld; and there were no thanes, in Scotland, during that age. (2.) Malcolm's second daughter married *Sinel*; the thane of Glamis, the father of Macbeth: Now, the name was not Sinel, but Finley; and he was not thane of Glamis, but maormor, or prince, of Ross. (3.) Duncan married the *daughter* of Siward; but, it was the *sister* of Siward, whom Duncan married. (4.) Duncan was murdered by his *cousin-german*, Macbeth, in the castle of Inverness, in 1040, or 1045: But, Macbeth may have been a relation, though not a cousin-german; Duncan was in fact,

tory, which had no foundation in fact. There was not, in the reign of Duncan, any revolt in the western isles : For, the Hebrides then belonged, not to Scotland, but to Norway : Neither is it probable, though it be possible, that Sweno, the king of Norway, landed any army, in Fife, during that reign ; as he appears to have been much otherwise occupied ; and to have died, in 1035 (*c*). Other subordinate circumstances are egregiously misconceived. Cumberland is said to have been then held by Scotland of the crown of England *as a fief* (*d*). But, we have already seen the real tenure, by which Cumberland was connected with Scotland, while *fiefs* were unknown, in this island. The crown of Scotland is said to have been originally not hereditary (*e*) : The whole history evinces, that the descent of the crown was hereditary, in the royal family, though not in any determinate series, while the right of representation was unknown, and the brother, the cousin, or the son, of the preceding king, who was best qualified to wield his sceptre, and who had the strongest party, succeeded to the vacant throne. The personages of the drama are egregiously misinterpreted. The filiation, and station of Macbeth ; the filiation, and connection of Lady Macbeth ; are strangely misconceived, as we have seen. History knows nothing of Banquo, the thane of Lochaber, nor of Fleance, his son (*f*). None of the ancient chronicles, nor Irish annals, nor even Fordun, recognize the fictitious names of Banquo, and Fleance, though the latter be made, by genealogists, the “ root and father of many kings.” Even the com-

fact murdered, at Bothgowanan, near Elgin, many a mile from Inverness ; and that sad event happened, in 1039, according to the genuine chronology. (5.) Macbeth was himself slain, in 1057, or 1061 : But, this event happened, in December 1056. There are, in this introduction, other hallucinations, which, as they do not belong to the history of this reign, need not be here rectified.

(*c*) Langebek's *Scriptores* : Lacombe's *Abr. Chron. de l'histoire du Nord*. v. i. p. 81.

(*d*) Shak. ed. 1793, v. vii. p. 368.

(*e*) Id.

(*f*) Even the very names of Banquo, and Fleance, seem to be fictitious ; as they are not Gaelic. The traditions, with regard to them, are extremely faint. There is, indeed, on the summit of one of the Sidlaw hills, about eight miles north-north-east from Dunsinan, an old tower of modern erection, which is called *Banquo* tower. Ainslie's *Map of Forfarshire*. The minister, however, who writes the account of the local antiquities of the parish, does not call this erection *Banquo's* tower. *Stat. Account*, v. iii. p. 403. The minister of Kilmalie parish, in Lochaber, speaks of Banquo being the ancestor of the house of *Stuart*, who had his castle on the river *Lochy*, near Fort William : “ And a little below the site of Torecastle, there is a most beautiful walk, about a “ quarter of a mile long, that still retains the name of *Banquo*.” *Stat. Account*, v. viii. p. 436. We know, from the evidence of record, that Banquo was not an ancestor of the family of Stewart : And, the other circumstances are modern, in their applications.

mentators trace up the family of Stewart to Fleance (g). Neither is a thane of Lochaber known, in Scottish history; because the Scottish kings had never any demesnes, within that impervious district. Cathness owed but a very doubtful allegiance to the Scottish kings, in that age: For, Torfin, the son of Sigurd, affected to be the independent earl of Cathness, during the whole reigns of Duncan, and of Macbeth. Such as were thanes, before the death of Macbeth, were now made *earls*, in the fictitious parliament, at Forfar, say the commentators, after Holinshed, but without authority, or analogy, or probability (h). Such, then, are the misconceptions of the commentators, as to the history, than the drama, of Macbeth.

Of the real fate of Lady Macbeth, history, tradition, and fable, are silent. Shakspeare, indeed, informs us, that “the fiend-like queen, by self and violent hands, took off her life, as ’tis thought.” Tradition, with remains, seem to evince, that a son of Macbeth fell, with his father, in the same engagement; and was favoured, with a similar memorial. The name of Macbeth was long popular in Scotland. The Scottish people saw, with indignant eyes, foreign mercenaries interpose, in their domestic affairs. Men of great consequence considered themselves as dignified, by the name of “this dead butcher.” Whatever asperity of reproach, the poet indulged, to gratify the populace of the theatre, the plenty of the reign of Macbeth, his justice, his vigour, his hospitality, were long remembered in Scotland (i). As a legislator, perhaps, he is entitled to less praise; as Macbeth’s laws, which are detailed by Boece, are obvious forgeries, though they be admitted into the *Concilia Britannicæ*.

Every object, which is in anywise connected with this famous character, is interesting. When we approach “high Dunsinan hill,” we tread on classic ground. Yet, this well-known fortress, on this pap-like height, has every appearance of having been constructed by the human hands of the ancient Britons, without the wizard aid of the weird sisters. It is similar to the pristine strengths,

(g) Shakspeare, 1793, vii. p. 473.

(h) Ib. p. 582.

(i) See the ancient Chronicles: Cormac, the son of Macbeth, is one of the witnesses to a confirmation, by Alexander I., and David I., of their brother Ethelred’s grant to the Culdees. Reg. of St. Andrews. Macbeth Mac-Torfin is a witness to a charter of David I., to the monastery of Dunfermlin. Maldowen Macbeth is a witness to a charter of the same king to the same monastery. Dalrymple’s Col. p. 388. There was a Macbeth, thane of Falkland, in the time of David I. Crawf. Off. of State, App. p. 431. Macbeth of Liberton was a person of great consideration, in Lothian, during David I.’s reign; and witnessed many of his charters. Macbeth was the bishop of Ross, in the time of David I. Keith’s Bishops, p. 109. There was a Macbeth *judex* of Gowry, in the reign of William, the Lion. Chart. Coupre, No. 14. In 1184 A.D. Simon, the son of Macbeth, was sheriff of Traquair, Chart. Newbotle, No. 30.

on Barra hill, to the Cater-thuns, and to several hill forts, in South-Britain. Dunsinan hill is one of the Sidlaw chain, and is separated from the neighbouring hills, by a deep valley, and is about eight miles north-east from Perth. It towers, in an oval form, to the height of a thousand and twenty-four feet, above the level of the sea. The summit was surrounded by a strong rampart of stones. It had the additional defence of a fosse and a ledge of rocks. The original height of the rampart is uncertain; as the part of it, which remains entire, is six feet high, and is covered with an immense mass of ruins, the height must have once been considerable. A road, which takes the hill, on the north-east, ascends in a slaunting direction, crosses the esplanade, and enters the rampart, and area, on the south-south-west. Another road, which was cut through the rock, went up from the Longman's grave, in a straight direction, and enters the centre of the esplanade. The interior area of the fortress, was of an oval form, two hundred and ten feet in length, and one hundred and thirty in breadth (*k*). When an inquisitive antiquary surveyed Dunsinan hill, in 1772, he was induced, by tradition, to suppose that, "a high rampart environed the whole, and defended *the castle*, itself large, "and well fortified (*l*)."
When the same height was afterwards inspected, by several ministers of the neighbouring parishes, the *high rampart*, and *well fortified castle*, were no longer visible. The weird sisters continue, it should seem, to hover around this enchanted seat of bloody usurpation. In the fair form of fond tradition, they displayed to the inquisitive eyes of the youthful antiquary towered embattlements, and a lofty castle: But, when the spell-dissolving ministers approached, the high rampart, and large castle itself, appeared to them, like the

(*k*) For various descriptions of this interesting fortress, see Stat. Account, v. i. p. 503; Ib. v. xx. p. 241—246, with a sketch annexed; View of the Agriculture of Perthshire, p. 509; Stobie's Map of Perthshire. A section was lately made across the top of the hill by Dr. Playfair; and flags, charcoal, and bones of several species of animals were discovered, but no appearance of any building. At the south extremity of the section, there was found a pit adjoining the rampart full of fat, and moist earth, loose stones, burnt wood, and bones of cattle, sheep, and hares, &c. but none of the human body. Having penetrated seven yards horizontally into the heart of the mass of stones and rubbish, which had composed the rampart, and surrounded the area, part of the wall of the rampart was discovered quite entire. It is nicely built of large stones bedded in clay, or mortar. The entire part of the wall is five or six feet high. Upon making incisions into other parts of the rampart, the wall was found, in the same good preservation, quite round the whole fortress; having been protected by the large mass of ruins over it, which was covered with a green sward. View of the Agriculture of Perthshire, p. 569.

(*l*) See the additional information, respecting the castle of Dunsinan, in the Stat. Account, v. xx. p. 243.

baseless

baseless fabric of a vision, in the shrunken shape of “a large mass of ruins, which was covered with a green sward.”

Tradition relates, that Macbeth resided ten years, after his usurpation, at Carnbeddie, in the neighbouring parish of St. Martin's. The vestiges of his castle are still to be seen, which the country people call Carn-beth, and Macbeth's Castle (*q*). The celebrated name of *Dunsinan* is said, to signify, in Gaelic, “the hill of ants;” with an allusion to the great labour, which was necessary for collecting the immense materials of so vast a building (*r*). Gaelic scholars, who delight to fetch from afar what may be found at home, approve of this etymon, as very apt. Yet, is it *Dun-seangain*, in the Irish, which would signify the *hill* of *ants*. *Dun-sinin* signifies, in the Scoto-Irish, a hill, resembling a *nipple*; and, in fact, this famous hill does appear, at some distance, to resemble what the Scoto-Irish word describes, with the usual attention of the Gaelic people to picturesque propriety, in their local names.

LULACH,

Immediately after the fall of Macbeth, ascended the throne, on the bloody steps of his predecessor; and was sometime supported there, by the powerful influence of their united families (*h*). Lulach was descended, from a long line of princes, who, as they ruled the ample country of Moray, were of great consequence. As they governed their tribe, with an independent sway, the

(*q*) Carnbeddie is about three and a half statute miles from Dunsinan hill. Stobie's Map. As Macbeth had a castle, which was his usual residence, it is not likely, that he would build another on Dunsinan-hill so near; he probably kept up the British fortress, on this hill, as a place of retreat on any emergency, from which it has got the name of Macbeth's Castle. The term *castle* is, in many instances, in Scotland, applied to camps, or fortifications, by entrenchment, and rampart only, and not exclusively to a strong *house*, or *tower*. Such are *Castle-dykes*, a Roman camp in Clydesdale, *Castle-over*, a British and Roman hill camp in Eskdale, *Castle-Cary*, a Roman post on the Wall of Antonine, *Tibber's-castle*, a Roman camp near Durisdeer; and several British fortifications are called *Maiden-castle*. In the same manner, the British fortress on Barra-hill got the name of Cummins Camp, from the army of the Cummins taking shelter in it, after their defeat, at Inverury. No *well* appears to have been discovered upon Dunsinan hill, which would be an indispensable requisite to any castle for a constant residence.

(*r*) Stat. Acco. v. xx. p. 243.

(*h*) Luailleach, in Gaelic, is a *mimic*, a person full of gestures. Lluyd's Arch. and O'Brien. *Fatuus*, which was applied, as an epithet to Lulach, may have been intended, sarcastically, as the Latin translation of the Gaelic *Luailleach*, which was easily translated, by the ignorance of chroniclers, into the *sobroquet* of *idiot*.

Maormors

Maormors of Moray, were often opposed, in civil conflict, to the Scottish kings. Of such insurrections, the first, which distinctly appears, was that of Cellach against Malcolm, who died in 953 (*i*). The men of Moray revenged the slaughter of their chief. They advanced southward, and meeting Malcolm, in the Merns, they slew him, as we have seen, at Fetteresso (*k*). Duff, attempting, perhaps, to avenge the death of his father, was himself slain by the same people, at the ill-omened *Fores*, in 965 (*l*). At the end of this century, Maolbrigid, the prince, or Maormor of Moray, had the difficult task of defending his country against the Norwegian vikings (*m*). And, in this afflictive warfare, he defeated, and slew Liot, an Earl of Orkney (*n*). Maolbrigid was succeeded by his son Gilcomgain, in the arduous government of Moray (*o*). Gilcomgain married Gruoch, the daughter of Bodhe, the son of Kenneth IV (*p*). Engaged in civil war with Malcolm II, Gilcomgain lost his life, as we have seen, in 1032, when he left his widow Gruoch, and his son Lulach, to find their own protectors amid such bloody scenes. Soon after the demise of Malcolm II, Macbeth, the neighbouring Maormor of Ross, married the Lady Gruoch; and thereby became the father-in-law of Lulach, and the guardian of his own wife, and the defender of Moray. The Maormors of that age, when they rebelled, could only forfeit for themselves: the clans possessed privileges, which pre-

(*i*) The Chron. No. 3, in Innes, states, that Malcolm marched his army into Morev; and slew Cellach.

(*k*) See the Chron. No. 5, in Innes; and it is followed by Fordun, lib. iv. c. xxvii; Wyntown, v. i. p. 179; Sir J. Dalrymple's Col. p. 99; and the Inquiry, 1789, v. i. p. 596. The Chron. No. 3, in Innes, indeed, says, that Malcolm was slain at Fetteresso by the men of *Merns*: but, the Chronicon Elegiacum concurs with probability, and the Register of St. Andrews, in saying, that Malcolm was killed by the *Moraymen* at *Uluin*.

(*l*) Chron. No. 5, in Innes; Chron. Elegiacum; and Fordun, lib. iv. c. 28.

(*m*) Torfæus Orcades, p. 25. Maolbrigid, whom he mistakingly calls *Comes Magbragdus*, is mentioned by that historian, as carrying on hostilities with the Norwegians, who were settled, at the end of the tenth century, in the Orkneys, Cathness, and Sutherland.

(*n*) Id.

(*o*) The Ulster Annals, under the year 1032, expressly, state Gilcomgain to be the son of Maolbrigid.

(*p*) The Ulster Annals, under the year 1033, show, that Boedhe was the son of Kenneth IV. It is ascertained, by documents, in the Reg: of St. Andrews, that Gruoch was the daughter of Bodhe; and, consequently, was the grand-daughter of Kenneth IV. Crawford's Officers of State, p. 429. The Chron. No. 4, in Innes, states, that Lulach was "*nepos filij Boidhe*," the grandson of Bodhe; the father being confounded with the son, by prefixing the Gaelic *Mac* to his name. The Ulster Annals assert, under the year 1058, that Lulach was the son of Gilcomgain. Buchanan, lib. vii. c. xv. calls Lulach *the son of Macbeth*, and so says O'Flaherty, in the Ogygia, p. 498: yet, was Lulach only the *son-in-law* of Macbeth, who married Gruoch, his mother.

cluded

cluded the king, from appointing a Maormor for them, without their own consent: hence, the clans were ever forward to revenge the death of their Maormor, and to protect the rights of his issue. And, from this genuine history, originated the celebrated fables, which were repeated by Boece, repeated by Holinshed, dignified by Buchanan, and dramatized by Shakespeare (*q*).

Lulach was thus the great-grandson of Kenneth IV, who fell at the battle of Monievard, in 1003: as Kenneth IV. was descended from Duff, the eldest son of Malcolm I, the son of Donald IV; and through Constantin II, derived his blood immediately from Kenneth MacAlpin; the title of Lulach to the sceptre, and the sword, of his fathers, was perhaps preferable, in the legal usages of that Gaelic age, to the pretensions of Malcolm Ceanmore, who was descended from Kenneth III, the second son of Malcolm (*r*). Lulach was the son of Gruoch, the grand-daughter of Kenneth IV. Malcolm was the son of Beatrice, the daughter of Malcolm II. Lulach, as his father perished, in 1032, must have been a youth of five or six-and-twenty, when he succeeded Macbeth, on the 5th of December 1056. The short reign of Lulach extended only throughout a few months of feverish struggle. His antagonist was enterprising in himself, and was supported by strangers. The competitors for the bloody sceptre met in a decisive conflict, at Essie, in Strathbogie, where Lulach fell before the fortune of Malcolm, on the 3d of April 1057 (*s*). Lulach was buried, with Macbeth, in Iona, the accustomed repository of the Scottish kings. He left a daughter, to weep his fall, and to transmit his rights, with his wrongs.

MALCOLM

(*q*) From those several traits of real history arose the singular story, which so many poets had considered, as fitter for the drama, than for history; that the thane of Moray was forfeited; and that Macbeth was appointed thane. The rebellion of Gilcomgain was obviously the origin of what is said of "that most disloyal traitor, the thane of Cawdor," who was condemned, and his title given to Macbeth: and hence, Moray, in its largest extent, is made the scene of the several events, in the drama of Macbeth, till the thane of so many districts acquired the crown. The heath, where he met the weird sisters, lies between Forres, and Nairn. The first witch hailed him thane of Glamis; Boece: of Angus; Buchanan. The second witch hailed him thane of Cawdor; Boece: of Murave; Buchanan. The titles of Glamis, and Cawdor, were borrowed by Boece from thanedoms of more recent origin; the former, in Angus; the latter, in Moray. Duncan, too, was killed, at Inverness, according to the drama; near Elgin, according to the chronicles.

(*r*) See the *Genealogical Table*; facing p. 416.

(*s*) Chron. No. 4, in Innes. The Chron. No. 5, in Innes, says, that Lulach, *fatuus*, was, at the end of four months, slain at Essie, in Strathbogie. The Chron. Rythmicum extends his reign to four months, and a half. Essie is the name of a parish, which has been annexed to Rhynie, in Aberdeenshire. Tigernach, in Ogygia, p. 498, says, that Lulach was slain by Malcolm. The Ulster Annals,

EDWARD, was slain
with his father,
near Alnwick.

ETHELRED became
Abbot of Dun-
keld.

EDMUND d
out issue.

MATILDA married
Henry I, king of
ENGLAND.

MARY married Eu-
stace, the Count
of Boulogne.

Let a party of the British
and the other, Cuba, &c.

By the British, Cuba, &c.

By the British, Cuba, &c.

By the British, Cuba, &c.

By the British, Cuba, &c.

By the British, Cuba, &c.

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By the British, Cuba, &c.

By the British, Cuba, &c.

MALCOLM III,

at length, ascended the bloody throne, after a continued conflict of two years (*t*). The prudence of Malcolm was, for some years, successfully employed, in rewarding those, who had supported his struggle, and in calming the spirits of a harassed nation (*v*). He seems to have cultivated peace with England, during the reign of Edward the Confessor, while he was not firmly fixed in the affections of his Gaelic people (*u*). Malcolm made his first excursion into England, on very slight provocation; broke the peace of St. Cuthbert; and wasted Northumberland (*w*). In 1066, Tostig, the brother of Harold, being obliged to flee from Stanford-bridge, found his safety with Malcolm (*x*). In 1068, he gave an asylum to Edgar Ætheling, who feared the cruelty of William, the Norman, with his sister, Margaret, whom Malcolm, soon after

Annals, mistaking the year 1058, for 1057, state, that Lulach Mac-Gilcomgain, the *archking* of Scotland, was killed by Malcolm Mac-Duncha, in battle: Lord Hailes, copying Fordun, lib. v. c. viii. says, that Lulach was killed, on the 3d of April 1057. An. v. i. p. 3. And, this is altogether consistent with the genuine chronology. See the Chron. Table.

(*t*) Fruitless inquiries have been made about the age of Malcolm Ceanmore. He was much under age, at the death of his father, in 1039: the marriage of Bethoc, the eldest daughter of Malcolm II, to Crinan, the abbot of Dunkeld, could not have been earlier, than the beginning of the 11th century, when Crinan was very little more than 20 years of age; for, in 1045-6, he was still, in sufficient vigour of life, to go into battle, where he fell, in attempting to avenge the murder of his son, Duncan: allowing, then, that Duncan, the son of this marriage, married soon after 20 years of age, his oldest son, Malcolm, could not have been more than 15 years of age, if he were really so much, at the death of his father, in 1039: if he were then fifteen, he must have been born, in 1024, in the 21st year of his grandfather, while his father governed Cumberland, as *regulus*, or *king*, according to the expression of the English chroniclers; and, Malcolm Ceanmore was, consequently, thirty-three, at his accession; about forty-four, when he married the princess Margaret; and about sixty-nine, at the epoch of his demise, in 1093. From this inquiry into the age of Malcolm III, and his father Duncan, we may see the absurdity of the notion, that Malcolm was not the son, but the grandson, of Duncan. Enquiry, 1789, v. ii. p. 203.

(*v*) Of his bounty to MacDuff, there is no direct evidence. It seems certain, however, that in very early times, the Maormors, or Earls of Fife, were entitled, (1.) to place the king on the inaugural stone; (2.) to lead the van of the king's army into battle: (3.) to enjoy the privilege of sanctuary to the clan MacDuff. Wyntown, v. i. p. 240-2; Sibbald's Fife, ch. ii; Douglas Peer. p. 274; Lord Hailes, Ans. v. i. p. 4: but, the calling of a parliament, at Forfar, is a mere modern fiction.

(*u*) The silence of the Saxon Chronicle, and of Florence, confirm the fact, which is mentioned in the text. He is said to have visited Edward, in 1059. Sim. Dun. p. 190.

(*w*) Id.

(*x*) Ib. 193.

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married.

married (y). He now engaged more intimately, in the troubles of England, without any apparent motive. And, in 1070, he marched through Cumberland into Teesdale; and putting to flight all, who opposed his progress, he carried his gory sword through Cleveland, and Durham (z). In his rage of devastation, he did not even spare the churches. Gospatric, who now ruled Northumberland, as Earl, emulated Malcolm, in the spoil, which he meanwhile made, in Cumberland. The Scottish king led so many captives with him into Scotland, that the English prisoners were, for many years, to be heard, in every village, and in every house (a).

The time was now at hand, when William, the Conqueror, was to revenge his wrongs on Malcolm. But, his policy was first directed to the calming of the disturbances in Northumberland. By making it a desert, he ensured its peace. Many of the Northumbrians sought their safety beyond the Tweed. In 1072, William invaded Scotland by sea, and land, with design, perhaps, to chastise, rather than subdue, a valorous people, in a barren land. Malcolm advanced to obstruct his progress. The two kings met, in conference, at Abernithi, the mouth of the Nith, in Dumfries-shire (b). Malcolm agreed to do homage for the territories, which he held in England, and gave his son Duncan, as a hostage (c). On that occasion, it probably was, that William deprived Malcolm of Cumberland, which the English king transferred to Ralph Meschines, to be held by the tenure of the sword (d). Edgar Ætheling was probably included, in that treaty; as he left Scotland, in the subsequent year; returned to England; and thence, going into Normandy, made his peace with William (e).

During seven years, both the kings appear to have kept their engagements; and the two kingdoms enjoyed a repose, which was equally beneficial to both. Malcolm, however, still recollected, that he had lost something, either of ter-

(y) Flor. Wig. p. 432; Sim. Dun. p. 194-9.

(z) Sim. Dun. p. 200-1.

(a) Simeon, p. 201-2. Bromton's Chronicle.

(b) There have been some doubts entertained about the place, where this famous conference was held. Lord Hailes An. p. 13. But Florence, p. 438, is positive, that the name of the place was Abernithi. Simeon, p. 203, calls the place of meeting Abernithi: this, then, was obviously the mouth of the *Nith*, in Dumfries; as we know many of the names of places, in that shire, remain in their *British* form to this day. These circumstances evince, that the invasion of William, both by land, and sea, was made along the western coast.

(c) Id. Sax. Chron. p. 181, which says, however, that William led his army to the *Ge-waede*; *ad Tawedam*, says Gibson.

(d) Camden's Britannia; Dugdale's Monast. v. i. p. 400.

(e) Flor. Wig. p. 439.

ritory, or character, in his late transaction with William; and, while the English king was engaged abroad, in civil war, with his son Robert, the king of Scots, during the year 1079, carried his devastations into Northumberland, as far as the Tine (*f*): many he killed, says Florence, more he captivated, and with much plunder, returned (*g*). As Robert was now reconciled to his offended father, he was entrusted with the command of the army, which was sent, in 1080 A.D., to chastise Scotland. But, as Malcolm remained behind the Forth, Robert could only march over barren moors to *Egglesbrech*, without effecting any exploit, which could do honour to his character, amidst cold, and want (*b*). During his inglorious return, he built, on the coaly Tine, a new Castle, which has since given a celebrated name to a commercial emporium (*i*).

*A Falkirk may
Marphyon.*

William, the Conqueror, died on the 9th of September 1087; and was succeeded by his second son, William Rufus. Malcolm was little gratified, by the attentions of the new king, while the English sovereign withheld from him Cumberland, his ancient possession, with some lands, that Malcolm perhaps inherited from his father. Exasperated by other mortifications, the Scottish king entered England, in May 1091, during the absence of William, in Normandy: but, learning, when he had penetrated to Chester-in-the-street, that an army was marching to oppose his advance, Malcolm thought it prudent to retire, without risking a battle. In retaliation, the king of England prepared a mighty armament, to invade Scotland, by land, and sea. The English fleet was dispersed by an autumnal storm, and many of the English cavalry perished from want, and cold: yet, William marched forward to encounter his antagonist. Malcolm, willing to meet his opponent, crossed the Forth into Lothian. But, Robert, the Duke of Normandy, and Edgar Ætheling, who then lived with Malcolm, negotiated a peace between the hostile kings, which rather prevented action, than promoted reconciliation. Malcolm promised the same duty, which he had yielded to the conqueror: William engaged to restore

(*f*) Sax. Chron. p. 184; Sim. Dun. p. 210.

(*g*) Flor. Wig. 443; Sim. Dun. p. 210.

(*b*) Sim. Dun. p. 211: Lord Hailes thought, he could ascertain the position of *Egglesbrech*: and, he accordingly placed it, at Bride-kirk, near Annan. 1 Anl. p. 19. The name of the place has been variously spelt by chroniclers, as he studiously shows. The true spelling is *Eglesbrec*, the old name of *Falkirk*. If Robert had penetrated to *Annan*, he must have entered Scotland, from Cumberland, on the west: but, as his irruption was bounded by *Falkirk*, he must have come down to this well-known town, the scene of so many conflicts, through Northumberland, whither he certainly returned.

(*i*) Sax. Chron. p. 184; Sim. Dun. p. 210; Fordun, lib. v. c. xvii.

to the Scottish king, twelve manors, which Duncan had held in England; and to pay twelve marks of gold, annually to Malcolm (*k*). Yet, the peace did not continue long, between these angry potentates. William fortified Carlisle, in the subsequent year. Malcolm resented this distrustful measure. A personal interview was promoted by those, who had an interest, in preserving peace. Malcolm met William, at Gloucester, in August 1093: but, this interview ended unhappily; as the demand of homage was as captiously proposed, as it was cautiously avoided. William was advised to detain the Scottish king: but, disregarding suggestions, which would only have dishonoured himself, he allowed Malcolm to depart, attended with circumstances of contempt for his power (*l*).

The Scottish king, resenting this contumely, hastened to raise an army, with which he entered Northumberland. He attacked the castle of Alnwick: but, he was surprized by Earl Moubay, and slain, on the 13th of November 1093. His eldest son, Edward, shared his misfortune. And Margaret, his wife, who had brought him six sons, and two daughters, was so affected, when she heard of those sad events, that she only lived to perform those religious duties, which, throughout a life of goodness, she had been studious to pay (*m*).

Such are the principal events of the long reign of Malcolm Ceanmore! But, it is supposed by historians, and by lawyers, that Malcolm performed much greater feats, than his predatory inroads into England: that he introduced surnames among his Gaelic people; that he created new titles of honour, by substituting *earls* for thanes; that he introduced the feudal law among uncongenial tribes; that he held parliaments, without estates (*n*). There are, however, a thousand reasons, which we shall consider, in our progress, for rejecting those speculative points, as the most egregious fictions. Malcolm III. had neither authority from law, nor influence from character, which could have enabled him to make such innovations, among such a people: there is no evidence, that he made any innovations: but, there is the strongest proofs, that the Gaelic inhabitants would neither receive any strange people, nor admit any novel practices. Malcolm may be allowed to have been a vigorous character; to have been a prince, without learning; a soldier, without conduct; and a

(*k*) Sax. Chron. p. 198; Florence Wig. p. 457; Sim. Dun. p. 216; Fordun, lib. v. ch. xix. who quotes William of Malmsbury, his usual authority.

(*l*) Sax. Chron. p. 189, 190; Flor. Wig. p. 459; W. Malmsbury, p. 122.

(*m*) Sax. Chron. 189; Flor. Wig. 459; Sim. Dun. 218; Fordun, lib. v. c. xx-i.

(*n*) Boece, lib. xii; Lord Kaimes's Essay on British Antiquities; Lord Hailes An. v. i. p. 26-7; Enquiry 1789.

statesman, without policy : that he should have been able to maintain his independence, and the rights of his people, in opposition to two such antagonists, as William, the Conqueror, and William Rufus, is a strong proof of his magnanimous perseverance : yet, must it be remembered that, amid his struggles, either of ambition, or resentment, he lost that part of Cumbria, which lay to the southward of the Solway : a weaker prince would have lost his crown, considering its unstableness ; and his country, allowing for its wildness.

The length of the reign of Malcolm ; the day of his death ; and even his filiation, are disputed (*a*). During the reign of Malcolm, the Gaelic bard finished his poem : “ *Malcolm a nosa asrigh :*” Malcolm *now is king :*” “ *Mac-Donnchaidh datha drechbhi :*” Mac-Duncan, the *Jolly :* “ *Mac-Donnchaidh dreachruire :*” Duncan’s son, the celebrated figure. And thus, the contemporary bard applied to Malcolm III. two epithets, the one implying, that he had a handsome person, and the other, that he had a cheerful mind. He is better known to history, as Malcolm *Ceanmore*, or *great head*.

Every point in the history of Scotland, which is obscure, difficult, and unintelligible, has been referred by historians, and lawyers, genealogists, and antiquaries, to the reign of Malcolm-Ceanmore, for its origin ; because this period was heretofore in itself sufficiently dark ; and its darkness equally concealed both truth, and falsehood. So much has been done, for illustrating the obscurities of this reign, that it cannot hereafter be the refuge of ignorance, the

(*a*) See the Chronological Table ; Sax. Chron. p. 199 ; Flor. Wig. p. 459 ; Sim. Dun. p. 218 ; and Fordun, l. v. c. xxv. ; all concur, in saying, that Malcolm was slain, on the day of St. Bricius : So, Lord Hailes was right, in fixing it, on the 13th of November. Annals, v. i. p. 24. And, consequently, the Enquirer, 1789, v. ii. p. 203, was wrong, in placing the same event, on the 6th of June 1093. This last writer has a peculiar conceit about the filiation of Malcolm, which is, that he was not the *son*, but the *grandson* of the *gracious Duncan*. But, for this notion, there is not the smallest foundation, in any chronicle, or the slightest tradition of any age ; and we have already seen, from an inquiry, into the age of these two kings, that it was not possible, in the course of nature, that Malcolm III. could be the grandson of Duncan. Florence, p. 416, indeed, calls Malcolm regis Cumbriorum filium ; as the same Florence has equally spoken of Malcolmus, rex Cumbriorum, in 973. Flor. Wig. p. 359. But, for those times, this was a very slight inaccuracy ; as Duncan was certainly *regulus* of Cumberland, who married Siward’s *sister*, with whom he received, as her marriage portion, twelve manors. These manors, which Malcolm enjoyed from his father, Duncan, had been seized by William, the Conqueror, were returned by his son, at the peace of 1091, to Malcolm. Flor. Wig. p. 457 ; Sim. Dun. p. 215. The Enquirer, 1789, v. ii. p. 234, only mistook the Gaelic bard, when he supposed, that the Duan had given two different epithets to Duncan ; so as to imply, that Duncan, the father of Malcolm III., was not Duncan, the king of Scotland. Malcolm was probably born about the year 1024, as we have seen, and was near seventy, when he fell under Alnwick castle.

shelter of self-sufficiency, or the reproach of system. Yet, are we still confidently told, that Malcolm III. married, for his first wife, Ingibiorg, the widow of Torfin, the earl of Cathness, by whom he had a son, Duncan, who succeeded him in the throne (*b*). But, Torfin, the son of Sigurd, by a daughter of Malcolm II., was born in 1009 A.D., and died, about the year 1074, aged sixty-five (*c*). Now, it is certain, that Malcolm III. married the princess Margaret, in 1070. And, Duncan, the son of Malcolm, was given as a hostage to the English, as we have seen, in 1072 A.D., when he must have been fifteen years of Age; as he was soon after knighted, and obtained a command, in the English army: Duncan, therefore, must have been born, before the accession of his father to the throne, in 1057; and of course, could not be the son of Ingibiorg, who only became the widow of Torfin, in 1074. Yet, Malcolm may have married Duncan's mother, whose name may have been Ingibiorg, who may have been confounded with the widow of Torfin. Malcolm III. was probably thirty-three years of age, at his accession; and it is equally probable, that he may have been married before that period, considering how early princes married, in that age: He must have married of consequence, while he was an exile, in the north of England, and while he was yet unknown to fame: And, from this obscure marriage, may have sprung his eldest son, Duncan, who has generally been regarded, as a bastard (*d*).

Donal-bane, the brother of Malcolm III., assumed the difficult government of his brother, according to the ancient usage of the Scottish nation, while he must have been well advanced in life. At the demise of the late king, his children were all under age. A Gaelic people gratified their national hate, by

(*b*) Torfæus's *Orcades*, p. 65; *Orkneying Saga*, p. 99; Macpherson's *Note on Wyntown*, v. ii. p. 472.

(*c*) Snorro. t. i. p. 352-3; Torfæus's *Orcades*, p. 33-65; *Orkneying Saga*, p. 5-87.

(*d*) William of Malmsbury was the first, who applied to Duncan the epithet, *Nothus*. p. 185. He was followed by Fordun, l. v. c. xxviii.; who has been copied by Boece, l. xii.; by Buchanan, l. vii.; and by Lord Hailes. *Annals*, v. i. p. 44. The ancient *Chronicles*, in Innes, No. iv. and v.; the *Chron. Elegiacum*; the *Irish Annals*; the *Saxon Chron.*; *Flor. Wig.* p. 462; *Sim. Dun.* p. 214-19; all speak of Duncan, as the son of Malcolm, without applying to him any debasing epithet. The *Saxon Chron.*, and *Florence*, indeed, mention Edward, who was slain with his father, as the eldest son of Malcolm III. In two charters of David I. to Dunfermlin, and in other grants, he calls Duncan, "frater meus." In the dubious charter of Duncan to St. Cuthbert, he calls himself, "Ego Duncanus filius regis Malcolumb constans hereditarie." And he gave the lands "pro anima patris mei, et pro fratribus mei, et pro uxore mea, et pro infantibus meis." Edgar, his successor, is one of the witnesses to this supposed charter: But, Duncan says nothing in it of *his mother*. *Diplom. Scotiæ*, pl. i.; *Smith's Bede*, p. 760; *Robertson's Index*, p. 152.

expelling

expelling the English, who had lived under the protection of Margaret, and Malcolm (*e*). Donal, however, did not long enjoy his good fortune, whatever may have been his pretensions, or his popularity.

DUNCAN,

The son of Malcolm, who first appeared as a hostage, in 1072, and who afterwards married Ethreda, the daughter of Gospatric, now served under William Rufus, as a military commander (*f*); and besought the king of England, for leave to invade Scotland (*g*). Duncan entered Scotland, with a numerous band of adventurers, English, and Normans, by whose assistance, he easily overturned the government of Donal; and assumed the sceptre, which his feeble hands were unable to support, without foreign aid. These events occurred, in May 1094 (*b*). Yet, such was the general indignation against foreigners, that the Scots obliged Duncan to engage, that he would not again introduce among them, either English, or French (*i*). And being unsupported, either by power, or by popularity, Duncan was assassinated by Maolpeder, the Maormor of the Merns, at the instigation of his uncle Donal, and his brother Edmund (*k*). Thus Duncan only enjoyed a feverish, and oppressive reign, of six months. Drawn into the Merns, on whatever occasion of business, or pleasure, Duncan was slain by Maolpeder, at Monachedin, on the banks of the Bervie (*l*). An upright stone still forms the unlettered memorial of

(*e*) Sax. Chron. p. 199; Flor. Wig. p. 460.

(*f*) Sim. Dun. p. 203—6—10; Dug. Monasticum, v. i. p. 400; Crawford's Peerage, p. 309; Douglas Peerage, p. 438.

(*g*) Sax. Chron. p. 199; Flor. Wig. p. 460; Sim. Dun. p. 219.

(*b*) Chron. in the Reg. of St. Andrew's; Chron. Rythm; Chron. Elegiacum; Lord Hailes's An. v. i. p. 45.

(*i*) Sax. Chron. p. 200; Flor. Wig. p. 463; Sim. Dun. p. 220.

(*k*) See the Chron. Table; Ulster Annals, sub an. 1094; the Chron. No. iv. in Innes's App.; the Chron. in the Register of St. Andrews; the Chron. Elegiacum; the Sax. Chron.; and the Chron. of Mailros; all concur in establishing, that Duncan was assassinated, in November 1094. By following Fordun, l. v. ch. xxviii.; by mistaking the Sax. Chron.; and by overlooking the ancient Chronicles, in Innes; Lord Hailes has erroneously placed that atrocious event, in Autumn 1095. Annals, v. i. p. 46. Florence also states, distinctly, the assassination of Duncan, in 1094.

(*l*) The Chron. in the Register of St. Andrews, in Innes, p. 803, says, that Duncan was slain by Malpeder Macloen, in *Monachedin*. The Chronicon Elegiacum concurs with it. Fordun, l. v. c. xxviii. repeats, that Duncan was slain by Malpeder, at *Monathechin*, alias *Monythyne*. This place is recognized, by several charters of the 13th and 14th centuries, as a barony, on the Bervie

of his odious end. Duncan left, by his wife Ethreda, a son, William, who flourished under David I., and was sometimes surnamed Fitz-Duncan. He married Alice, the daughter, and heiress of Robert de Romely, the lord of Skipton; and, by her, he had a son, who was popularly called the Boy of Egremont; and who died under age; and three daughters, who carried vast estates into three of the greatest families, in England (*m*).

DONAL-BANE,

on the assassination of Duncan, with circumstances, which sufficiently evince the savage manners of the age, and of the country, again seized the gory sceptre. Two years closed his career, in misery. At length, William Rufus, commiserating the family of Malcolm, or perhaps, fearing the irruptions of his northern neighbours, allowed Edgar Ætheling to assemble an army, for their relief. Edgar marched into Scotland; overcame Donal, who seems to have been surprized, and taken, after a sharp conflict, in September 1097 (*n*). The aged king was imprisoned; and being deprived of his eye-sight, according to the

Bervie river, in the Merns. William, the Lion, granted to the monastery of Arbroth one carucate of land, in *Monathen*, "super aquam de Bervie." Chart. Arbroth. Richard Frumit granted to the same monastery, "illa terra in territorio de *Monechethy*, propinquam aqua de Bervie." Ib. 127—129. David II. granted to Walter Pitcarne the barony of *Monethin*, in the shire of Kincardine. Robertson's Index, p. 35—86. By a *retour*, which is dated, in 1560, it appears, that the same family of Pitcarne possessed the same lands, by the name of *Mondynes*: The evidence, then, that those lands, which are bounded on three sides by the Bervie water, are the same, amounts nearly to demonstration. See *Mondynes* on the river Bervie, in Garden's Map of Kincardineshire. Near the house of "Mondynes, in a field, there still remains a large, rude, upright stone, six or eight feet above the ground, but without any carving, or ornament." MS. Communication of Mr. Prof. Stuart of Aberdeen. Here, then, probability fixes the scene of the murder, and the stone of Duncan. Yet, Boece, Buchanan, and their followers, carry this event, with the scandal, resulting from it, into Monteith.

(*m*) Dugdale's Monast. p. 400; Dugdale's Bar. v. i. p. 89. William, the son of Duncan, succeeded, as the heir of Allan, the son of Waldeve, the son of Gospatric. Dug. Monast. v. i. p. 400. But, it is not true, as Dugdale intimates, that William Fitz-Duncan was earl of Mureve. His wife, even in her widowhood, always calls herself, in her charters, Alice de Romely. Dug. Monast. v. i. p. 400, &c. In 1187, there appeared, indeed, in the north of Scotland, Donal-bane, the son of William, and grandson of Duncan. Lord Hailes's Annals, v. i. p. 130, with his authorities. This Person pretended a title to the crown: He may have been the bastard son of William, the son of Duncan: He was probably an impostor.

(*n*) Saxon Chron. p. 206. See the Chron. Table; the Chron. No. v. in Innes, p. 803, which specially states the facts of the reign, and death, of Donal. The Chron. Rythmicum, and the Chron. Elegiacum, concur, generally, with the former.

odious

odious policy of a barbarous age, died at Roscobie, in Forfarshire. With him may be said to have ended the series of the Scoto-Irish kings (o).

(o) Donal-bane had a son, *Madach*, who was the first earl of Athol, during the reign of Alexander I. Madach married a daughter of Haco, the earl of Orkney, by whom he had a son Madach, who had a son Malcolm, who was earl of Athol, in the reign of king William: and Malcolm had a son, Henry, who died, in the reign of Alexander II., without male issue. Torfæus's *Orcades*, l. i. c. xxii.; *Orkneyinga Saga*, p. 176; *Chart. Scone*, No. i.; *Chart. Dunferm.*; Dalrymple's *Col.* p. 378, 388. In Torfæus, and in the *Orkneyinga Saga*, Donal is blunderingly called by the same name as his brother Malcolm, whom they call Melkolfr; and from this mistake, the editor of Wyntown was misled to suppose, that Duncan had a third son, named Melmare. Wyntown, v. ii. p. 470. Kennedy, in his *Account of the Stewarts*, p. 194, mentions, upon very slight authority, a third son of Duncan, named *Oberardus*, who, after the murder of his father, fled into Norway; and afterwards settled in Provence. John Cumyn, the lord of Badenach, during the great competition for the crown, claimed the succession, as heir of Donal-Bane, through the female line. The genealogy, which he gave in, on that occasion, is more likely to contain the true descendants of Donal-bane, than any loose intimations of ill-informed writers. *Rym. Foed. t. ii. p. 577.*

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Ecclesiastical History, during this Period.

AT the commencement of the Pictish Period, christianity had been introduced into North-Britain: But, we have seen, during that Period, neither the establishment of the church, nor the introduction of the Culdees, into that country, either from the east, or from the west. And, we must look for those interesting events, in some subsequent period of greater certainty, and more civilization. If we might believe the Life of Ninian, as the same has been collected, by the learned Usher, we ought to infer that, he ordained presbyters, consecrated bishops, and divided the whole land into certain *parishes* (a).

At the memorable epoch of the Union of the Picts with the Scots, the bishoprick of *Lindisfarne* extended far into Lothian (b). Long after the episcopate of Durham had succeeded to the church of *Lidisfarne*, Teviotdale continued a part of that extensive diocese (c). In Lothian, the religious houses of *Mailros*, of *Coldingham*, of *St. Balthar* at *Tynningham*, of *Pefferham*, and of *Abercorn*, had been long established (d). There is reason to believe, that as parishes had been laid out, in Northumberland, prior to the age of Bede, those ecclesiastical

(a) *Primordia*, p. 668. But, whatever there may be, in this loose assertion, certain it is, that the term *Parochia* signified, in early times, a much larger ecclesiastical district, than a modern parish. The provinces of bishops, among the Britons, were denominated *Parochia*, according to *Gildas*. And even *Cowel* informs us that, *Parochia* anciently signified the diocese of a bishop. *Law Dict.* in vo. Parish. And see *Kennet's Glossary* to his *Par. Antiquities* in vo. *Parochia*, where the same ground is taken.

(b) *Smith's Bede*, l. iv. cap. xxvi. App. No. ii.; *Simeon of Durham*, col. 69.—139: *Ecgrid*, the bishop of *Lindisfarne*, who died, in A. D. 845, built the two villages of *Geddesworde*, and *Geinforde*, in *Roxburghshire*, with the churches thereof, which he gave to the bishoprick, with other towns. *Anglia Sacra*, vol. i. p. 698.

(c) *Ib.* p. 708.

(d) *Simeon of Durham*, p. 69; *Hoveden*, p. 418.

districts must have been equally settled, in Lothian, during the subsequent century (*e*); since churches were built, and priests were appointed, for administering the accustomed rites of the christian dispensation (*f*).

In Galloway, the bishoprick of Whithern had fallen, amidst the distractions of revolution, in Northumberland, soon after the ninth century commenced. There seems to have been an early connection, between the Galloway Irish, and the monks of Iona, as might easily be expected. And the Galloway-men derived the benefits of instruction from the religious teachers of that learned establishment. This monastery certainly acquired the patronage of various churches, which were built, in this Gaelic country, during a rude, but religious age. After the dissolution of Iona, amid the savageness of the vikingr reign, William, the Lion, granted to the monks of Holyrood, the churches, and chapels, in Galloway, that had belonged to Icolmkill (*g*). In Cumbria, throughout its whole extent, the episcopate of Kentigern seems to have existed, in the fond recollection of the Cumbrians, long after the founder, and *many of his successors*, had perished, amid the irruptions of paganism, and the savageness of anarchy. In the mean time, many churches were dedicated to Kentigern, and numerous lands were appropriated, by the piety of the *Cumbrenses*, to the service of religion, throughout the Cumbrian provinces; as we may perceive, by retrospect, at the dawn of record (*b*). The *Inquisitio* attests, that many churches, with their appropriate districts, existed within the episcopate of Kentigern, during the Scotch period.

In the United Kingdom, beyond the friths, there remained, at the epoch of the Union, in 843 A. D., various cells, which had been settled, in early times, by Columbans; and still continued the abundant fountains, whence flowed religious instruction to a confiding people. One of the first acts of the reign of Kenneth was to show his respect, for the memory of that Apostle of the Scots, and Picts, by building a church, wherein the reliques of the Saint were deposited,

(*e*) See Whitaker's *Manchester*, v. ii. p. 369.

(*f*) *Anglia Sacra*, v. i. p. 698.

(*g*) Sir Ja. Dalrymple's *Coll.* p. 271.

(*b*) See the curious *Inquisitio Davidis*. [In the *Chart. Glasguen*: And Dalrymple's *Collections*, App. No. 1; and in Gibson's *Hist. Glasgow*.] The churches, which are enumerated by the *Inquisitio*, lay in Strathclyde, Annandale, Nithsdale, Teviotdale, Tweedale, in Galloway, and in the north-east of Cumberland. There are, indeed, in Cumberland, several churches, which were dedicated to St. Mungo, or Kentigern, as the founder of the Cumbrian episcopate. Hutchinson's *Cumberland*, vol. ii. p. 518. There were many other churches dedicated to St. Mungo, throughout every district of North-Britain.

in A. D. 849 (*i*). The site of this sacred depository has not yet been fixed by antiquaries. Yet, was it, at Dunkeld, where Kenneth built the church, which he dedicated to Columba (*k*). Thus, Dunkeld, and its church, became sacred to Columba, who equally became the patron saint of both. A religious house was here built, upon the same system, as the original establishment, at Iona. In it, a bishop resided; over it, an abbot ruled: And this seems to have been the ecclesiastical plan of almost all the religious establishments, in North-Britain, during the Scottish period. From the epoch of 848, the church of Dunkeld appears to have formed the primacy of Scotland, for several ages, till it was supplanted, in its turn, by St. Andrews. The abbots of Dunkeld were persons, as we have seen, of the first consequence (*l*). The first bishop of

(*i*) Chron. in Innes's App. No. 3; Smith's Life of Columba, p. 152: But, Iona was not held sacred by the Danish pirates, who had not yet felt the influence of christianity. The Ulster Annals are filled with their devastations on the isle, which was revered, in Ireland, in Scotland, and in Northumberland. And, the reliques of Columba were no longer safe at Iona, which seems to have been the marked object of the viking's rapacity. See the Ulster Annals, under the year 848, where Jurastach, the abbot of Iona, is said to have brought Columcill's *oaths*, or *sanctified things*, into Ireland, which is mistakingly put for Scotland, into which they were brought, at this epoch.

(*k*) St. Columba's day has long been revered, and must for ever be remembered, at Dunkeld, as the patron saint of the place, as well as of its cathedral. James IV. granted two charters to the bishop and Church of Dunkeld; confirming sundry privileges to the town of Dunkeld; and granting an yearly fair, at this place, on the day, after St. Columba's day. MS Charters to the Religious Houses, p. 59, 60. The annual court of the Chapmen Society, which was established by the charter of James V., is held, at this fair, on the day after St. Columba's festival. Stat. Acco. v. xx. p. 433. One of James's charters runs: "Pro specialem devotionem, quam habemus gloriosissima confessore *Sancto Columbo* dictæ civitates patrono." The other runs: "Pro singulare devotione quam gerimus erga sanctum reverendum in Christo confessorem S. Columbam *ecclesia cathedralis Dunkelden patronum*." As Columba died, on the 9th of June, this day has heretofore been celebrated, especially in Ireland; as a breviary of that country attests. Porter's Flowers of the Saints, p. 564; Keith, p. 232.

(*l*) The Ulster Annals, under the year 865, state the death of Tuathal Mac-Fergus, the *archbishop* of Fortren, and abbot of Dunkeld. The annalist, merely, means to speak of the *primate*, by the florid expression of *archbishop*. Under the year 872, the same annals state the death of Flavertach Mac-Murtach, the *primate* of Dunkeld. The foregoing notices evince, in opposition to the claims of the Register of St. Andrews, that Dunkeld long held the primacy of the United Kingdom. Duncha, the abbot of Dunkeld, was slain, at the battle of Duncrub, in attempting to dethrone Duff. Chron. No. 3, in Innes. And the Ulster Annals, under the year 964, assert, that Crinan, the abbot of Dunkeld, married Bethoc, the daughter of Malcolm II.: and fell, in battle, during the year 1045, in a gallant attempt, to restore her grandson to the throne. Ethelred, the son of Malcolm III., was abbot of Dunkeld. Crawford's Officers of State, p. 430.

Dunkeld,

Dunkeld, who came out conspicuously, on the stage of life, was Cormac, who appears under Alexander I. (*m*). Yet, is it certain, that there were bishops, at Dunkeld, before the early age of Cormac.

If we might credit the legend, there was founded by Hungus, the Pictish king, who died, in 833 A.D., a religious house, at Mucros, Kil-rymond, or Kil-rule, the church of Regulus, who brought the reliques of St. Andrew to the promontory of Swine (*n*). If we might believe tradition, we ought to regard Kenneth, the conqueror of the Picts, as the founder of the see of St. Andrews. Yet, is there reason to believe, that this diocese was founded, during the rule of Grig, who ceased to reign, in 893 (*o*). The bishops, whose names, and whose festivals, the zeal of Innes has collected, seem to have existed, in some prior reigns (*p*). But, Kellach, who was the first bishop of any determinate see, performed his episcopal functions, at the demise of Grig: He continued to discharge those duties, under Donal IV., and Constantin III.; and, in 909 A.D., he held an ecclesiastical council, on the *Mote-bill* of Scone, where Constantin, and Kellach, swore to maintain the faith, and discipline of the Scotican church (*q*). Kellach was succeeded by Fothad, who was expelled, by Indulf,

(*m*) Cormac, the bishop of Dunkeld, was a witness to the charter of Scone, in 1115; and he witnessed another charter, of the same king, to the same monastery: Cormac is also a witness to two charters of David I. to the monastery of Dunfermlin. Pref. to Keith's Bishops, p. ix.; Chart. of Scone; Sir J. Dalrymple's Col. p. 373; MS. Charters in my library.

(*n*) See the Legend, in the Register of St. Andrews. Mucros appears to have been the ancient name of the promontory, whereon was founded the city of St. Andrews. The origin of the name of Mucros is doubtful: *Mug-ros* means the *holy* promontory; *Much-ros* signifies the promontory of *smoke*; *Muc-ross* denotes the *swine's* promontory: In fact, a large district, which lies around St. Andrews, is still known, by the name of the *Boar-chase*; a considerable village, and adjacent lands, in the parish, are called the *Boar-hills*; and the arms of the city are a *Boar*, leaning on a tree. *Kil-ri-monadh*, in the Gaelic, signifies the cell, or church, on the King's moor. *Kil-rule*, in this language, signifies, the cell, or church, of St. Rule, or Regulus. The Gaelic people of North-Britain apply the name of *Kil-rule* to the town of St. Andrews, even in the present times.

(*o*) The Register of St. Andrews, which is obviously partial to Grig, says: "Et hic primus dedit libertatem ecclesie Scotticanæ quæ sub servitute erat usque ad illud tempus ex constitutione [consuetudine] et more Pictorum." Innes, App. No. 5, p. 801. The Chronicon Elegiacum, copying the Register of St. Andrews, also states, under Grig: "Qui dedit ecclesie libertatis Scotticanæ, qui sub Pictorum lege redacta fuit." These intimations seem to attest, that Grig either formed a church establishment, at St. Andrews, or granted some privileges to the Scotican church.

(*p*) See before, Book II. Ch. V.

(*q*) Chron. No. 3, in Innes, p. 785, and also p. 558; and the same Chronicon, in the Enquiry, 1789, v. i. p. 493; wherein this curious passage is more fully stated, than in Innes.

in 953, and died under Duff, in 962 (*r*). After Fothad, followed a succession of bishops, in the see of St. Andrews, till the commencement of the Scoto-Saxon period introduced a new system of ecclesiastical affairs (*s*). There was a religious house at St. Andrews, as well as an episcopal seat. Like other monasteries, that establishment formed originally the residence of the bishop (*t*). It was to this house, that Constantin III. retired, when, fatigued with the infirmities of age, and the savageness of the times, he resigned his sceptre to Malcolm I., during the year 944; and assumed the staff: Here, the aged king acted as abbot of the Culdees; and, at the end of five years, finished his joyless career, in this dreary pile (*u*).

At Brechin, also, there was a religious house, which, according to the custom of the age, and of the country, equally formed the seat of a bishop. It owed its establishment to the piety, or contrition, of Kenneth III. (*x*). This monastery was filled with culdees, who were ruled by an abbot. And, in the progress of ecclesiastical establishments, Brechin formed the see of a bishop, long before the end of the Scottish period (*y*).

At Dumblane, there was also a religious house, which was, early, in this period, settled with the usual establishment of culdees; and formed into the seat of a bishop, according to the accustomed practice (*z*).

(*r*) Chron. No. 3, in Innes, p. 787.

(*s*) Fothad was succeeded by Malisius, who died, in 970 A.D., the last year of Culen. Ib. p. 788. Malisius was succeeded by Kellach II., the son of Ferdulaig, in 971; and after he had governed the see five-and-twenty years, died under Kenneth V., in 996. Id. Kellach was succeeded, first by Malisius; and afterwards by Malmerius, who died, in 1031 A.D. Alwin, who succeeded, ruled this see, during troublous times; and died, in 1061. Tuthal, who followed him, died in 1065. He was succeeded by Fothald, who died, at the same time with Malcolm-Ceanmore, in 1093. The Ulster Annals state, under this year, 1093, the death of Fothad, the *archbishop* of Scotland. After him were, successively, elected, though not consecrated, Gregory, Cathar, and Godric, between the years 1093, and 1107, when the celebrated Turgot became bishop of St. Andrews. Ruddiman's Introduction to Anderson's Dipl. p. 16—19.

(*t*) Under the year 872, the Ulster Annals state the death of "Bishop Colman, the abbot of St. Andrews."

(*u*) The Chron. No. 3, in Innes, p. 786, says, he outlived his abdication *ten* years: The Chron. in the Register of St. Andrews, says, that Constantin, at the end of *five* years, died, and was here buried. And, with this, concur the Chronicon Elegiacum, and Usher's Prim. p. 59.

(*x*) The Chron. No. 3, in Innes, says of Kenneth, whose life satiated the revenge of Finella, in 994: "Hic est qui tribuit magnam civitatem Brechen domino."

(*y*) Keith's Bishops, p. 92. That there was a bishop established among the culdees, at Brechin, before the erection of the bishoprick, by David I., is certain, from his charter of erection, which was granted, "Episcopo, et Keledeis, in ecclesiæ de Brechen." Dalrymple's Col. p. 219.

(*z*) Keith's Bishops; Chart. of Cambuskenneth; and Crawford's Officers of State, p. 6. St. Blaen was the patron, as he was the chief of this religious establishment; being a bishop, here, about 1000 A.D. Keith's Bishops, p. 100.

At Abernethy, the ancient metropolis of the Picts, there was, in an early age, a religious house, which, according to the Gaelic practice, was soon made the see of a bishop, though it never formed a regular bishoprick (z).

Soon after the battle of Murtlach, in 1010 A.D., a religious house was founded, by Malcolm II., near the scene of his victory over the invaders of his people (a). Like other monasteries, in that age, this establishment, at Murtlach, became the residence of a bishop. And, the inaccurate writers of the middle ages, from this circumstance, suppose, a regular bishoprick was here established, at that early period (b). The fact, however, appears to be, as hath been already intimated, that a religious house was endowed, with some lands; wherein a bishop fixed his residence, for the performance of the episcopal functions, among a rude people: But, a regular episcopate was not formed, till a subsequent age, which was more congenial to such establishments. Beyn was certainly the first bishop of Mortlach; and he is said to have been consecrated by Benedict VIII., who ruled the catholic church, from 1012 to 1024 A.D. (c). There appears also to have been a religious house, and a bishop at Aberdon, in early times. St. Machar, as he was the patron of the establishment, was, probably, the first bishop (d). And all those churches, with the revenues, belonging to them, were formed, by the reforming hand of David I., into the bishoprick of Aberdon (e).

(z) The Ulster Annals, under the year 864, speak magnificently of the death of Tuathal, the *archbishop* of Fortren, or Abernethy.

(a) Of Malcolm II., who reigned from 1003 to 1033 A.D., the Chronicon, No. 4, in Innes, says, “Ipse etiam multas oblationes tam ecclesias quam clero ea die distribuit.”

(b) Fordun, l. iv. c. lxiv. The supposed charter of foundation by Malcolm to Bishop Beyn, which is set forth with all the distinctness of truth, by Sir J. Dalrymple, in his Coll. p. 135, may be regarded, however, as a palpable forgery.

(c) Fordun, l. iv. c. xlv.; and Boece, in the History of the Bishops of Aberdon, gives a regular series of the bishops of Mortlach from Beyn to Donort; from him to Cormac; and from Cormac to Nechtan, who certainly lived under David I.

(d) In the Scotican church, the festival of St. Machar was held on the 12th of November.

(e) The charter of David I., which accomplished this policy, with other documents, were unfortunately destroyed. There happily remains, however, a genuine bull of Adrian IV., who ruled the church, from 1154 to 1159: This Pope confirms to Edward, the bishop of Aberdon, with other churches, lands, and revenues, “Villam et monasterium de Murthlach, cum quinque ecclesiis et terris eisdem pertinentibus,” and also “Monasterium de Cloveth.” Chart. Aberdon. In the *Taxatio* of the churches, in the 13th century, the church of Mortlach, with those of Cloveth, and Dumeth, which belonged to it, are included in the bishoprick of Aberdon; and are classed in the deanry of Mar, though they are not locally situated, in that district. Chartulary of Arbroath. Those genuine documents support the facts, that are stated in the text.

Thus

Thus much, then, with regard to bishops, and episcopates, during those early ages. The United Kingdom of the Picts and Scots was formed under the regimen of parishes, though neither the times, nor the circumstances, of this formation, can be clearly ascertained, amidst the gloom, which hangs over the Scotican church, during the Scottish period. We may easily suppose, that those ecclesiastical districts were gradually established subsequent to the great epoch of 843 A.D. They were pretty generally settled, during the Scottish period, though they were inconveniently large. They were established by private persons, rather than by public authority. But, that parishes existed, during the reign of Malcolm-Ceanmore, is undoubtedly certain, from unquestionable records (*f*).

It seems equally certain, amidst so much doubt, that when churches were erected, parishes laid out, and parochial duties were statedly performed, ecclesiastical dues must have been incidentally paid. In those charters of Alexander, and of David, tithes are mentioned, as if they were familiarly known, and had been long established (*g*). It is certain, that tithes were paid to the clergy, during

(*f*) See the charters to the monastery of Scone, by Alexander I. Chart. of Seone; and particularly the charter of David I. to the monastery of Dunfermlin, wherein he says: "Preterea pater meus et mater mea dederunt ecclesiæ, sanctæ trinitatis *Parochiam* totam Fotherif, et sic concedo." But, *Schira* is the common expression, in that charter, for a parish. MS. Charters, p. 105; Dalrymple's Col. App. No. 3. See Spelman's Gloss. in vo. *Schira*; and Cowel in vo. *Parochia*.

(*g*) There is an assize of David I. who died, in 1152, which enforces the payment of tythes, as an established right. Chartulary of Moray. There is a charter of the same king to the prior of Wetheral, in Cumberland; giving to that priory the tithes of the village of Scoteby, "Sicut ab antiquo data eis fuit." Dugdale's Monast. t. i. p. 399. David I. granted a charter, commanding the payment of tithes to the monks of Rindalgros. Chart. of May, No. 10. There is, in the Chartulary of Glasgow, a charter of Malcolm IV., "De decimis solvendis:" He enjoins all his people, Normans, English, Scots, Welsh, and Galloway-men, to pay their tithes, and other ecclesiastical dues, *which the law of God enjoins to be paid*. Chart. Glasgow, p. 203: And this was followed, and enforced, by a charter of King William, to the same purpose. Ib. 205. Malcolm IV. granted a charter, commanding the tithe of fish, caught about the Isle of May to be paid to the monks of May. Chart. May, No. 15. This was followed by a charter of King William to the same purpose. Yet, says Forbes, "the learned Craig will have the custom of tithing, among us, to be much of a date with the famous Lateran Council, in 1179." Forbes's Treatise on Tithes, 1705, p. 228—31; Craig on Feuds, book i. But, why would not the learned Craig look into the records of his own country! If he had, he would not have been so positive, "that the first payment of tithes, among us, (the Scots), was merely the effect of episcopal tyranny, introduced about the twelfth century." To see a progress in knowledge is always pleasant. "The right of tithes, says Erskine, appears to have been received, with us, as far back as David I., by two charters of that king, in Anderson's Diplomata. Our first statute concerning teinds, [tithes], is David II. ch. xlii." Institutes, p. 226. The more diligent Erskine, however, did not advert, that tithes had

during the reign of Malcolm-Ceanmore; it is probable, that such ecclesiastical dues were payable, as early as 910 A.D., when Constantin, the king, and Kellach, the bishop, solemnly vowed to observe the faith, the discipline, and the rights of the churches (*b*). To that era, then, if not to the prior reign of Grig, may probably be traced back the payment of tithes, and other ecclesiastical dues, within the United Kingdom (*i*).

had been granted to the monks of Scone, by Alexander I.; (Chartulary Scone, No. 1, Stormont copy); and enforced by an assize of David I., which was, in fact, a statute.

(*b*) Chron. No. 3, in Innes, p. 785; Wilkins's Concilia, v. i. p. 204, from the Colbertine MS.; Enquiry, 1789, v. i. p. 493.

(*i*) The probability, which is mentioned, in the text, is carried up to certainty by the fact. Fothald, the bishop of St. Andrews, from 1065 to 1093, granted to St. Servan, and the monks of Loch-Leven, the church of Hurkendorach, with the accustomed privileges, and dues: "Iste sunt, saith the Register, antique prestationes et canones quas prefate ecclesie solvebant *antiquitus*; sciz, triginta panes decoctos, cum *antiqua* mensura farine ibi apposita, triginta caseos, quorum quilibet facit *chudreme*, et octo *male* de braseo, et derchede-*male*," et chedher-*male*." This is a very curious, but obscure, extract, from the Register of the Priory of St. Andrews. Crawf. Off. of State, p. 431; Rud. Introd. Dipl. Scot. § 18. It is apparent, however, that all those prestations were customary dues of ancient times, before the age of Fothald; the word *canon* being formerly used, for any prestation, pension, or customary payment. Cowel in vo. *Canon*, and Dufresne. The *Chudreme* is the Irish *Cudthrom*, the (*th*) being quiescent, which signified *weight*. Shaw's Dict.; Macfarlane's Vocab. p. 85: So, *Glach-ar-cudrim* means, literally, a *stone-weight* *punt ar-cudrim*, a *pound-weight*. Macdonald's Gael. Vocabulary, p. 120. David I. granted to the monastery of Cambuskenneth, "viginti *cudremos* caseis," out of his rents, in *Strivling*. Chart. Cumbus. No. 54; Nimmo's Stirling, App. No. 1. This grant was confirmed by Malcolm IV., by King William, and by Pope Celestine, in 1195; but, they call the *Chudreme* "viginti *cudrimis* casei." Chart. Cumbus. No. 29, 54, 56. Alexander II. made an exception of the said *Cudreme*, which he, personally, struck out of his charter, by the name of "viginti *cudrini* casei;" for which the monastery was promised satisfaction, in some other way. Ib. No. 57. He, indeed, granted to that monastery "viginti *torwgall* [rather *cowgall*] casei," to be received, yearly, from the *firm* of his lands of Tullymurthac, by the hands of his sheriff of Stirling, "pro viginti *cudrinis* caseis," which the same house was wont to receive of the baillie of Strivling, under the grant of David. Ib. No. 229. As this grant is entitled, "Donatio *centum petrarum* casei," it is apparent, that the *Torwgall*, or *Cowgall*, which I never met, in any other place, was some weight, equal to five stone. The *Male* seems also to be a *Celtic* term, for some payment: *Mal*, in the Irish, signifies a rent, a tribute, a tax. O'Brien's Dict. The British *Mael*, has a similar signification: And the British *Mal* signifies money, or coin, or tribute. Davies, and Richard's Dict. The British *Mael*, also, signifies a hollow vessel of wood; a milk tray; a vessel of earth, or wood, to hold milk, in a dairy-house. Id. See Spelman, Dufresne, Cowell, in vo. *Maille*. The Scottish law has, at this day, its *mails* and its *duties*. There was an inquest, in the 20th of Edward III., within the county of Lancashire; whereby the jury found certain profits, called "Cow-*male*," and "Geese-*male*." Cowell in vo. *Maile*. To those Lancashire *males*, may be opposed the Barley-*male*, the Derchede-*male*, and the Cheder-*male*, of the Register of St. Andrews. There was, also, an ancient customary payment, which is mentioned by the name of *Cuneveth*, or first fruits: See an account of it, among the terms of the law, ch. ix.

Yet, the secular clergy, seldom, or never, appear, in the Scottish history, during the Scottish period. The bishops, indeed, and the abbots, appeared very conspicuous. And the Culdees, we shall discover, in their cells, though their origin be extremely obscure: They were neither mentioned by Bede, nor known to Nennius, nor acknowledged by Adamnan: Yet, were not the Culdees peculiar to North-Britain: They were equally recognized, by the same name, in the ecclesiastical systems of Ireland (*k*), of Wales (*l*), and of England (*m*).

The Culdees were undoubtedly monks, in all those countries, as the name implies, though they acquired their distinguished appellation, at different epochs, in those several nations (*n*). In the United Kingdom of the Picts and Scots, the name seems to have been unknown, if we may determine, from the silence of Bede, of Nennius, and of Adamnan, till the establishment of a monastery at St. Andrews: And, here were they first distinguished, by the significant name of *Culdees* (*o*). They were obviously an order of Celtic monks, who performed the functions of secular priests, among the Celtic people, under a Celtic government; as the faith, and discipline, of the church, had come down to them, from Constantin, and Kellach.

Of Culdees, there existed, in North-Britain, during the Scottish period, religious houses, at Abernethy, Dunkeld, St. Andrews, Dunblane, Brechin, Mortlach, Aberdon, Monymusk, Loch-leven, Portmoak, Dunfermlin, Scone, and at Kirkcaldie. This form of a religious establishment seems to have existed

(*k*) Ware's *Antiq.* by Harris, p. 236; Usher's *Prim.* p. 637; Ledwich's *Antiq.* of Ireland, p. 55, 66.

(*l*) Geraldus *Itin.* Camb. v. ii. p. 6.

(*m*) Dugdale's *Monast. Ang.* v. ii. p. 366-7; Lloyd's *Church Gov.* ch. vii.

(*n*) Their name was probably derived from the notion of their retreat, and seclusion. In the Welsh, *Cêl*, which means shelter, a *hiding*, would form the name, in the plural, thus: *Celydi*, *Celydiaud*, *Celydion*, *Celydwys*. In the Gaelic, *Culdee* signifies a monk, a hermit; the name of *Cuildeach* is commonly given, at this day, says the learned, and reverend, Dugal Campbell of the Isle of Mull, to persons, who are not fond of society. *Stat. Account*, v. xiv. p. 200. In the Gaelic, also, *Ceile* signifies a servant: Hence, *Ceile-de*, the servants of God; *de* being the genitive of *Dia*, God. See O'Brien's *Dict.* in vo. The topography of North-Britain does not throw any light on the obscure name of the Culdees; as there does not appear to be any appellation, in the maps of Scotland, which bears the least analogy to the culdean monks.

(*o*) Register of St. Andrews. The first authentic notice of the Culdees is in a charter of David I. There is no mention any where of Culdees till after the year 800. Lloyd's *Ch Gov.* ch. vii. They were first brought upon the obscure scene of Scottish history by Fordun. Sir James Dalrymple says, that Bishop Lloyd rashly asserts the Culdees to have been a monkish dream. Dalrymple *Col.* p. 279. The Bishop only spoke, contemptuously, concerning "that monkish dream" of an ancient church government, in Scotland, by *Presbyters*." *Church Gov.* ch. vii.

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among the Picts, and Scots, even from the age, and example of Columba. During the Pictish period, there was endowed, at Abernethy, a religious house, which was dedicated to Brigid. Here, it long flourished, in usefulness, under the patronage of the Scottish kings. And here the Culdees continued, till they were suppressed, in the thirteenth century, after religious novelty had removed many ancient foundations (*e*). 2. Dunkeld owed the erection of a religious house to the pious gratitude of Kenneth, the son of Alpin. It immediately assumed the form, which was known, and practised, within the united kingdom, during that age. The house was filled with Culdees, who were governed by an abbot; and, with them, resided a bishop, who performed, independently, the functions of his office. The abbots of Dunkeld, for many ages, acted a conspicuous part, in the bloody scenes of the Scottish government. And, the monastery, with the Culdees, and their abbot, continued, amidst many reforms, till the maiden reign of Malcolm IV. (*m*). 3. At St. Andrews, a religious house, with its

(*e*) William, the lion, conferred on his favourite monks of Arbroth the church of Abernethy, with the several chapels, and lands, belonging to it: “Cum medietatem omnium decimarum pervenientium ex propria abbatis de Abernethy, quarum alteram medietatem habuerunt *Keledei* de Abernethy: et preter dicimas de dominio ipsius abbatis quas *Keledei* de Abernethy habere solebunt.” Chartulary of Arbroth, No. 63. Such a disposition of such rights necessarily produced dispute. A lawsuit ensued, which was long agitated, as well in court, as in the judicatories of the bishop of Dunblane, between the prior, and Culdees of Abernethy, and the abbot, and monks of Arbroth. At length, Abraham, the bishop of Dunblane, after consulting lawyers, gave judgment against the Culdees, in presence of Brice, king William’s judge: and both parties swore to the perpetual observance of this adjudication. Id. Keith’s Bishops, Pref. p. 15, 16.

(*m*) The establishment of a regular bishoprick at Dunkeld, by the projecting policy of David I, does not seem to have affected the prior rights of the Culdees, and their abbot, who continued to act, as the dean, and chapter, of this episcopate. It is supposed, though without foundation, that the Culdees were expelled by David I, to make room for a bishop, at Dunkeld: but, as we have seen, a bishop already existed, there, when that rational reformer reinvigorated the episcopate. Dalrymple’s Coll. p. 244; Lord Haile’s Annals, v. i. p. 95; Keith’s Bishops, Pref. p. 9. After that event, David I. granted to the favourite monks of Dunfermlin, “Octavam partem de omnibus placitis et lucris meis de Fife, et de Fotherif, exceptis rectitudinibus que abbate de Dunkeld pertinent,” &c. MS. Monast: Scotiæ, p. 105. Yet, David I. gave to Andrew, bishop of Cathness, this monastery, with its pertinents. After the death of Andrew, Malcolm IV. granted to the monastery of Dunfermlin, “Ecclesiam Sancte Trinitatis de Dunkelden cum terris ad illam pertinent. et cum aliis rectis pertinentiis suis,” &c. This grant was confirmed by a charter of James II. Id. Dal. Coll. 247-8. This abbey of Dunkeld is mentioned neither by Spotiswoode, nor by Keith, among the religious houses of Scotland. The armorial bearings of the town of Dunkeld have been blazoned, with a view to the dedication of its church to *Columba*: “Sable a dove argent, holding in its beak an olive branch proper: the shield is surrounded with a ribbon, or, whereon is

its usual concomitants, existed, when the union of the Scots and Picts took place. The abbots, here, were also distinct: and, they had the honour to enumerate several kings, in their list (*n*). Here, the Culdees maintained their purity, and usefulness, for many an age (*o*). A priory was founded, at this ancient seat, by Alexander I. And, canons regular were introduced, here, in 1140, by Robert, the bishop of St. Andrews (*p*). 4. At Brechin, as we have seen, a religious house was settled, as early as 994, A.D. (*q*). The Culdees of the monastery of Brechin continued, for many ages, to act as the dean and chapter of this episcopate, and they seem not to have been reformed, by the introduction of canons regular, till the recent accession of Robert Bruce (*r*). 5. The religious house at Dun-blane is of very ancient foundation, as we have seen. The Culdees, and their Prior, retained possession, and here performed their functions, during several ages of reform. They were superseded, however, by canons regular, some time before the middle of the thirteenth century (*s*). 6. A religious house, which was dedicated to St. Servan, was erected, in

“ written CALEDONIA, and in the bottom part of the shield is a *thistle* proper: the whole is encircled with two palm branches *vert*.” MS. Cumin.

(*n*) Constantine III, in 944 A.D.; and the king of A’cliath, who died, here, in A.D. 1033. Ulster Annals, 944—1033, A.D.

(*o*) After the introduction of the canons regular, in 1140 A.D., they joined the Culdees, who acted before, as the dean and chapter, in the election of the bishops. In 1272, the canons regular began to make the elections alone; but, against this exclusion, the Culdees appealed to the Pope, in 1297; yet, without success. Keith’s Bishops, pref. p. 8, and p. 13, 14—237: in the Reg. of St. Andrews, Part i. No. 6, there is recorded “*Decisio controversiæ inter Keledeos et episcopum [St. Andreæ] de jurisdictione agri per T. Ranulphum Guardianum citra mare Scotticum, anº 1309.*” And, No. 11. is “*Petitio Keledeorum et subjectio eorum episcopo St. Andreæ.*” Reg. of St. Andrews; Dalrymple’s Col. p. 284.

(*p*) Keith’s Bishops, p. 237.

(*q*) Chron. No. 3, in Innes, p. 788.

(*r*) Chartulary of Arbroth. The prior of the Culdees at Brechin is a witness to many charters. Id. The prior and Culdees here gave many charters, confirming the grants of the bishops of Brechin to the monks of Arbroth. Id; Keith’s Bishops, pref. p. 11; wherein Maelbryde, the prior, and the Culdees, are called *the chapter* of the church of Brechin: “*Maelbryde, prior et Keledei ceterique de capitulo Brechynensis ecclesiæ.*” Id. Maelbryde was succeeded by Mathew, as prior of the Culdees, here: and, Mathew issued a writ “*ad visitandas ecclesias,*” as prior of the Culdees. Chartulary of Arbroth, No. 187. The Culdees of Brechin were superseded by canons regular, before the year 1308. Dalrymple’s Coll. 249.

(*s*) The prior, and Culdees, of Dunblane, were frequent witnesses to the grants of the bishops of this see. Malpol, the prior, and Michael, and Malcolm, Culdees, were witnesses to a charter of bishop Simon, at the end of the twelfth century. Crawford’s Officers of State, p. 16. Cormac Malpol, the prior of the Culdees, witnessed a charter of William, the bishop of Dunblane (from

in the earliest times, on an islet, in Loch-Leven (*t*). Successive kings, Macbeth, Malcolm III, and Edgar, and his brother Ethelred, with the bishops, Maldwin, and MODOCH, were all studious to endow the Culdees of Loch-Leven (*v*). Here, they performed their usual functions, till the reforming hand of David I. fell upon them. To the priory of St. Andrews, this pious prince gave the monastery of St. Servan, with the island of Loch-Leven; and with an intimation, that if the Culdees would live peaceably, they should be protected; but, if they should resist the royal grant, that they would be expelled the holy isle of Servan (*u*). The Culdees were expelled; though it is not easy to ascertain the time, and circumstances, of that event, which arose from the violence of the canons, and the connivance of the bishop, who usually supported the canons against the Culdees (*w*). 7. At Portmoak, on the eastern margin of Loch-Leven, and the northern efflux of the Leven river, there was founded, during the ninth century, by Ungus, the Pictish king, a religious house (*x*). Here, the Culdees, under the usual rule of their abbot, performed their accustomed functions, for many a savage reign. They were reformed, during

1210 to 1220) to the Monastery of Cambus-Kenneth. Chart. of Cambus. No. 127. Keith supposes the Culdees to have been superseded, in 1240, by a mandate of Gregory IX. Keith's Bishops, pref. x. and p. 100. But, there is a *charter* of the dean and chapter of Dunblane, confirming to the monks of Cambuskenneth the kirks of Kincardin, Tulybody, and Tulycultry, &c. dated the 3d of the kalends of February, 1239.

(*t*) Keith's Bishops, p. 237: The Register of St. Andrews relates, that Brude, the king of the Picts, gave the island of Loch-Leven to St. Servan, and the Culdees.

(*v*) Macbeth gave the Culdees the lands of Kirkness, and also the village of Bolgy. Malcolm III, and his pious queen, granted them the town and lands of *Balchristie*. From Edgar, they got Pitnemokin. Ethelred gave them the lands of Admore. Malduin, the bishop of St. Andrews, granted them the church of Sconie; and from Fothald, the bishop of St. Andrews, they got the church of Hurkendorach. Reg. of St. Andrews. David I. granted to the monks of Dunfermlin, "*Balchristie cum suis rectis divisis, excepta rectitudine quam Keledei habere debent.*" MS. Charters, 104. A dispute ensued, between the prior and canons of St. Andrews, who came in the place of the Culdees, and the monks of Dunfermlin, about their respective rights to Balchristie. King William determined, that the monks of Dunfermlin should have Balchristie, subject to the rights, which the Culdees had in it, during the reign of David I. Charty. of Dunfermlin; Dalrymple's Coll. p. 283. The church of Alva, in Stirling-shire, was dedicated to St. *Serf*: In 1272, Alexander Dominus de Striveling granted to the church *Sancti Servani* de Alveth an acre of land in the manor of Alveth. Chart. Cambus-Kenneth, No. 15.

(*u*) Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. 12.

(*w*) Spotiswoode, p. 417; Keith's Bishops, p. 237.

(*x*) See the Maps, for the site; and the Stat. Acco. vol. v. p. 171. Spotiswoode, and Keith, erroneously place the monastery of Port-moak on St. Servan's isle; so as to confound it with the priory of Loch-Leven.

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the general reformation of the worthy David. They, too, became the prey of the prior and canons of St. Andrews, though the time, and circumstances, of the depredation, cannot now be ascertained. 8. The splendid abbey of Dumfermlin owed its inconsiderable foundation to Malcolm Ceanmore; its completion to Alexander I.; and its reform to David I. The monastery of Dumfermlin was dedicated, like the other Culdean establishments, to the Holy Trinity. Here, the Culdees, with their abbot, discharged their usual duties, during several reigns: and, David I, who lived much with Henry I. of England, upon his accession, introduced, among the Celtic Culdees, thirteen English monks, from Canterbury (*y*). 9. We may easily suppose, that when the *fatal stone* was transferred by Kenneth, the son of Alpin, from Argyle to Scone, a religious house would be established, at this ancient metropolis. A Culdean church was here dedicated, in the earliest times, to the *Holy Trinity*, like other Culdean monasteries (*z*). The Culdees were at length reformed, in 1115 A.D., by Alexander I.; who “dismissed the Culdean churchmen; and committed the custody of the church of Scone to canons regular of St. Augustine,” with a prior, at their head (*a*). 10. At Monymusk, in Aberdeenshire, there was, also, in ancient times, an establishment of Culdees. Here, with their prior, they performed their usual functions, for many ages, without complaint. The superintendence of this house was transferred by David I, while he panted for reform, to the bishop of St. Andrews. The several pretensions of the dependants, and superior, soon produced controversies. These disputes were settled, by a reference from Innocent III, in 1212 A.D., which gave them a new constitution (*b*). Yet, did the bishop of St. Andrews, in opposition to a solemn promise, suppress those Culdees; and place canons regular, in their room, at Monymusk, which became thenceforth, a cell of the priory of St. Andrews (*c*).

(*y*) Spotiswoode, p. 436; and Keith, p. 246.

(*z*) Buchanan, and others, state, that there was, at Scone, an establishment of Culdees, before the age of Alexander I. Spotiswoode, p. 414; Keith, 236: the charter of Alexander I. attests the fact. Chart. Scone, No. 1; Dalrymple's Col. App. No. 2.

(*a*) Chron. Melros; Dalrymple's Col. p. 374-5.

(*b*) The deed of settlement is in the Chartulary of Aberdeen, No. 9. By this settlement, the number of the Culdees was fixed to twelve, with a prior. They were to have one refectory, one dormitory, one oratory, with a cemetery, in the church of Monymusk. Their elections of the Prior were to be made, by choosing three of their own number, out of whom the bishop was to elect a superior. The Culdees were not to become canons regular, without the consent of the bishop. They were restricted, as to the holding, or acquiring of lands. And, the bishop promised, for himself, and for his successors, that the Culdees should, in future, enjoy, the privileges, which had thus been settled, by the Pope's referees.

(*c*) Spotiswoode, p. 417-18; Keith, 238.

11. In addition to all those Culdean houses, there appears to have been an establishment of the Culdees, at Kirk-caldie, in Fife; whence the place was named Kil-celedei, which was changed, during the Scoto-Saxon period, to *Kirk-caledie* (*d*).

Such, then, were the originals, the nature, and the end, of the Culdees, in North-Britain. Yet, system has concurred with ignorance, in supposing, that the Culdees were peculiar to the united kingdom of the Picts and Scots; and actually possessed rights, and exercised powers, which were inconsistent with the established laws of the universal church, in that age (*e*). A retrospective view of ecclesiastical history, from the epoch of the introduction of Christianity into North-Britain, would shew to a discerning eye, that the doctrines, liturgical forms, and the monkish discipline, of the Britons, the Irish, the Scots, and the Picts, were extremely similar; as all those people were, indeed, congenerous (*o*).

The church judicatories of North-Britain, during the Scottish period, are involved in the same obscurity, which covers, and confounds her general history. If any one were disposed, indeed, to regard as genuine, the Macalpin laws, which are recorded by Fordun, and recited by Boece, he must equally believe, with Innes, that the first national council of the Scottish church was convened by the son of Alpin (*f*). But, the MacAlpin laws, as they have been published, are undoubtedly spurious. Grig is said, by the ancient chroniclers, to have established the liberties of the Scottish church (*g*). In 910, Constantin held a council of the church, at Scone, with Kellach, the bishop, as its head; wherein both the king, and prelate, solemnly vowed, to observe the laws, and discipline of the faith; and to maintain the rights of the churches (*h*). The active zeal of Innes has discovered some other ecclesiastical councils, which he sup-

(*d*) Reliquiæ Divi Andreae; Dalrymple's Coll. 132.

(*e*) Sir James Dalrymple's Collections, which are filled with the prejudices of his age, and country.

(*o*) See Usher's most learned discourse, on the religion anciently professed, by the Irish, and British; Lloyd's Historical Acco. of Church Government, in G. Britain, and Ireland; ch. iii. to vii.

(*f*) Critical Essay, p. 587.

(*g*) Chron. in the Register of St. Andrews; Innes, p. 801. The Chronicon elegiacum concurs with this.

(*h*) That some event of such a nature, at that time, occurred, we have the authority of one of the most ancient chronicles for believing. Crit. Essay, p. 588; Ap. No. 3. p. 785; Enquiry, 1789, v. i. App. 493; and see Wilkins's Concilia, v. i. p. 204, for the "Concilium Scoanense in Scotia," from the Bibl. MS. Colbert. Paris, in support of the same position.

poses to have been held, in the united kingdom, at Forteviot, in 860; at Forfar, in 878; at Perth, in 1020; and a sixth council, under Macbeth, in 1050 (*i*). But, the laws of the son of Finley are, undoubtedly, spurious; and the supposed councils of Perth, of Forfar, and of Forteviot, require better authority, than the loose assertion of Boece, to enforce conviction, or even to induce regard.

An age, arrived, however, when councils, of the Scottish clergy were to be called. Before the reign of Malcolm Ceanmore, *novelties* had crept into the Scottish church. These abuses were seen, and lamented, by a pious queen. And, a council was convened, in 1074, during the episcopal rule of Fothad, for the correction of those erroneous practices, particularly, those, which regarded the keeping of Lent. A difficulty soon occurred, when the council met: the Scottish clergy could only speak *Gaelic*; Margaret, who was the principal prolocutor, could only speak *Saxon*: the king, *who understood the English language, as well as his own, acted as interpreter*, between them, in imitation of Oswald, the Northumbrian, at a similar conference, in a prior age (*k*). At the end of three days, the clergy, conscious of their own ignorance, dutifully acquiesced, in the dictates of a learned queen, as delivered by the royal expositor (*l*). From those instructive intimations, it is sufficiently apparent, that the church of the united kingdom was Gaelic, in that Gaelic reign: we might, from that circumstance, easily suppose, if there were not facts, which establish the certainty, that the people were also Gaelic; because there would be no congruity between a Celtic clergy, and Teutonic parishioners. We shall see, in our progress, the Scotian church undergo the greatest changes, during the successive reigns of the more intelligent sons of Malcolm and Margaret.

(*i*) Innes's Essay, p. 588. Wilkins, indeed, has published, in his Concilia, v. i. p. 310, "*Leges Ecclesiasticæ Maccabæi!*"

(*k*) See this very curious passage, in the Life of Margaret, by bishop Turgot, who was present. *Vitæ antiquæ Sanctorum*, 1789, p. 339: with the illustrative commentary of Lord Hailes. *Annals*, v. i. p. 35.

(*l*) Lord Haile's Annals, v. i. p. 35.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Laws, in this Period.

THE laws of every country will be found to be congenial to the nature of the people; because the law, in every clime, and every period, proceeds from the people, and not the people from the law. The genuine history of jurisprudence, in North-Britain, would clearly illustrate that appropriate observation. The customary law of the Scots may be traced back to the beginning of the sixth century, in Argyle; to the end of the eighth age, in Galloway; to the middle of the ninth century, in the United Kingdom of the Picts and Scots; and to the tenth century, in Strathcluyd. We have seen a migration of Scots arrive in Argyle, from Ireland, at the first epoch; we have observed a colony of Scoto-Irish settle, in Galloway, at the second era; and we have beheld the conquest of the Picts, by the Scots, which effected the union of both, at the third epoch; and which ended, in the subduction of the Britons of Strathcluyd, during the subsequent age. The Scots introduced into all those countries their usages; because a people do not easily renounce their laws; and a rude people are tenacious of their customs (*a*). But, a rational historian would not attempt to trace, by analogy, from the Teutonic forests of Germany, to the Celtic mountains of Caledonia, a body of laws, that would be so incongruous with the modes of thinking, as well as habits of acting, which were peculiar to each of those distinct races of men, who are known by the distinguishing names of Germans, and Celts. The historians, and jurists, who have treated of the origin, and progress, of law, in North-Britain, did not advert, that the Germans were a Teutonic race, and that the Picts, and Scots, were, on the contrary, Celtic tribes; as ten thousand facts attest.

The ancient law of Scotland was undoubtedly indigenous. And, its origin may be found, by a slight inquiry, in the earliest colonization, when North-

(*a*) See book ii. ch. iii. § 3: "The natives of Scotland, in the north part of Britain, being a colony of the Irish, used the like customary laws," says the most learned Usher. See Usher's discourse on the first establishment of English laws in Ireland. Gutche's Collectanea, v. i. p. 42.

Britain was settled by the British tribes, who brought their native customs with them into their new settlements. A just analogy would discover, in the unwritten usages of the ancient Britons, in the south, the local usages of every district, in North-Britain. The British customs, even within the precincts of Wales, continued to be the unrecorded jurisprudence of a secluded people, till the reign of Hywel, the good, at the commencement of the tenth century (*b*). We may easily suppose, that the British usages, which operated, as laws, within Cumbria, Strathclyd, and the ancient districts of the Picts, were not collected into a code, during much later times. The several descendants of the ancient Britons continued to practise the same customs, during many an age, after their several governments had fallen. The Justinian of England attempted, in 1305, to abolish those British customs, though perhaps without complete success; as his power soon after ceased, with his life (*c*).

Meantime, the British customs, which had long prevailed, within North-Britain, on the northern side of the two Friths, became amalgamated with the Scoto-Irish usages, on the Union of the Scots with the Picts. There is reason to believe, indeed, that this natural effect of the union of two congenerous people was promoted by legislative art. It is probable, that Kenneth, the son of Alpin, who effected that commixture, by some ordinance, also commixed the Scoto-Irish usages with the Picto-British customs: hence arose, perhaps, the obvious fiction of the *MacAlpin laws* (*d*). Yet, is it more than probable, that

(*b*) Usher's Discourse, in Gutche's Collectanea, v. i. p. 43; and Clark's Pref. to the *Leges Wallice*: yet, that general position must be somewhat limited, by the recollection, that the laws of Hywel, as well as the Triads, often allude to the preceding code of Dyvnwall.

(*c*) That a kingdom of Britons continued on the Clyde, long after the union of the Picts, and Scots, is certain; that the Picts themselves were British tribes, is equally certain; and, as late as A.D. 1164, Malcolm IV. addressed his writ, *De decimis solvendis* to the Normans, the English, the Scots, and the WELSH, living within the diocese of Glasgow; and K. William afterwards addressed a similar writ, in the same manner, to the same lineages. Chart. of Glasgow, p. 203—5: and see before, book ii. ch. ii. Edward the first, by the ordinance, which he made, in 1305, for the settlement of Scotland, ordained that, "the custom of the Scots, and BRETS, shall for the future be prohibited, and be no longer practised." Of this important record, which was published, in Ryley's *Placita*, 506; and printed, in the Rolls of Parliament, v. i. p. 267, I have obtained a collated copy, from the original in the Tower. "The usage of the BRETS, says the late Lord Hailes, I take to be what relates to the judge called *Brebon*, in Ireland; and, consequently, that the thing here abolished was the commutations of punishments, by exacting a pecuniary mulct." Annals, v. i. p. 287. No: it was the usage of the BRITONS, or Welsh, who, as we have seen, resided, in the diocese of Glasgow, which Edward endeavoured to abolish.

(*d*) See this book, ch. vii. under the reign of Kenneth Mac-Alpin.

one of the sons of Alpin did introduce, by positive law, some body of Scoto-Irish usages (*e*). If it were asked, what were the nature, and detail, of those usages, the curious inquirer must be referred to the Brehon laws, which we have seen the Irish colonists, and their leaders, bring with them, from Ireland, into Argyle (*f*). The law of tanistry, which had long prevailed among the fathers of the colonists, in their holy isle, was, also, we are told, a fundamental law, in Scotland, for many ages (*g*). But, we learn this truth more satisfactorily, from the effects of the principle, than from the weight of authority, or the expansion of detail. The right of succession to the government, which involved so much the happiness of the governed, was confined to the royal family, but not in any direct series. The royal person, who was best qualified by experience, and abilities, to wield the sceptre, succeeded to the throne, whether he were the brother, the son, or the cousin, of the last possessor. The only exception to this rule seems to have been, when a tanist, or heir presumptive, was appointed, during the life of the reigning prince. The history of the Scottish kings establishes the certainty of the fact (*h*). But, such was the bloody consequences, that few of those princes died quietly in their beds. From that fundamental law, proceeded also repeated revolutions, constant civil wars, and ever-during savageness. The continuance of all those evils till the end of the Scottish period, in 1097, evinces, with strong conviction, that the law of Tanistry remained unrepealed, whatever may be conceived by credulity, or asserted by ignorance (*i*).

The Irish Cruithne, or Picts, who resettled Galloway, at the end of the eighth century, brought with them similar customs, whereof they were peculiarly tenacious. Long after the practice of *feuds* had made many changes, within proper Scotland, the Galloway-men enjoyed their own proper laws (*a*). Edward

(*e*) The Chron. No. 3, in Innes, when speaking of the reign of Donal Mac-Alpin, says; "In hujus tempore, jura ac leges regni Edi filij Echach [Aodhfin, the son of Eocha,] fecerint Goll-
deli [Gaidheli, *i. e.* the Gael.] cum rege suæ, in Fothertabaicht."

(*f*) See book ii. ch. iii.

(*g*) Dr. John Macpherson's Dissertations, p. 181.

(*h*) See book ii. ch. iv; and book iii. ch. vii; and the Genealogical Table of Kings, with their issues, facing p. 416.

(*i*) In the Mac-Alpin laws, in the code of Malcolm II, in the Macbeth laws, in the system of Malcolm-Ceanmore, anachronism, and incongruity, may be traced, in every line. In perusing the pretended laws of Malcolm II, who died, in 1033, we naturally suppose, that we are reading the *Customier de Normandy*. See the interesting work of M. Howard. The laws, which are assigned to Malcolm-Ceanmore are equally irreconcilable to the notions, and habits, of a Celtic people.

(*a*) Stat. Alexander II. ch. iii. 1214, in Skene's Old Laws; Stat. Robert I. ch. 36: And see Robertson's Index to the Records, Postscript, p. lii.

attempted to abolish them (*b*). Robert Bruce, with a more liberal spirit, granted a confirmation of the liberties of Galloway (*c*). Of the nature of those laws, and liberties, which remained so long, and were so often confirmed, analogy must furnish what history denies (*d*). The people were Irish; their language was Irish; and their juridical customs were also Irish.

If we cast a retrospective glance on South-Britain, during those ages, we shall see a Saxon people, Saxon laws, Saxon charters, Saxon coins: On the contrary, if we look into North-Britain, in those early times, we shall see a Celtic people, a Celtic church, a Celtic government, and Celtic customs; but we shall not find any charters (*e*), nor any coins (*f*). During the Saxon period, England

(*b*) By his ordinance, in 1305, for settling the government of Scotland.

(*c*) Robertson's Index to the Records, p. 13; Pref. p. lii. David II., the son of Robert Bruce, granted a charter of confirmation to the men of Galloway of their laws, and liberties. Ib. 33. The community of Galloway complained to Edward I., in parliament, during 1304, that they were extremely grieved by a strange law, which was called "*Surdit de Sergaunt*;" and which law had never, said they, been used, in the time of Alexander. Edward referred the complaint to his *Locum-tenens*; that he might inquire what benefit the *Surdit de Sergaunt* was to the king, and what damage to the people. Rolls of Parl. v. i. p. 472. In the *Dictionnaire, Roman, Walon, Celtique, et Tudesque*, 1777, *Surдите* is said to signify *enchere*: We may thence infer, that the grievous *Surdit* was some new *extortion*, under the colour of law. We may see, in Skene's Old Laws, that most of the remedial statutes, in favour of the Gallowaymen, were made against the *Sergaunts*. Kelham says, *Surdit* means *suppose*: But, he adds not where he found *Surdit*, or in what context, it could mean *suppose*. There is a grant of Robert Bruce to the canons of Whithern, freeing them "a "*superdicto Serjantium*." MS. Monast. Scotiæ. This gives a more satisfactory exposition of the *Surdit*, as some *imposition*, or *surchage*.

(*d*) The same juridical notions prevailed among the Gallowidian-Irish, as in Ireland, and in North-Britain. In confirmation of this truth, we may remember a remarkable transaction, in the Scottish history. Alan, the lord of Galloway, and the constable of Scotland, died, in 1234; leaving three legitimate daughters, and a bastard son. The Gallowidians, animated by their ancient law, disregarded the title of the daughters, and preferred the right of the son, as incontrovertible: And, they petitioned Alexander II., praying, that the son might be appointed their lord, with the accustomed rights. The king, preferring justice to ambition, rejected their petition, saith Lord Hailes: But, his lordship did not see this passage, in the juridical lights, which have been now exhibited to the reader's eye. The Gallowidians broke out into insurrection, with the bastard, at their head. Alexander suppressed this rising with great difficulty; and re-established the female heirs of Alan. Annals, v. i. p. 251; Chron. Mailros, p. 201; M. Paris, p. 294. We thus perceive the ancient law of a people overborn, by the strong arm of authority. The municipal law of Scotland may be said to have been, successively, introduced, in a similar manner, among her Celtic inhabitants.

(*e*) Whatever Balfour, and Skene, and other such antiquaries, who lived, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, might pretend, there have not yet been produced any undoubted charters of the Scottish kings, prior to those of Edgar: Even Ruddiman, with all his zeal, for the antiquities

land was laid out into tithings, hundreds, and shires : But, Scotland has been never divided into tithings, nor hundreds ; and was not placed under the regimen of Sheriffs, till the commencement of the twelfth century. Those comparative intimations would prove, if there were not the demonstrations of facts, that the people, who acted upon such dissimilar principles, must necessarily have been of different lineages.

In South-Britain, the people have enjoyed, for many centuries, a favourite system of jurisprudence, which is known by the name of *the common law* : But, in North-Britain, the Scoto-Saxon settlers never could boast of the enjoyment of a *common law* : The reason of this singular circumstance may be assigned, in the language of the English jurists, that the municipal laws of Scotland have all arisen, *within time of memory* ; at the epoch of record ; at the commencement of the twelfth century (g).

None

ties of his country, seems willing to relinquish, as indefensible, the pretended charters of preceding reigns. Introduction to Anderson's Diplom. § x. That excellent scholar did not sufficiently advert, that there is a material difference between a *grant*, and a *charter* : Malcolm-Ceanmore, no doubt, granted lands ; but, he did not convey them, in writing. The late Lord Kaimes remarks, that there were still some lands, in the highlands, which were held, at the middle of the eighteenth century, without charters. This observation applies strongly to the ancient state of Galloway.

(f) The Saxons left many coins in England, as we may see in Camden, and Speed ; and the princes of the East-men, in Ireland, struck coins, which still remain, as we may perceive in Simon, and Ledwich : But, the Celtic kings of Wales, of Ireland, and of Scotland, left no coins, for the inspection of posterity. What coins Macbeth distributed, at Rome, I pretend not to know.

(g) By the parliament of Scotland, indeed, the civil, and canon laws have been termed the *common law*. 1493, ch. li. ; 1540, ch. lxix. lxxx. ; 1551, ch. xxii. But, it has been observed, that the parliaments of Scotland were never skilful antiquaries. "The ancient customs, that have obtained with us, time out of mind, saith Macdowal, (Institutes, vol. i. p. 24), may well be termed our *common law*, in the same sense, as the English lawyers do theirs." Lord Stair, a greater man, and deeper lawyer, than Macdowal, had already intimated a similar sentiment : "In like manner, said he, we are ruled, in the first place, by our ancient, and immemorial customs, which may be called our *common law* ; such as our primogeniture, and all degrees of succession, our communion of goods, between man and wife, the succession of the nearest agnates, the life-rent of husbands of the courtesy, which are anterior to any statute." Institutes, p. 12. About the common law, Mackenzie is silent. Institutes, tit. i. Mr. Professor Bayne follows his example. Notes, 1749, p. 2, 3. Erskine refers to the statutes, which speak of the civil law, and the canon law, as the *common laws* of the realm. Institutes of the Law of Scotland, ed. 1757, p. 5. It is easy to see, that the immemorial customs, which are mentioned, as examples, by Lord Stair, began, with the introduction of the feudal law, in the twelfth century. "One must be ignorant of the history of our law, says the late Lord Kaimes, who does not know, that the laws of Scotland and England were originally the same, almost in every particular." Stat. Laws of Scotland abridged, 1757, p. 429. This position is undoubtedly true, though not, perhaps, in the sense, in which Lord Kaimes intended. For ages, before the intrusion of the Romans, the customs,

None of *the terms* of the law of Scotland, which Skene attempted to explain, are indigenous, in the Scottish jurisprudence (*b*). They are all derived from two sources; 1st, From the language, and customs, of the Celtic inhabitants of North-Britain, who predominated till the twelfth century; 2dly, From the English law, and the Norman language, which conveys its various details: It will not easily be believed by those, who have not attentively examined the *law terms* of the Scottish jurisprudence, how many of them owe their origin to the Celtic language. For example:

- (1.) *Bothna, Butna, Bothena*, appears, says Skene, to be ane park, where cattle are inclosed: *Bothena*, in old records, a barony, a lordship, or sheriff-wick, say Bailey, and Ash. *Bod*, in the British, signifies a stationary place, a station in life, a dwelling (*i*). *Bwth*, in the *British*, *Bod*, *Bothog*, in the Cornish, *Both*, *Bothog*, and *Bothan*, in the Gaelic, mean a cottage, a booth (*k*).
 (2.) *Burlaw, Byrlaw*: Laws of Burlaw are made, and determined, by consent of neighbours, who are elected in the *Byrlaw* courts, saith Skene. *Byr*, in the Welsh, means short, abrupt; *Byraal* tending to shorten; *Bryllawiawg*, (*Byrlaw*), short-handed (*l*). *Bir*, in the Gaelic, means short (*m*): So, *Byrlaw* may mean short law, or speedy justice. *Bur*, in the Gaelic, signifies a clown, or boor (*n*). *Bur*, in some dialects of the Gothic, has much the same signification; and it also signifies a cottage: So *Bur-law* may mean rustic law (*o*).
 (3.) *Can, Cain, Canum*, signify the duty, custom, or tribute, which was paid to the superior. In the charters of David I., *Can* is often mentioned,

customs, which had the place of laws, were exactly the same, in South, and in North-Britain; because the tribes, who had inhabited both, were the same Celtic people. During the Roman period, the same laws continued common to both. The conquests of the Saxons made great changes, in South-Britain: But, as the Saxons made no conquests, on the north of the *two friths*, the immemorial customs, in this country, continued unchanged. Neither did those conquests make any change, in the customs of Wales, of Ireland, of Kintire, of Galloway, of Cumbria, whatever alteration such conquests may have made, in Lothian. It will be seen, that when the sons of Malcolm-Ceanmore, the children of a Saxon princess came in, successively, by the aid of a Saxon power, from the north of England, they brought with them, at the commencement of the twelfth century, the customs, and laws of England, as they were then understood, and practised. From that epoch, the position of Lord Kaimes *began to be true*.

(*b*) In his tract, *De Verborum Significatione*, which was published, in 1597.

(*i*) Davies, and Owen's Dict. (*k*) Id.; Pryce's *Archaiologia*; O'Brien, and Shaw's Dict.

(*l*) Owen's Dict.

(*m*) O'Brien, and Shaw.

(*n*) Shaw's Dict.

(*o*) The term, *Birlaw*, is still used, in Scotland: When two countrymen are chosen, by the parties, or appointed by a judge, to ascertain any damage done, they are called *Birlaw-men*.

according

according to this sense (*p*). *Cain*, in the Gaelic, means a rent, a tax, a tribute, a fine (*q*). *Cainianog*, from *Cain*, in the British, was formerly used substantively, for coin of different valuations, but now it is simply a penny (*r*). (4.) *Cunveth*, which is not noticed by Skene, was, like the *Cain*, a Gaelic duty, that was paid to the superior, particularly, to ecclesiastical superiors (*s*). *Cean-mbath*, which is pronounced *Ceanvath*, signifies, in the Gaelic, the first, or chief fruit; or *the first fruits*, in the ecclesiastical sense (*t*). *Cain-mbaitb*, which is pronounced *Cenvaith*, would signify, in the Gaelic, the duty, or tribute, paid to the chief (*u*). (5.) *Cathorius*, or Catherius; what it means, I cannot well declare, saith Skene: It is equivalent to the value of *nine ky*, [kyne]. The word is probably from the Gaelic *Ceathar-each*, signifying four horses, which may have been latinized *Ceatharius*. In the same manner, *Ceathra'*, in

(*p*) Earl David granted to the monastery of Selkirk the tenth of his *Can* of animals, and of cheeses, in Galloway: And this grant was confirmed by him, when king: It was confirmed, also, by Malcolm IV., and by King William. Chart. Kelso, No. 1, 2, 3, and 4; Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. xxiv. The Scottish kings received *Can*, from the *ships*, which arrived, in the different ports of Scotland; and also from the saltworks, which were established on its shores: And, some of those payments, at several places, were granted by Alexander I., and David I., to the religious establishments. Chart. of Scone, No. 1, 3, and 26; Chart. Cambuskenneth, No. 55, 28, 29; Chart. Dunfermlin; Chart. Aberdon; Reg. of St. Andrews; Reliquiæ divi Andreæ, p. 165; Chart. Kelso, No. 395; Charter of Holyroodhouse, in Maitland's Edinburgh, p. 145.

(*q*) O'Brien and Shaw's Dictionaries.

(*r*) Owen's Dict.

(*s*) Robert, the bishop of St. Andrews, in 1127, granted a charter, relieving the monks of Durham, from the duties of *Can*, and *Cuneveth*, payable from the church of Coldingham, and the other churches, and chapels, belonging to them, in his episcopate. Chart. Coldingham, p. 41; Smith's Bede, App. p. 764. In the end of the twelfth century, Roger, the bishop of St. Andrews, granted a charter, confirming a convention, made between him and the monks of Durham, "*super Can et Cuneveth, procurationibus, hospitibus, et institutionibus ecclesiarum.*" Chart. Coldingham, p. 43. Similar conventions were made, by William, the bishop of St. Andrews, in 1204, and by William Fraser, the bishop of St. Andrews, in 1293, with the monks of Durham, about *Can* and *Cuneveth*; and these were confirmed by other charters. Ib. p. 44, 45, 91: The monks of Scone received yearly, from each plough of land, belonging to the monastery "*pro suo Cuneveth, ad festum omnium sanctorum, unam vaccam, duos porcos, quatuor Clanmerios*" "*farinæ, decem thravas avene, decem gallinas, ducenta ova, decem manipulos candelarum, quatuor*" "*manualas savonis, viginti et dimidiam melas casei.*" These customary payments were confirmed, in a charter of David I., and in a bull of Pope Alexander III., who came to the papal chair, in 1159. Chart. Scone, No. 14, 16. King William granted a charter, confirming to Richard, the bishop of Moray, the rights of *Can*, and *Cuneveth*, as the bishop's predecessors had enjoyed the same, in the time of David I., and Malcolm IV.; and as the bishop had received them, in the time of King William. Chart. Moray. fol. 17.

(*t*) O'Brien, and Shaw, in vo. *Cean*, and *Math*, and Owen, in vo. *Cyn*.

(*u*) O'Brien, and Shaw, in vo. *Cain*, and *Maith*.

the

the Gaelic, means *four-footed beasts*, or any kind of cattle (*x*). (6.) *Caupes*, or *Calpes*, in Galloway, and Carrick, whereof mention is made, in the acts of parliament, saith Skene, signifies ane gift, which ane man gives to his superior, or the chief of the clan, for protection. *Calpich*, in the Hebrides, is a duty, payable, by the tenant, to the chief (*y*). The *Calpes* of the Scottish law is merely the *Colpa* of the Gaelic, signifying a cow, or horse, or *Colpach*, a heifer, a bullock, a colt (*z*). (7.) *Cleremethen*, *Clarmathan*; the law of *Claremathan* concerns the warrandice of stolen cattle, saith Skene. *Clairthe*, which is pronounced *Claire*, signifies, in the Gaelic, dealt, or divided; and *Mathadb* means a pardon: So, *Clair-mathain* may mean mercy, or pardon dealt out. *Clair-mathain* would signify, in the Gaelic, the pardon, or mercy, of the tribe, or society (*a*). (8.) *Clepe-and-Call*, ane form of claim, petition, or libel, saith Skene. *Clep*, in the Welsh, signifies a *Clap*, or *Clack* (*b*). *Clap*, in the Cornish, means prating; and *Clapier*, to speak (*c*). *Clab*, in the Gaelic, means an open mouth (*d*). (9.) *Colpindach*, ane young beast, saith Skene. *Colpa*, in the Gaelic, means a single cow, or horse; and *Colpach*, a heifer, a young steer, a colt: Hence, *Colpa-dagh* signifies a good heifer, or colt (*e*). In the pretended laws of Malcolm II., the *Colpindach* is often repeated, as the amount of a forfeiture. (10.) *Cro* is ane satisfaction, for the slaughter of any man, saith Skene. *Crau*, in the Welsh, and *Crou*, in the Cornish, signify *blood* (*f*); *Cro*, in the Gaelic, is death, and *Cru*, blood: *Cro'*, in the Gaelic, also signifies *cattle*, in which the satisfaction, for slaughter, was anciently paid (*g*). (11.) *Culrach* is called a furthcomand borgh, or cautioner, saith Skene. Skinner derives this word, from the Scoto-Irish, *Culreacht*, the guard of the man (*h*). (12.) *Enach*, ane satisfaction for a fault, or crime, saith Skene. *Iawn*, in the Welsh, signifies atonement, or satisfaction (*i*). *Eineach*, in the Gaelic, means bounty, goodness; *Eneaclann* a reparation, or amends (*k*). (13.) *Eneya*, ane French word for the first, or principal part of the heritage, saith Skene. *Ainé*, in the French, is the eldest, or first-born. *Hén*, in the Breton, is aged, old (*l*). *Hén*, in the Welsh, is aged; *Henau* is the superlative (*m*) *Hén*, in the Cornish, is old (*n*). *Lean*, in the Gaelic, is old; *Seinne*, or *Seine*, elder,

(x) Id.

(y) Martin's West Islands, p. 115.

(z) O'Brien and Shaw's Dict.

(a) Id.

(b) Owen's Dict.

(c) Pryce's Arch.; Borlase's Cornwall, p. 421.

(d) O'Brien, and Shaw's Dict.

(e) Id.

(f) Davies, and Owen's Dictionaries; Pryce's Archæologia.

(g) O'Brien, and Shaw's Dict.

(h) Id. in vo. *Cul*, and *Racht*.

(i) Owen's Dict.

(k) O'Brien, and Shaw's Dict.

(l) Pelletier's Dict.

(m) Davies, and Owen's Dict.

(n) Pryce's Archæologia.

eldest (*o*). (14.) *Galnes*, ane kind of satisfactfaction for slaughter, says Skene. *Galanas*, in the British, signifies murder, a satisfaction for murder: So, *Galanas*, in the Welsh laws, is a satisfaction for murder (*p*). *Gail*, in the Gaelic, signifies slaughter; *Gailehin*, a fine for manslaughter (*q*). (15.) *Gangiatores* signifies them, who should mark the claith, bread, or barrels, before they be sauld, saith Skene. *Gangiad*, in the Gaelic, is deceit (*r*): *Gangiator*, one who prevents deceit: *Gangiatores* is the plural. (16.) *Girthol*, *Girth*, a sanctuary, saith Skene. In the Welsh, *Gurthol*, means a posterior part, the rearward (*s*). The root of the word is *Garth*, which signifies an inclosure, both in the Celtic, and Teutonic languages. (17.) *Kelchyn* is ane penaltie enjoined to ane man, who confesses his fault, saith Skene. In the Welsh *Celchyn* signifies one, who conceals himself. In the Welsh laws, *Cylch* was a tax, or service, to the officers of the princes; as *Cylch Stalwyn*, the tax to the master of the horse, for the use of the stallion (*t*). In the Gaelic, however, *Gailchin* signifies a fine, for manslaughter (*u*). *Machamium*, from the auld French word, *Mebaigne*, which we call Manzie, hurt, mutilation, saith Skene. This is the *Maibem* or *Maime*, of the English law. In the Gaelic *Maidhin* is a skirmish; *Maidhim*, which is pronounced *Mayim*, means a breach; and *Maidhm*, which is pronounced *Maiym*, signifies *to tear* (*x*). (19.) *Marus*, *Maer*, an officer, or executor of summons, saith Skene. Bailey, and Ash, derive the term *Mayor*, from the Latin *Major*. In the Welsh, the Cornish, and the Armoric, *Mawr* means great: And *Maer* signifies one that is stationed, that looks after, or guards another; a provost; a bailiff (*y*). In the Gaelic, *Maor* signifies a steward, an officer, a sergeant: Among the Scots, *Maor* was anciently the same with *Baron*; and *Maor-mor* meant a *great baron*, a lord (*z*). (20.) *Merchet* of women was a duty paid to the superior, by the tenants, or vileyms, on the marriage of their daughters. This was an usage, or customary payment of the Britons, in North, as well as in South-Britain: And it is remarkable that, in the country of the Strathcluyd Britons, as well as in proper Scotland, the appropriate land of the Picts, where the British people remained long unmixed,

(*o*) O'Brien, and Shaw's Dict.(*p*) Davies, and Owen's Dict.(*q*) Shaw's Dict.(*r*) O'Brien, and Shaw's Dict.(*s*) Owen's Dict.(*t*) Celtic Remains MS.; Owen's Dict.(*u*) Shaw's Dict. The word is compounded of *Gail*, slaughter, and *Cain*, a fine. In the Gaelic, *C*, which has the power of the English *K*, is frequently put for *G*.(*x*) O'Brien, and Shaw's Dict.(*y*) Davies, Richard's, and Owen's Dict.; Borlase's Cornwall, p. 444.(*z*) O'Brien, and Shaw's Dict.

this singular usage may be traced down till recent ages (z). As the custom was British, so the term is derived from the British speech, in which *Merched* signifies *women, daughters*; being the plural of *Merch* (a): And *Merched* was latinized *Mercheta*. The same law, distinguished by the same term, also existed among the ancient Britons, in Wales (b). And similar usages, under the same name, prevailed in other parts of South-Britain (c). Of the *Merchet* of women, there is a whole chapter, in the *Regiam Majestatem*, which seems to

(z) Osbert, the abbot of Kelso, from 1180 to 1203, granted to Constantin, presbyter of Lesmahagu, the township of Dowan, in Strathclyde; and among other pertinents, "*Merchetas de filiabus hominum suorum* habebit; et de *filiabus suis dabit nobis merchetas*." Chart. Kelso, No. 103. The same abbot, confirmed to David, the dean of Stobo, the lands of Curroc, in Strathclyde, which his father had held, "*Cum molendino, et blodwittis, et Birthinsak, et Merchetis hominum suorum*." Ib. No. 3. Henry, the abbot of Kelso, from 1208 to 1218, granted to Gillemor, a part of the lands of Fincurroc, in Strathclyde, for the yearly payment of twenty shillings; "*habebit autem Merchetas de filiabus hominum suorum, curiam suam*." Ib. No. 107. In 1450, James II. granted a charter to the bishop of Glasgow, erecting the barony of Glasgow, and other lands of that bishoprick, into a free regality; and among other privileges, the king confirmed to the bishop the "*Mercheti mulierum*." Chart. Glasgow, p. 498. This was confirmed, in the same words, by a charter of James III., in 1476. Ib. 486. This British custom was equally common, throughout the proper country of the Picts, from the Forth to the Moray frith; where it continued till recent times. In 1403, Archibald, the earl of Douglas, confirmed to John the laird of Edmonston, the lands of Tulyalon, in Perthshire, "*Cum curiis et curiarum exitibus, cum hereyeldis, Merchetis*." Chart. in my Collection. The same earl had previously granted, to the same John, a lease, for nineteen years, of those lands, with the same pertinents, including the *Merchetis* of the women, in consideration of 240 marks of Scots money, which had been given him, in his great necessity. Id. In 1454, George, the earl of Angus, granted a confirmation of the lands of Invernethy, in Strathern, with the pertinents, among which are the *Merchetis* of the women. Chart. in my Collection. In 1462, Thomas Rogerson of Drumdewan, in consideration of £86:13:4, Scots money, paid him in his great necessity, made over to John Stewart, the lord of Lorn, the lands of Strathir, with the mill, and all pertinents, among which are the *Merchetis* of the women. Cop. Chart. in my Col. In 1452, James II. granted a charter to the bishop of St. Andrews; confirming the lands and property of that bishoprick; and among other pertinents, he confirmed to the bishop, and his successors, the *Merchetis mulierum*. This was also confirmed, in the same terms, by a charter of James III., in 1480; and by a charter of Queen Mary, in 1553. Reliquiæ Divi Andreæ, p. 99—102. In 1610, Robert Douglas, the laird of Glenbervie, granted to Robert Douglas, his second son, several lands, in the northern part of Kincardin-shire, with various pertinents, among which are "*Curiis et earum exitibus, Hereyeldis, Bludwitis, et mulierum Merchetis*." Chart. in my Collection. We thus see, that this ancient usage of the Pictish-Britons subsisted, in their proper country, till after the Union of the crowns, in the person of James VI.

(a) Davies, and Owen's Dict.

(b) Laws of Howel Dha, l. i. ch. xiv. and xxvii. "*Efe a gaiff obreu Merched y maer biswail*:" *Maritagium filiarum villici dominici regii solvetur*.

(c) Spelman's Gloss.; Cowel, and Jacob's Law Dict. in vo.

give

give a very mistaken exposition of the laws of Scotland, on this head (*d*). Upon the ridiculous fable of Boece, and the absurd explanation of Skene, respecting the *Mercheta mulierum*, much has been written, often ludicrously, and sometimes gravely (*e*). (21.) *Ochiern* is ane name of dignity, and of an freeholder, saith Skene. In the Gaelic, *Oigthiarna* is an heir apparent to a lordship (*f*). (22.) *Oker*, usury, *Okerer*, an userer: Such as buy victual, and hold it till a dearth, shall be punished, as *Okkirars*, and usurers (*g*). Such as shall take more than ten pounds, for the yearly interest of an hundred pounds, shall be halden, and punished, as *Ockerers*, and usurers (*h*). In the Welsh, *Ocyr*, and *Ocraeth*, signify usury; and *Ocrwr*, an usurer (*i*). In the Gaelic, *Ocar* is interest, usury (*k*). (23) *Toscheoderach*, an officer, or jurisdiction, not unlike to an baillie, specially, in the isles, and highlands: Some understand it, to be an searcher, and taker of thieves, and limmers: In the civil law, they are called *Latrunculatores* (*l*). In the Gaelic *Toiseach* signifies a leader, or chief; and *Taoiseach*, a commander, or officer: *Uachdar* means upper, and *Uachdarach* uppermost, highest (*m*): So *Tois chuachdarach* means the highest officer. And this officer existed also among the Gaelic people of Galloway (*n*).

The modern, or municipal, law of Scotland, then, is not original, but derivative: and, we have thus seen its fountain heads, not in the forests of Germany, nor in the vineyards of Normandy; but, in the language, and customs, of her own Celtic inhabitants; and still more, in the usages, and speech, of the

(*d*) B. iv. ch. xxxi.

(*e*) Boece, l. iii. p. 35, and l. xii. p. 260; Skene de Verb. Significatione; Macpherson's Crit. Dissert. p. 192, 198; Spelman, and Du Cange's Glossaries; Cowel, and Jacob's Law Dict. Craig adopts the interpretation of Skene, but derives the custom from France, with the feudal law. De Feudis, b. ii. ch. iii. § xxxi. The late Lord Hailes thought it worth his while to write an elaborate dissertation, on this juridical subject; without being able, however, to elucidate the true origin of the custom. Annals, v. i. App. No. 1. The learned Whitaker seems to have been the first, who referred the term *Mercheta* to its real source.

(*f*) O'Brien, and Shaw's Dict. The term is composed of *Oig*, young, youth; and *Tiarna*, a lord, a prince, a ruler.

(*g*) James II. Parl. 6. ch. xxiii.

(*h*) Mackenzie's Crim. Law, p. 236.

(*i*) Davies, Richards, and Owen's Dict.

(*k*) Shaw's Dict. *Ocer*, usura; Leibnitz's Celtica, 136. The *C* of the Welsh, and Gaelic, is pronounced like *K*. And see Verstegan's Antiquities, p. 229.

(*l*) Skene de Verb. Significat. On the 9th of March 1554, Neil Mac-Neil sold to James Mac-O'Neil the lands of Gigha, with the *Toschodairach* of Kintyre.

(*m*) O'Brien, and Shaw's Dict.

(*n*) Robert III. confirmed a charter of John Lachlanson, the laird of Durydaroch; granting to Duncan Dalrumpil the office of *Toschadaroch*, in Nithsdale. Robertson's Index, p. 146.

Anglo-Norman barons, who came into North-Britain, successively, in the twelfth, and thirteenth centuries.

The true sources of the law, during the *Scottish period*, however, must be constantly sought for, in the genuine history of the several people, whether Scots, Gallowaymen, or Britons (*v*). That period began with the Union of the Picts and Scots. This union was strengthened, by the annexation of Strathclyd, Galloway, and Lothian: yet, there still remained, in the nature of the Scottish policy, territorial divisions, which produced, for ages, weakness, and distraction, notwithstanding those annexations, and that union. The settlements of the Scoto-Irish were every where divided, either by mountains, or rivers, or valleys, into *countries*; but, not into *shires*; because the Saxon policy of the shire was unknown to the Celtic people, who, both in Ireland, and in Scotland, concurred, in their hatred of Sheriffs. With these intimations, the fact remarkably corresponds. Exclusive of Lothian, Galloway, and Strathclyd, proper Scotland was subdivided, throughout the Scottish period, into ten districts, which, as each of them possessed separate, and independent, rights, scarcely admitted of sovereign authority, in the united whole.

I. *FIFE* comprehended the country, between the Forth, and Tay, below the Ochil-hills. Of this ample district, MacDuff was the noted Maormor, in the reigns of Duncan, Macbeth, and of Malcolm III. II. *STRATHERN*, Menteith, and Braidalban, included the country between the Forth, and the Ochil-hills, on the south, and the Tay, on the north. III. *ATHOL*, and Stormont, comprehending the central highlands, lay between the Tay, and Badenoch. During the eighth century, a branch of the royal family of the Picts ruled within this extensive district. Talorgan, the son of Drostan, and the regulus of Athol, was made prisoner by the mighty Ungus, in 733 A.D. Talorgan effected his escape into Ireland: but, returning thence, to assert his rights, he was, in 738, drowned, by the inexorable Ungus (*w*). In 934, Dubhdou, the Maormor of Athol, was slain, in the battle of Drumcrub, between Duff, the reigning king, and Culen his successor (*x*). IV. *ANGUS* comprehended the country, from the Tay and the Ila, on the south, to the northern Esk, upon the north. Dubican, the son of Indrechtai, and Maormor of Angus, died in 939 (*y*). Maolbride, the son of Dubican, died, during the reign of Culen, which extended, from 965 to 970 (*z*). Cunechat, a Maormor of this extensive district, was the father of the noted Finella, whose wrath deprived Kenneth III. of life,

(*v*) See book ii. ch. iii.

(*w*) Ulster Annals.

(*x*) Id. Chronicle, No. 3, in Innes.

(*y*) Chron. No. 3, in Innes.

(*z*) Id.

in 994 (*a*). V. MOERN, or Merns, comprehended the district, which lay between the rivers North-Esk, and the Dee. Finella, who is still remembered, in the traditions of the country, for her wrongs, and her resentment, was the impassioned wife of the Maormor of the Merns. In 1094, Maolpeder, the Maormor of the same district, assassinated the son of Malcolm-Ceanmore, Duncan, the Scottish king. VI. The extensive range of country, lying between the Dee, and Spey, comprehended Aberdeen, and Banff. The Maormor of this district, Grig, who is famed, in Scottish history, as Gregory, the great, slew Aodh, his sovereign, in battle, during the year 882; and reigned, in his place, till he was dethroned, in 893, A.D. VII. The ample region, comprehending the country from the river Spey to the Farar, or Beaulie, and extending westward to the limits of northern Argyle, formed the district of MORAY. The Maormors of Moray were persons of great consequence, in the earliest times. The first of those princes, who is recorded, by the chronicles, was Cellach, the antagonist of Malcolm I, by whom he was slain (*b*). The reign of Malcolm, who died in 953 A.D., may be deemed the period, when the Moray-men, and their Maormors, appeared often, in the bloody scenes of the Scottish history. When the eleventh century began, Maolbrigid was the reigning prince over those powerful people (*c*). As Maormor, he was succeeded by his son Gilcomgain, who married Gruoch, the daughter of Bodhe, and the grand-daughter of Kenneth IV.: and, by her, he left a son, Lulach, who, with his father's misfortunes, possessed the throne, for a while; and left issue, who were supported, by the Moray-men, when the children of the Maormor claimed their rights (*d*). VIII. ARGYLE, as it formed the ancient kingdom of the Scots, extended along the continent of Scotland, from the Clyde, far into Ross, and comprehended the numerous isles, in the surrounding sea. During the Scottish period, we see nothing of the Maormors of Argyle, on the gory stage of the Scottish history, till the rise, and adventures, of the northern vikings. IX. Ross, and Cromarty, formed the great district of Ross. The potent Maormors of this peninsular range appeared early, in bloody conflicts, with those rapacious sea-kings. In those honourable scenes, appeared Finlegh, at the end of the tenth century (*e*). As Maormor of Ross, he was succeeded by his son, Macbeth, the tyrant of

(*a*) Chron. in the Register of St. Andrews.

(*b*) Chron. No. 3, in Innes.

(*c*) Torfæus's *Orcades*, p. 25, &c.

(*d*) *Ulster Annals*; Chron. No. 4, in Innes: Lord Hailes remarks, mistakingly, that no party espoused the cause of this pageant monarch Lulach. *An. v. i.* p. 3.

(*e*) Torfæus's *Orcades*, p. 27.

Shakspeare (*f*). As Maormor of Ross, Macbeth overpowered the king, and seized the sceptre. X. SUTHERLAND, and CATHNESS, formed a district, which, at the end of the tenth century, was ruled by Sigurd, the Norwegian Earl of Orkney. This powerful prince was succeeded by his son, Thorfin, the grandson of Malcolm II.; who claimed authority over the Gaelic people of the interior country; though they owed submission to the Scottish king.

Such were the districts of Scotland, throughout the Scottish period. These divisions agree nearly with those of the Document, "*De Situ Albaniae*," which was communicated, in the twelfth century, by Andrew, the bishop of Cathness, to Giraldus Cambrensis (*g*). He is not accurate, however, in all his divisions: he couples Angus, and Merns, together, though they were undoubtedly distinct, as we have seen; and were ruled by several Maormors: He conjoins Moray with Ross, though they were also separate; and were governed by various Maormors. As the districts, which were inhabited by the British tribes, when Agricola invaded North-Britain, were connected by very slight ties; so those several districts, during the Scottish period, were conjoined by a very brittle chain. *The whole* scarcely enjoyed authority over every part. The clans of the distinct districts possessed rights, which the whole kingdom could hardly controul: they were governed by their own customs; and they were ruled by their own chieftains, or Maormors, who could not be appointed, nor displaced, by the king: we shall see, in our progress, that the *Maormors* of the present period, in the next, assumed the name, and character of *Earls*, by their own authority, rather than the king's creation. The notion of a body politic, that had an acknowledged authority, to make laws, which every individual, and every district, were bound to obey, was little recognized, among the Gaelic people, and scarcely known, during the present period. But, in those enumerations of districts, and of Maormors, we see nothing of the regimen of sheriffdoms, with their several sheriffs, who were peculiarly reprobated by the Irish polity, and habits.

In the same manner, the Kings, the Maormors, the Chiefs, were so independant of each other, in their respective stations, that the power of the superior over the inferior was but little felt, though it was acknowledged; and was often resisted; because it could not easily be enforced. The prerogative of the kings, and the privileges of the princes, and chiefs, and people, continued the same, during the Scottish period, as they had been, throughout the Pictish, among the Scoto-Irish (*b*). The same law, which directed the succession of the kings, fatal as it was, equally operated, in the succession of every chieftain, with similar

(*f*) All the ancient chronicles concur, in assigning Finlegh, as the father of Macbeth.

(*g*) See it, in Innes's Appendix, No. 1.

(*b*) See book ii. ch. iii.

effects (*i*). In all those districts, and subdivisions, the chief gave protection, and, in return, the inferiors yielded subordination, and contributions, during peace; and in war, support, and obedience: yet, during uncivilized times, the possessions of all were precarious; and cultivation, owing to this circumstance, was not carried much beyond the wants of nature, and the dues of chieftainry. The custom of Tanistry was the common law of North-Britain, throughout the Scottish period, as it had been, originally, in Ireland, till the invasion of Henry II. (*k*). The Brehons equally continued, during the Scottish period, as they had done, during the Pictish, in Argyle, to be judges, throughout every district of proper Scotland (*l*). The common customs of the country, and the usual manners of the times, were the accustomed rules of their judicial proceedings (*m*). During the Scottish period, there were customary payments of Celtic origin, which were long known, by the Celtic names of *Cain*, and *Cunevethe*; the nature whereof, as it has been already explained, need not be here repeated, though the *Cain*, and *Cunevethe*, formed, in that age, the principal revenue. The mischiefs, which resulted from such maxims, continued to be deplored, till the feelings of recent times abolished them, by legislative regulations (*n*).

The foregoing intimations clearly evince that, during the reign of Malcolm-Ceanmore, the laws were Celtic, the government was Celtic, as we have already seen; the church was Celtic, and the people were Celtic, throughout the same period. If Malcolm-Ceanmore, a Celtic prince, who did not arrogate the character of lawgiver, had been disposed to effect a considerable change, in this Celtic system, he would have found his inclination limited by his impotence. The Scottish kings, during those times, seem not to have possessed legislative

(*i*) Dr. John Macpherson's *Dissertations*, p. 183.

(*k*) *Ib.* 184. See book ii. ch. iii.; and see the ancient, and modern, customs of the western isles, in Martin, p. 101—24.

(*l*) See book ii. ch. iii.

(*m*) See Martin's *Western Isles*, p. 124, "Of the Courts of Judicatory."

(*n*) The well-known Lord Lovat, in a memorial, which he presented to the Duke of Newcastle, the Secretary of State, in 1727, says, "This extraordinary state of the Highlands has, at all times, produced many mutual quarrels among the chiefs, which formerly amounted to almost a continual scene of civil war: and, to this day, there remains both personal, and hereditary feuds, among them, which have a very great influence over all their actions. The law has never had its due course, in many parts of the Highlands, either in civil, or criminal matters." MS. Mem. in the Paper Office. The Lords of Session reported, by direction, to the House of Lords, on the 9th of January 1746-7; "That the *Highlands of Scotland* have been at all times, and at this day are, in a state so unsettled, that offenders are not from thence amenable to justice, nor can process of law have free course through them." This was followed, by the statute of the 20 Geo. II, for abolishing heritable jurisdictions, and by other similar acts, for improving the union.

power : whenever they acted, as legislators, they appear to have had some coadjutors ; either some Maormors, or some bishops (*o*). His children, and grandchildren, when they attempted to introduce new maxims of government, were in Galloway, and in Moray, opposed by frequent insurrections (*p*). To convert a Celtic people, from their ancient habits, and usages, how many ages, and revolutions, and laws, have been requisite, in North-Britain, and in Ireland !

It is incredible, then, that Malcolm-Ceanmore introduced, among the Celtic people, the feudal system, which was so inconsistent with their principles, and so irreconcilable to their habits. It is in vain to quote spurious laws, fictitious charters, and ignorant historians, for proving, in opposition to that incredibility, that the practice of feuds, the titles of earls, barons, and of thanes, had been introduced into North-Britain, even before the reign of Malcolm-Ceanmore (*a*). A system must be, indeed, weak, which requires the support of fiction ! We have seen, that customs of a very different nature prevailed, during the reign of Malcolm-Ceanmore. We have observed, that many of the very terms of the modern law of North-Britain must, necessarily, have been borrowed from the Celtic language, and usages ; while the very titles of honour, which actually existed, during the reigns of Malcolm-Ceanmore's successors, derived their names, and their energies, from similar sources. The thanes, and thanedoms, which are supposed, by the Scottish historians, and lawyers, to have existed, in North-Britain, during early times, derived their names, and policy, from the Saxon language, and jurisprudence ; and must, consequently, have been introduced, during the Scoto-Saxon period, when the Anglo-Saxon speech, and the Anglo-Norman law, became predominant (*b*). Sheriffs, and Sherifdoms, are

(*o*) See the ancient chronicles, in Innes's Appendix.

(*p*) Lord Hailes' An. v. i. p. 67—106—7 ; Shaw's Moray, p. 212—14 ; Chron. St. Crucis, apud Ang. Sacra, v. i. p. 160—1.

(*a*) Who would quote the laws of Malcolm II., after they had been exploded by such writers as Lord Kaimes, and Lord Hailes, and, indeed, had exploded themselves, by their own absurdities ! Who would cite a monkish collection, for a genuine charter ! In opposition to that collection, and to Sir James Dalrymple, Lord Hailes has shown, that the *Excerpt*, from the *Register of the Priory of St. Andrews*, which speaks of Ethelrede, the son of Malcolm-Ceanmore, as "*Comes de Fife*," is only a monkish recital, that was composed, in some subsequent age ! Annals, v. i. p. 42. Who would quote such historians, as Fordun, and Boece, and Major, and Buchanan, for points of law, which are supposed to have arisen, three, or four centuries, before they were born !

(*b*) When such fabulous writers, as Boece, and Buchanan, speak of *Thanes*, as existing in CELTIC Scotland, during the eleventh, and tenth centuries, who would believe them : We may learn indeed, from Somner, and Lye, the origin of the word, *Thane*, or *Thegn*, and the nature of the thing, which was originally a *land-steward* : And, both were very familiar, in England, during the

are said to be as ancient, in North-Britain, as earls, earldoms, and as records (*c*).

Whatever persons were introduced, or changes were adopted by Malcolm-Ceanmore, or his Saxon consort, were swept away, by a single blast of national indignation, when both ceased to reign (*d*). The modern, and municipal, law of Scotland, must be sought for, in some more congenial period, when prejudice was less prevalent, and power was more favourable. But, a revolution is at hand, which will produce consequences, salutary, though silent. The ancient fabrics of a Celtic church, and of a Celtic government, will be undermined, if not thrown down. We shall behold new authorities assumed, new maxims propagated, and new rights distributed. We shall see improvements follow in succession, till the sun of freedom shall dispense kindlier influences to a happier people, after convulsions shall have ended, in union.

the Saxon period of her history. Whitaker's Hist. Manchester, vol. ii. p. 157-69-72-74-75, 182-7-9. The *word*, and the *office*, both came into use, in Scotland, while they were falling into desuetude, in England; because the Scoto-Saxon period of the Scottish history began, after the Saxon period of the English annals had ended. Cowell, in *vo. Thane*. For a more full account of *Thane*, and *Abthane*, see the subsequent Book, Chap. IV.

(*c*) Wallace's Peerages, p. 112: I agree to that proposition, because it is apparent to me, that neither sheriffs, nor earls, nor records, existed, in Scotland, before the demise of Malcolm-Ceanmore. I put aside the Scottish writers, who speak upon those points, as unworthy of credit; because they assert, without authority, what is highly improbable. But, was there not a charter of Malcolm-Ceanmore to the monks of Dunfermlin, published by Dugdale, in the Monasticon, from the communication of Sir James Balfour, which is tested by three earls? Yes: Yet, it is a palpable forgery, which, by the magic wand of Sir James, was transformed into a genuine charter. See Sir J. Dalrymple's Hist. Coll. p. 228. Torfæus, the Danish Historian, is mentioned, as having often spoken of earls, in Scotland, during much earlier times. Frag. of Scot. Hist. p. 37. What sort of logic is this? Torfæus died, in 1720, at the age of 81: And, what could he know of the affairs of Scotland, a thousand years, before he was born? The Danes have not any documents, with regard to their own annals, at a much more recent period. Pontoppidan addressed, in 1740, to the prince of Denmark "*Gesta et Vestigia Danorum extra Daniam*." In treating of the *Gesta Danorum, in Scotia*, he is obliged, for want of documents, to quote Buchanan, and Boece, and Saxo-Grammaticus, who is equally fabulous, and De Roches, who is still more modern, and ignorant, than Torfæus, who, as he is defective, in chronology, and in judgment, is continually introducing the manners of his own times. Pontoppidan misinformed, and deluded, his prince, upon a thousand points of history. Langebek, when he published the *Scriptores Danica*, was somewhat more happy, though he too was obliged to use the same Scottish authorities, and was deluded by them.

(*d*) Sax. Chron. p. 199; 200.

CHAP. X.

Of the Manners, Customs, and Antiquities, during this Period.

IT is not more congruous to trace the manners of the Picts, and Scots, by analogy, from the Goths, than it is to deduce the Celtic laws of North-Britain, by direct transmission, from the Gothic people of Germany. As those two races of men were perfectly distinct, their manners, and customs, must have, necessarily, been dissimilar; allowing only for those similarities, which the same state of rudeness, or civility, will ever produce. And, this observation is alone sufficient to show how inaccurate Tacitus was, when he conjectured, that the Caledonians, and Germans, must have been congenerous people; because they were similar, in the largeness of their joints, and in the likeness of their hair; and how incautious it is, in modern writers, to copy the philosophical inaccuracies of the Roman annalist.

During the many ages, which elapsed, before Agricola invaded Caledonia, and Tacitus recounted his campaigns, the manners, and customs, of the British tribes, in South, and North, Britain, were the same (*a*). Their marriages, which were not free from reproach, according to the account of J. Cæsar, were extremely analagous. From this source, proceeded, however, the custom of *fostering*, and *gossipred*, among the Irish, and Scoto-Irish, and the practice of clanship, which was extremely like, in all the British kingdoms; and which every where produced the usual evils of anarchy (*b*). The original dress of the Britons

(*a*) Whitaker's Manchester, book i. ch. x. See before book i. ch. i. ii.

(*b*) Harris's Ware, p. 72. See before book ii. ch. iii. Among the Gaelic people of Galloway, and Carrick, we may see this custom recognized by the king's authority, during the 13th and 14th centuries. In 1241, Alexander II. confirmed a charter of Niel, the earl of Carrick, to Roland de Carrick, and his heirs; constituting him the chief of his tribe, or clan, (*progeniæ suæ*), with all the privileges, pertaining to the *Kinkynel*, (chief of the race); with the office of bailie of Carrick, and the right of leading the men of that country, under the earl. This was also confirmed by Robert II. Robertson's Ind. p. 134-5. James Kennedy, who married Mary Stewart, a daughter of Robert III., obtained, with several lands, in Ayrshire, a charter, constituting him, and his heirs

Britons seems to have continued, in Scotland, even till recent times; because it was congenial to the people, and suitable to their several climes (*c*). Their modes of sepulture appears to have been nearly the same, amid the alterations, which that mournful ceremony underwent, during the changes of customs, and the reforms of religion: The burning of the dead, and the practice of urn burial, seem, indeed, to have been changed, by the christians, to the custom of interment; yet the Gaelic people continued to rear the *cairn* over the respected graves of the warriors; as the most lasting memorial of their worthy deeds: And the Gaelic christians even continued, long after the great epoch of their faith, to bury their dead in stone chests, which were deposited in the holy ground of their church-yards (*d*). The rude knowledge, and peculiar practice of medicine, which were once similar, among all the British clans, seem to have descended to the Scoto-Irish of late times (*e*). The reverence of the British nations, for the finny tribes, because they paid adoration to the waters, was a singular custom,

heirs male, the captain of his clan. *Ib.* p. 149. David II. granted a charter, concerning the privileges of the clan of Muntercasduff; constituting John Mac-Kennedy their captain. *Ib.* p. 57. The same king granted a charter, concerning the privileges of the clan of Clenconan, in Galloway, appointing their captain. *Id.* And he also granted a charter, confirming the privileges of the clan of Kenelman, in Galloway. *Id.* The custom of clanship, with the right of command, as chief of each clan, subsisted among the Gaelic people, in the highlands of Scotland, till the middle of the last century, when it was only dissolved, by the consequences of the rebellion, in 1745.

(*c*) Whitaker's *Manchester*, 8vo ed. vol. ii. p. 302; Dalrymple's *Mem.* v. i. p. 345—52, of the manners of the Highlanders.

(*d*) In making a new road, between the parishes of Longforan, and Rossie, in Perthshire, there were recently discovered several stone coffins, containing human skeletons, with various pieces of silver, and copper money: The silver coins were of Henry IV.: The copper coins were nearly of the same size: Some of them were ornamented with *Fleur de lis*; but had no legible inscription: The other coins were quite rude, without any figure, or inscription; and appear to have been only hammered. *Stat. Account*, v. xix. p. 560. On cutting a road through the burying ground of St. Ninian's chapel, in the parish of St. Vigean, in Forfarshire, several stone coffins were discovered. *Stat. Acco.* v. xii. p. 183. On digging at the west end of the church of Coupar, in Angus, there were discovered a number of stone coffins, containing human skeletons: Some of these coffins were formed of one entire stone, which had been hollowed by art; and which had a flat stone cover; others were formed of two stones, that were scooped out, and placed together, inclosing the body. These stones were hollowed, in such a manner, as to suit the shape of the human body; being widest at the shoulders, narrowest at the neck, and having a place properly rounded out for the head. *Ib.* xvii. p. 11.

(*e*) Martin's *Western Isles*, p. 109: A remnant of such manners continued, as late as the beginning of the seventeenth century: On the 10th of July 1609, King James granted to Fergus Macbeth the office of principal physician, within the boundaries of the Scottish Isles, with the lands of Ballenabe, and Tarbet. Macfarlane's *MS. Collections*.

which prevented fish from being considered as food, the effects whereof have been felt, even in our own age: Whatever encouragements have been offered, to incite the practice of fishery, neither the Welsh, the Irish, nor the Gaelic people of Scotland, have yet entered, with ardour, into the views of the legislature, in promoting the catching of fish, as a national object. There is a proverb among the Gaelic Highlanders, even to this day, which speaks their contempt, for the Scoto-Saxons, as *fish eaters*. When we see a principle of religion, which was itself exploded, producing consequences, through so many centuries of change, we ought not to be surprized, that the manners, and customs, of the same races of men, should have continued, for ages, so extremely analogous.

The natural state of the Gaelic tribes, both in Ireland, and in Scotland, was that of war. Among such a people, who were addicted to such manners, there existed a thousand causes of quarrel, not only between individuals, but among clans. Their irritability induced them to suspect injuries, and their bravery prompted them to resent wrongs. The war-cry was no sooner raised, and the *fiery cross* carried through the district, than every warrior of the clan repaired to the accustomed rendezvous, in order to maintain the character of the chief, and to vindicate the rights of the tribe.

The *war-cry* may be traced up to the earliest ages, among the most ancient people. It was a sort of watch-word, by which the individuals of the same clan recognized each other, either amidst the darkness of night, or the confusion of battle. And, the cries of war were of very different kinds: The most common were the names proper; as, when Gideon gave *his cry* to his party against the Midionites: *To the Lord, and to Gideon*. Others were cries of invocation, such as the cry of Montmorency: *God assist the first christian*. But, the most interesting were the cries of *rendezvous*, as *Montjoie Saint Denis*; rally under the banner of St. Denis (*f*). The Celtic nations seem to have been peculiarly attached to the war-cry, owing, perhaps, to the hostile state of society, wherein they usually lived. The Irish, in all their encounters, commonly used a general exclamation; crying out, as we know from Spenser, *Ferragh! Ferragh!* (*g*). The usual war-cry of each particular tribe was *Abo*, which seems to have been a common interjection: As *Butler-Abo*, *Crom-Abo*, which the Irish parliament at-

(*f*) Gebelin *Monde Primitif*. tom. viii. p. 225.

(*g*) Spencer's *View of Ireland*, 1596, p. 119: From the Irish *Fear*, a man, was formed the verb, *Ferragh*, which is pronounced, *Ferra*, to act like a man; to fight stoutly. O'Brien's Dict.

tempted,

tempted, in vain, to abolish, in opposition to the manners of the people (*b*). The Duke of Leinster, notwithstanding the statute, assumed *Crom-Abo*, as his appropriate motto, without much deranging private quiet, or disturbing the public peace (*i*). During the turbulent times of Elizabeth, the war-cry of O'Neal was *Lamb-dearg-Abo*, that is *bloody-hand*, which is O'Neal's badge, the arms of Ulster, and the cognizance of the baronets. The war-cry of O'Brien was *Lamb-laidir-Abo*, or the *strong-hand* (*k*). Every Irish clan had anciently its appropriate war-cry, for the hostile purpose of rousing the tribes to arms (*l*).

The Scoto-Irish brought with them the ancient custom of *war-cries*, though they seem not to have used the affix *Abo*, which was, among the Irish, merely a pleonastic interjection. The posterity of the Irish colonists adopted, like their progenitors, a general cry, which they usually raised, before the onset began; shouting with an allusion to their native country, and their generic name, *Albanich!* (*m*). Among the people of North-Britain, the *war-cry* was called sometimes the Slughorn, and often the Slogan; yet generally the name of the place, where the clan were to meet, on the approach of danger, was the word of alarm (*n*). The chief of the Mackenzies had, for his *Slughorn*, *Tulloch-ard* (*o*), or the high hill. The chief of the numerous clan of the Grants had, for his

(*b*) Those two cries, in particular, and all other clannish watch-words, were abolished by the Ir. Stat. 10 Hen. 7. ch. 38, which directed, that no lord, or gentleman, should use any other *call*, but only *St. George*, or the *King*. On this subject, see Selden's Note, in *Polyolbion*, p. 68.

(*i*) The *Crom-Abo* of the Geraldines is a proper *war-cry*: For, the *Crom* is merely the name of a castle, which belongs to that family, near Limerick, called *Crom-castle*: And consequently, the original meaning of this *war-cry* was to collect the Geraldines, under the walls of *Crom-castle*.

(*k*) Spenser's *View of Ireland*, p. 119.

(*l*) Harris's *Ware*, p. 162-3.

(*m*) *Albanich* is the name, by which the Gaelic Scots call themselves, to this day, from *Alban*, the ancient appellation of North-Britain. On this subject, Hoveden has preserved a very curious fact: At the battle of the Standard, in 1138, says he, "Exclamavitque simul exercitus Scottorum *insigne patrium*, et ascendit clamor usque in cœlum, *Albani, Albani*." Saville, p. 483. The Gaelic people of the Hebrides, before engaging in battle, raised a general cry, which was called, in their speech, *Brosnuchadb-chatb*, an incentive to battle. Martin's *Western Islands*, p. 104.

(*n*) Nisbet's *Heraldry*, v. ii. p. 24: Mackenzie's *Heraldry*, p. 97. The Slughorn, and Slogan, are both from the Saxon language, as we may learn from Somner. In the Gaelic, the war-cry was *Blaodh a Cogadb*. The Gaelic *Coranach*, or *Cronach*, which was of old the funeral cry, came afterwards to signify the cry of alarm. Dunbar, in his *Daunce*, having introduced a *highland padyane*, for the purposes of ridicule, says,

"Be he the *Corenach* had done schout,

"Erschemen so gaderit him about."

(*o*) This is still the name of a high hill, in Kintail, the country of the Mackenzies.

war-cry,

war-cry, *Craig-elachie*, or rock of alarm (*p*). The chief of the Macphersons had *Craig-ubhe*, or the black-rock, for his Slughorn (*q*). The chief of the Macdonalds had, for his Slughorn, *Craig-an-Fhithich*, the rock of the raven. The chief of the Macfarlanes had, for his Slughorn, *Loch-Sloy*, a place, in the district of Arrochar, at the head of Loch-Lomond (*r*). The chief of the Macgregors had, for his Slughorn, *Ard-Challich*. The chief of the Buchanans had, for his Slughorn, *Clareinch*, an islet in Loch-Lomond, where he anciently resided. Mercer of Aldie had, for his Slughorn, *The Grit-pool*. During the progress of manners, districts appear to have acquired the war-cry, as well as the chieftains. The war-cry of Braemar, in Aberdeenshire, is *Cairn-na-cuimbne*, the cairn of remembrance. Even now, after so many customs have been buried in oblivion, if this cry be raised, within that district, in any fair, or assembly of people, all the men collect, for the purpose of protecting the injured individuals. The district of Glenlivet has, also, for its war-cry, *Bochail*, the name of a well-known hill, in this vicinity. If this cry be raised, even at this day, in any of the neighbouring markets, the men assemble; and a tumult ensues. After the revolutions of a thousand ages, such are the singular remains of ancient manners, when government was feeble, and the law was unheard.

The Gaelic clans of the west, and north, communicated those singular customs to the Saxon septs of the south, and east, who had already adopted, as we have seen, much of their peculiar language, and many of their legal terms. In this manner, the invaders of Ireland, at all times, borrowed more from the Irish, than the Irish borrowed from their invaders. The war-cry of the Scoto-Irish was denominated *Slagan*, or Slughorn, by the Scoto-Saxons (*s*). The war-cry of the potent family of the Scots of Buccleugh was *Alemoor*, from its commodious situation, in the midst of the clan. The slagan of the Homes was, “*a Home! a Home!*” and of the Douglasses, “*a Douglas! a Douglas!*” The Maxwells had for their cry, “*I bid you bide Wardlaw,*” which is the hill above

(*p*) *Craig-Elachie* formed the entrance into Strathspey: *Craig-Iolach* signifies, in the Irish, as we learn from O'Brien, and Shaw, the rock of alarm.

(*q*) The *Craig-ow* is a small, but well known black rock, in Badenoch, the country of the Macphersons.

(*r*) *Sluai*, in the Irish, means a multitude, or army: Whence, we may infer, that Loch-Sloy derived its name, from its being a place of rendezvous.

(*s*) *Slag*, in the Saxon, as we may learn from Somner, signifies *bellicum*, an alarm to war; and is so called, says Hicks, from *Slag-an*, percutere, as what was struck off from the metal. Thoresby's Leeds, p. 111—267.

Caerlaverock-castle, where the clan rendezvouzed. The Johnstons, when they were the wardens of the borders, assumed, for their sagan, "*Light thieves all*," which was merely the command of the warden to alight from their horses, and submit to the law (*t*). During the change of customs, ancient families converted their war-cries into *mottos*, which they placed upon escrols above their crests; as the Dukes of Lennox, like the Duke of Leinster, assumed the war-cry of the family, *Avant Darnley*, as an appropriate motto, for their armorial crests. Districts had, also, their peculiar pennons, which distinguished the several septs, amid the conflicts of the clans (*tt*).

Neither Celtic Ireland, however, nor Celtic Scotland, used armorial bearings. Henry VIII., on being proclaimed king of Ireland, is said to have given her the harp, as a distinguishing mark of her feats in music, which has remained, in her escutcheon, the well-known badge of her national arms (*u*). Fiction, and heraldry, have concurred, in deriving the armorial-bearings of Scotland, from a grant of Charlemagne to Achaius, when the fabulous league was concluded between those princes, who probably knew not of the existence of each other. Yet, fiction must submit to fact; and heraldic assumptions must bow down to common sense. History comes in to assure us, that none of the predecessors of William, who began to reign, in 1165, adopted a coat-armorial:

(*t*) Nisbet's Heraldry, v. ii. part iv. p. 245; Sir G. M'Kenzie's Heraldry, p. 97: at the fatal battle of Floddon, in 1513, the Earl of Huntly, says Pitscottie, thinking to regain the field, "called his men together, by *Slugborn*, and sound of trumpet." History, p. 213.

(*tt*) By the charter of Moray, which was granted to Sir Thomas Randolph, by Robert Bruce, the men of Moray were required to follow his standard, "*unà cum alijs qui vexillum Moravie sequi solebant antiquitus*." Robertson's Index, li.

(*u*) Ledwich's App. to Walker's Hist. Mem. of the Irish Bards, p. 11. The position of Ledwich seems to be confirmed by the series of the Irish coins, as we see them, in Simon's Essay; "The harp, says he, for the first time, appeared on the Irish coins, in the year 1530." Pl. v. No. 103. Yet, is it certain, that when a commission was appointed, during the reign of Edward IV. to inquire, what were the arms of Ireland, the commissioners returned, that her arms consisted of *three crowns in pale*. There remains in the College of Arms, a curious roll, containing the badges of the Earls of Warwick, from Brutus, the founder, which was composed by the celebrated John Rous, the Warwick antiquary, who died, 1491. He included Richard, the third, as an Earl of Warwick: the antiquary, in painting the several crests of Richard, surmounted his crest, as lord of Ireland, with *the harp*, and, in order to prevent mistakes, wrote under each crest, England, France, Aquitain, and *Ireland*. These facts demonstrate, that English Ireland had armorial bearings, in an earlier age, than her antiquaries have been disposed to allow; yet, these facts do not invalidate my position, that *Celtic* Ireland had not armorial-bearings, that is, before the invasion of Henry II.

and,

and, diplomacy vouches, with her usual precision, that on his escutcheon the *lion rampant* first appeared, as a national badge (v).

Neither Celtic Ireland, nor Celtic Scotland, either made use of seals, or coined money (w). Their only commercial *medium* was their cattle, like the most ancient nations, during pristine times. The Ostmen were the most early coiners, in Ireland: and Alexander I. established the first mint, in Scotland. In both those Celtic countries, penalties were annexed to crimes, in cattle: in the Irish language *cro* signifies cattle, and also death: and hence, *cro* came, secondarily, to mean in the Scottish law, the penalty of crimes, and the price of blood. In both, as they had not money, in their policy, they had not a word for money, in their languages. And their modern compilers of word-books, were obliged to translate the English, or Anglo-Saxon terms, for the money of account, as well as for coins. Money is now so commodious, in the various transactions of life, that we can scarcely believe, how society could have existed, without so useful a measure for all things. The Gaelic people of Scotland borrowed their very terms, for the several denominations of money, from the Scoto-Saxon inhabitants (t). We may observe, that there is nothing said of gold,

(v) Lord Hailes's An. v. i. p. 141. We are told by Gebelin, that the *lion* was the armorial representation of all the Celtic nations: yet, I suspect, that Henry, the son of David I, the Earl of Northumberland, and of Huntington, assumed the *red lion*; as the king of beasts was already the armorial-bearing of the earldom of Huntington. See Speed's Map of Huntington: William, the lion, probably copied his father's example. We, indeed, first see the lion on the shield of Alexander III. Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. 30. The lion originally appeared on the gold coins of Robert III.; and the unicorn, as a supporter, on the gold coins of James III. Ib. pl. 152, 153. "The *double tressure* was anciently used, says Nisbet, in the royal ensigns of the kings of Scotland, "to perpetuate the ancient league betwixt them and the kings of France." Heraldry, vol. i. ch. xviii. In 1471, the Parliament of James III. "ordanit that in tyme to cum thar suld be na *double tresour* about his armys bot that he suld ber hale armis of the lyoun, without ony mar." Robertson's Parl. Record, p. 169. We may easily suppose, that it was the English faction, which predominated so much, in that unhappy reign; and which introduced that fulmination against the *double tresour*, in contempt of the ancient league with France: yet, the *double tressure* seems to have maintained its place, in the armorial-bearings of Scotland, even to our own times.

(w) Ruddiman's Introduct. to Anderson's Dipl. Scotiæ; and Astle on the Seals of Scotland: see Simon's Essay on Irish coins; Harris's Ware, v. i. p. 206; Ledwich's Antiq. of Ireland, 124; Anderson's Dipl. Scotiæ; Cardonel's Numismata Scotiæ. The attentive diligence of modern antiquaries has, indeed, discovered, in Ireland, some silver coins of *Irish reguli*, during the eleventh century. Collect. Hiber. v. ii. p. 157. The inscriptions are in the Irish character, and language.

(t) The Gaelic *Feorling*, a farthing, is from the Saxon *Feorthling*, the *th* being quiescent, in the Gaelic pronounciation. The Gaelic *Peighin*, a penny, is from the Saxon *Penig*; whence also the Gaelic compounds *Leath-peighin*, a half-penny; *Ceathar-peighin*, four-pence; and *Sia-peighin*, six-pence. The Gaelic *Sgillin*, a shilling, is from the Saxon *Scyilling*; so the Gaelic expression *Fiochad-sgillin*

gold, or coins of gold, which, indeed, came late into the mintage of North-Britain. In such countries, and during such times, commerce must have consisted in barter. The progress of manners is thus usefully introduced, to trace the connexion of nations, which system is ever misrepresenting; and to illustrate the obscurity of usages, that are daily retiring from our sight, and must soon be lost in darkness.

The *Stones of Memorial* were erected, during ancient times, in vain; since they were without inscriptions. Besides the stone monuments of the earliest ages, and of the rudest forms, which we have already noticed, there exist, in North-Britain, various pillars, and obelisks that, as they exhibit sculptures, show a progress in monumental art. These are chiefly seen, on the east coast, though some sculptured monuments are to be found, on the western shores of Argyle (x). The sculptured stones of North-Britain may be divided into three classes: 1. Religious monuments; 2. Monuments of Events; and, 3. Funereal Monuments. Of the first class, are the upright stones, which stand, in a cultivated field, near Cargil; and whereon are carved the moon and stars (y). Of the stones of memorial, the most remarkable is the sculptured pillar, near Forres, which tradition refers to the expulsion of the Danes, by Malcolm II. (z). Of the same kind, are the hieroglyphical obelisks, at Aberlemno, which tradition supposes to be memorials of the Danish defeats (a). An obelisk, at Kirkden, in Forfarshire, is also said, by tradition, to perpetuate the disgrace of the Danes, from the vigour of Malcolm II. (b). A standing stone, on the glebe of Mortlach, in Banffshire, is the traditional memorial of the overthrow of the Danes, by their frequent conqueror Malcolm II. (c). An hieroglyphical column, which stands conspicuous on the moor of Rhynie, in Aberdeenshire, is the last-

sgillin-sacsunach means literally twenty shillings English. The Gaelic *Crun* is obviously from the English *crown*, which again is from the French *Couronne*. The Gaelic *Punt*, as well as the English *Pound*, is from the Saxon *Pund*, which is still thus pronounced, by the common people, in Scotland.

(x) Astle's Observations, Archæol. v. xiii. p. 10. pl. 17: he shows, what traces an obvious connection, similar sculptured stones, in Ireland. See also Wright's Louthiana, pl. 11, 12, 13.

(y) Stat. Acco. v. xiii. p. 536: The field, wherein those vast stones stand conspicuous, is still called *the Moonshade*.

(z) Shaw's Moray, p. 209; Cordiner's Antiq. p. 54; Gordon's Itin. p. 159, pl. 56. Under this head, we ought, however, to remember, that in after times, large stones, which the charters call *Cruces*, and *grandes lapides*, were placed, as boundaries of lands. Chart. Melros, No. 59: and a *Cumulum lapideum* was also placed, for the same useful purpose. Ib. No. 103.

(a) Gordon's Itin. p. 151; Pennant's Tour, v. ii. p. 166; Stat. Acco. v. iv. p. 50.

(b) Stat. Acco. v. ii. p. 513.

(c) Ib. v. xvii. p. 445.

ing evidence of a conflict with the odious Danes (*d*). *MacDuff's Cross*, which once stood, near Newburgh, in Fife, is a sort of memorial of the defeat of Macbeth, which, as it marked the restoration of an exiled king, conferred peculiar privileges on the race of MacDuff, whose valour contributed to that event (*e*). Of the third class, relating to funereal monuments, the carved stones, in Meikle Church-yard, are memorable, for their connection with the renowned Arthur, and his unfaithful *Venora* (*f*). In this vicinity, at Glamis, there is a sculptured obelisk, which is called, by the popular voice, king *Malcolm's Grave Stone* (*g*). And, the supposed assassination of Malcolm II. is also perpetuated, by another hieroglyphical stone, which stands within the inclosures of Glamis (*h*). In Ross, in Sutherland, and in Cathness, there are several funereal stones, which tradition uniformly refers to the Danes (*i*). But, the absence of Rhunic inscriptions seem to refer them to a different people, and a later age. There seems, however, to be a true Danish monument, in the churchyard of Ruthwell, Dumfries-shire: when it was entire, it appears to have been, about eighteen feet high, without its pedestal, and to have been sculptured, on each of its four sides, with foliage and birds, and marine animals; and inscribed with *Runic letters* (*k*). And this curious pillar, which seems to be the only Runic

(*d*) Stat. Acco. xix. p. 292.

(*e*) Holland's Camden, Scot. p. 35: Among other privileges, there was annexed to this cross, the power of sanctuary. See Cuningham's Essay upon the Inscription of MacDuff's Cross, 1678; Gordon's Itin. p. 164-5.

(*f*) Gordon's Itin. p. 162; Pennant's Tour, v. ii. p. 177, pl. 17: we are by him assured, that women are careful how they tread on the grave-stones of Venora, as barrenness, according to the legend, would be the consequence. Stat. Acco. i. p. 506-7.

(*g*) Gordon's Itin. p. 163, and pl. 61.

(*h*) Ib. and pl. 55.

(*i*) At Sandwick, in the parish of Nigg, there stands, on the east shore of Ross, an obelisk, with sculptures of beasts, and a cross; and here, tradition recounts, that three sons of a Danish king were interred: there is a similar stone, in the churchyard of Nigg, which tradition also attributes to the Danes. Stat. Acco. v. xiii. p. 19. There is another obelisk, which is ten feet high, with carved figures; and which stands, in the parish of Edderton, in Ross, and is said by the popular voice, to be the monument of a prince of Denmark, who, having fallen in battle, was there interred. Ib. v. xi. p. 465. There is an obelisk, near the church of Crieich, in Sutherland, which is about fourteen feet long, and four feet broad, with a cross rudely sculptured; and is said to be the monument of a Danish prince, who there found repose, from barbarous adventures. Ib. v. viii. p. 372-3. At the church of Far, in Sutherland, there is a large sculptured stone, which is said to mark the grave of a Danish chief, who here rested quietly, after all his savage deeds. Ib. v. iii. p. 543. At Wick, in Cathness, there is a large stone, with hieroglyphic characters, which is said to mark the grave of a Danish princess, the wife perhaps of a vikingr, during the days of their piracies. Ib. v. x. p. 3.

(*k*) Gordon's Itin. pl. 57. p. 160.

remain,

remain, in North-Britain, may possibly have been erected, by some of the followers of Halfden, the Dane; and was certainly ordered, by the General Assembly of the Kirk, in 1644, to be thrown down, as an object of idolatry to the vulgar (*l*).

There was another class of such monuments, which was very familiar to the Irish, and the Scoto-Irish, and which may be properly called inaugural stones. The chieftains of clans, in Ireland, were inaugurated, by being placed on stones, whatever the kings may have been, when they were severally instituted (*m*). A sort of inauguration existed, certainly, among the chieftains, in North-Britain (*n*). To the same obscure origin, may be referred the coronation stone of the Scottish kings. This memorable stone is traced up to a very distant origin. Legend supposes this ill-fated stone to have been the pillow of Jacob; to have been brought from the Holy Land to the sacred island; to have been the individual stone, whereupon the supreme kings of Ireland used to be inaugurated, in times of heathenism, on the hill of Tarah (*o*). The fatal stone of the Irish legends is supposed to have been a *record* stone, in Kintire, before it was brought to Scone by Kenneth, as an *inaugural stone* (*p*). Aware of the ancient legend, and the national affection, which was annexed to this inestimable jewel, Edward I. was induced, by policy, to transfer it from Edinburgh to Westminster. He

(*l*) Nicholson's Scots Hist. Lib. lxxvi; Pennant's Tour, v. iii. p. 85; Stat. Acco. v. x. p. 226.

(*m*) Cox, in his Apparatus, says, that "the monarchs of Ireland, were neither anointed, nor crowned, nor inaugurated, by any ceremony." Aidan, we know, was anointed, and inaugurated, in Iona, by St. Columba, though during this ceremony, we hear, indeed, nothing of the *fatal stone*. Ferchar I. was *instituted*, in the kingdom of Dalriada, by Conan, the bishop of Sodor, if we may believe the learned Usher. Prim. p. 711. From the *inauguration* of Aidan, and the *institution* of Ferchar, we may infer, in opposition to Cox, that the same practice already existed, in Ireland: and, see Harris's Ware, v. i. ch. x. Sir George Mackenzie is studious to inform us, that, "Gregory was the first of our kings, who an^o 879, gave the first coronation oath, having embraced the Christian faith." Observations on the Statutes, p. 176. Yet, I doubt this assertion; because I have seen nothing like such a ceremony, during the Celtic period of the North-British annals.

(*n*) Martin's W. Isles, p. 241: In Ilay, says he, there is a large stone, seven feet square, in which there was a deep impression, that was made to receive the feet of Mac-Donald, wherein he stood, when he was crowned king of the Isles, and took the coronation oath: whereupon his father's sword was put into his hands, and he was anointed, by the bishop of Argyle, and seven priests, in the presence of the heads of the tribes.

(*o*) Toland's Hist. Druids, p. 103; Harris's Ware, p. 67: Wyntown has a whole chapter. b. iii. ch. ix:

Qwhen the Kyngis stane of Spanyhé
Fyrst come in Irlande and Brettanyhe.

(*p*) King's Munimenta Antiq. v. i. p. 118.

now caused this coronation-stone to be placed in a *new chair*, to which was added a step, when the whole was settled, near the altar, before the shrine of St. Edward, in Westminster Abbey (*a*). By the treaty of Northampton, in 1328, which was confirmed by Parliament, it was agreed, that this stone should be returned to Scotland. For this end, were issued by Edward III. writs, which were never executed (*q*). And, this stone, whatever doubts may have been entertained, by some antiquaries, still remains, in Westminster Abbey (*r*). Strange! that the bardic prophecy should continue to be fulfilled; that the Scottish lineage should govern, where this stone is found: And thus, the blood of Fergus, the son of Erc, continues, happily, to reign, where this stone even now remains (*s*).

Other antiquities there are, in North-Britain, the works of different ages, perhaps, and constructed, for very different purposes, from the uses of those monuments of stone. The singular terraces, which appear in several places, were undoubtedly intended for various sports. In Peebles-shire, which was famous for its plays, these terraces abound. Near Newlands, on the side of an eminence, which is called *Terrace-hill*, and which has the significant remains of a British strength, on its summit, are to be seen a dozen rows of artificial terraces, that were raised, one above another, in a regular series. These terraces, which may be seen at a great distance, appeared to Gordon, the tourist, like a

(*a*) Among the king's jewels, which were discovered in the Castle of Edinburgh, 1296, was "Una petra magna super quem reges Scotiæ solebant coronari." Ayloffe's Cal. p. 353. In the wardrobe account of Edward I., under the year 1300, are the expences, which were then laid out upon that stone, when it was placed in the *new chair*, with a step, and when the whole was painted, and adorned, at the expence of 1 l. 19 s. 7 d., which was a great sum in those times. See p. 60.

(*q*) Ayloffe's Calendar, Introd. p. 56—58. Topham, in his introduction to the Wardrobe Account of Ed. I. in 1300, p. 41, says, that, notwithstanding the orders of Edward III., this coronation-stone has ever since remained in the confessor's chapel; as Edward III. renewed the pretensions, and policy of his grandfather, and thought of bending the unyielding necks of the Scottish people.

(*r*) Widemore's Hist. West. Abbey, p. 80; Gent. Mag. 1781, p. 452; Ib. 1782, p. 22. Historians have variously described this stone. In the act of the coronation of Alexander III., the last of the Scottish kings, who had the felicity to be crowned in this essential seat, it is said, that the Earl of Fife, as it was his privilege to do, placed the king, "in Cathedra *Marmorea*;" yet, is it added that, the king being placed "super hanc Cathedram *lapidani*." MS. in my Library.

(*s*) The Bardic saw runs thus:

"Except old Seers do feign,
 "And wizard wits be blind;
 "The Scots in place must reign,
 "Where they this stone shall find."

large

large amphitheatre (*t*). Gordon supposes those interesting works to have been made by Roman hands, for itinerary encampments: the people say, they are *Pictish* remains; because they know not either their origin, or their use, which, indeed, cannot be easily ascertained. At the east end of Lyne-bridge, somewhat more than half a mile from the Terrace-hill, there is a small hill, with terraces, on the side of it, which is called the *Moot*-hill. This name indicates the judicial purpose, to which these terraces were applied, in much more recent times: they may have been originally constructed, for the uses of war, and subsequently converted to the objects of peace (*u*). At Kirkurd, and Skirling, there are rows of terraces, similar to those near Newlands (*v*). At Smithfield, near the shire-town of Peeblis, there are still faint appearances of terrace-walks, in an elevated situation (*w*). This intimation carries the reader's recollection to the well-known poem of "*Peeblis to the play*," which has been attributed, by conjecture, to King James I. (*x*). In Borthwick parish, near Currie, there are

(*t*) Itin. Septent. p. 114-15. Pennycuik gives a much less magnificent idea of those curious remains of art. He says, there are only eleven, or twelve rows of terrace-walks: he agrees, however, that the like are to be seen upon the top of several other hills, in Tweeddale. Geograph. Descrip. of Peebles-shire, p. 16.

(*u*) It is a fact, that there are British hill-forts, wherever there are terraces, in Peebles. See Armstrong's Map of this shire, with the companion to it; Gordon's Itin. p. 115.

(*v*) Id.

(*w*) Companion to the Map. In Northumberland, near Cornhill, there are similar terraces, which are said to have been designed, for exercising the Militia. Wallis Hist. Northum. v. ii. p. 70: Pennant concurs in this improbable conjecture. Tour in Scotland, v. ii. p. 281. Gordon intimates, that there are such terraces at St. Oswald, near Severus's Wall, in Northumberland. Itin. Sept. p. 115.

(*x*) The ingenious editor of K. James I. poems, remarks, that the annual games of archery, and other pastimes, at Peebles, were a *very ancient institution*. Tytler's Remains of K. James I. p. 33-166. The antiquaries have failed egregiously, in explaining the nature of the *pastimes at Peebles*. Id. Stat. Acco. of Peebles, v. xii. p. 13, 14; Pinkerton's Scottish Ballads, v. ii. p. 1-161; and Calander's Ancient Scottish Poems, p. 104, who is only studious to tell that, "*to play is to plead*." Those *pastimes*, at *Peeblis*, were probably very different, in successive ages, with the various changes of manners. It is to be lamented, that the humorous poet, whoever he were, did not describe the nature of the plays, at Peeblis, in his elegant poem, on this subject. From him, we only learn, that they were presented, on *May-day*, which was properly deemed "*their feist day*;" and that those pastimes were numerously attended:

" At beltane, quhen ilk bodie bownis

" To Peeblis to the play,

" To heir the *singin* and the *soundis*;

" The solace, suth to say,

" Be

are similar terraces, on the side of a commodious valley (*y*). At Markinch, in Fife, there is a beautiful hill of an oval form, which has six artificial terraces, on its northern declivity, and which has a meandering rivulet through an appropriate meadow below. The tradition, which has preserved the name of *the play-field* to the mead, that fronts the terraces, shows, with sufficient conviction, the uses of the whole (*z*). And, this disclosure seems to evince, that the terraces, and the play-field, were constructed, in some period subsequent to the present, by one of the Earls of Fife, whose influence could engage the whole power of the country, in so popular a work (*a*). There are also terraces, which resemble those in Tweeddale, on the north side of a hill, in Glamis parish, with De-noon Castle above, though without a mead below (*b*). At Bochastel, in the parish of Callander, there is an artificial bank, which is sixty paces long, in a straight line; having the appearance of two tiers of seats, with butts at each end of it (*c*). But, the grandest terraces, in North-Britain, are those of Glenroy: three parallel rows of terraces, or wide roads, run, for seven, or eight miles, along each side of this valley, which is narrow, with high mountains, on both sides of it. These terraces are, undoubtedly, singular monuments of the labour, and skill, and perseverance, of the people, who made them. Taken in their whole extent, these terraces are at least forty-eight miles long; each terrace being near seventy feet broad, which are cut out of the curving sides of

“ Be firth and forrest furth they found;

“ Thay graythit tham full gay;

“ God wot that wald they do that stound,

“ For it was their *feist day*,

“ Thay said,

“ Of *Peeblis to the Play*.”

The same pastimes of *singin*, and *soundis*, continued till the age of James V. who, in his *Christ's Kirk on the Green*, recollected *Peebles at the Play*. Dr. Pennycuik, who published his description of Tweeddale, in 1715, informs us that, “ Here, [Peeblis] upon the fourth of May, is yearly run a “ famous horse-race, for a large silver cup.” The antiquarian minister of the place, after speaking of *ancient tournaments*, adds, “ their horse-races continued to be held, at *Beltain*, till the middle of the eighteenth century.” Stat. Acco. v. xii. p. 15.

(*y*) The Reverend J. Clunie's MS. Account.

(*z*) Stat. Acco. v. xii. p. 551-2.

(*a*) We know, that the dramatic satyre of the three estates, by Sir David Lindsay, was acted near Couper, in Fife, at the early period of the sixteenth century; they may have been also presented, on this very playfield, at Markinch, before the coarse gentry, who were arranged on the terraces above: and other games of a more healthful, and salutary tendency, may have been exhibited there, in much prior times: perhaps, justice was here administered to the whole country, by the Earl of Fife, who was governor, and judge. Sibbald's Fife, p. 140.

(*b*) Gordon's Itin. Sept. p. 164.

(*c*) Stat. Acco. v. xi. p. 609.

the

the glen. There are also similar terraces, in the neighbouring valleys of Glen Spean, and Glen Gluy (*d*). The tradition of the country attributes those vast works to the accommodation of hunting. When we recollect the huntings of the Earls of Athol, during the days of Mary Stuart, we may easily conceive what must have been the huntings of the Scottish kings, in Glen-roy, during earlier times, when a whole nation was collected by a common passion (*e*).

We are now to review those curiosities, which have been lately discovered, the vitrified forts, that exist in every part of North-Britain. They were first brought before the public, in 1777 (*v*). It is apparent, from the descriptions of those vitrified forts, that they are in every respect, except the vitrification, the same as the hill-forts of the Britons in North, and South, Britain, and in Ireland (*w*). The sites of all are the same; being constructed on the level summits of lofty hills, the access to which was generally on one side. The ramparts, which defended the area on the top, were in the same manner formed of stones, without mortar, though some of these ramparts appear now to have had

(*d*) Pennant's Tour, in Scotland, v. ii. p. 394; Stat. Acco. v. xvii. p. 549.

(*e*) Pennant's Tour, in Scotland, v. ii. p. 64: For the entertainment of that queen, by the Earl of Athol, two thousand Highlanders were employed, to collect the deer of the central highlands.

(*v*) See an account of some remarkable ancient ruins, lately discovered in the northern parts of Scotland. By John Williams, mineral surveyor.

(*w*) Book i. ch. ii. Of these vitrified forts, which may be traced in every district of North-Britain, there are, in Galloway, three: one called *the Mote of Mark* on the river Urr, upon the narrow top of a high rocky hill. Stat. Acco. v. xvii. p. 3. There is one in Buittle parish, on a farm called Castle Gower. Ib. v. xvii. p. 132-3. The other is in Anwoth parish, on a steep rock, elevated about three hundred feet above the level of the sea. Ib. v. xiii. p. 351. In Kintyre, there are several vitrified forts: on Dunskeig-hill there is a *vitrified rampart*. Ib. v. x. p. 56. There is a vitrified fort in the parish of Killeen. Ib. v. xix. p. 628, v. x. p. 539. There is a fort of the same kind on the bay of Carradel. Ib. v. xii. p. 485. In the Isle of Bute, on *Dun-gall*, the *strangers hill*, there are evident vestiges of a *vitrified wall*. Ib. v. i. p. 312. In Inverness-shire, there are those stupendous vitrified forts, which first excited the public curiosity: Craig-Phadric, Dun-dhairghal, Tordun, and Dun-Fhion. Williams's Acco. p. 31. 76, 77; Trans. Royal Soc. of Edin. v. ii. part ii. p. 3—13. with the annexed plates; Williams's Acco. p. 38; and Stat. Acco. v. viii. p. 43; Ib. v. xx. p. 38; Pennant's Tour, v. i. p. 201-2; Stat. Acco. v. xiii. p. 524. In Ross-shire, there is Knock-ferril, which is one of those vitrified forts, that was first found, and most minutely inspected: the engineer made a section across the summit of this hill-fortress, and discovered its well. Williams's Acco. p. 7—12; Archæol. vol. v. p. 256-9. In Sutherland, there is the vitrified *Dun* of Criech, which rises to a great height above the frith of Dornoch, and the cement of the rampart of which is as hard as rock. Stat. Acco. v. viii. p. 373. In Nairn-shire, there are Castle-Finlay, which was surrounded by a *vitrified wall*; and Dun-Evan, the vitrifications whereof are less apparent. Williams's Acco. p. 36-8; Transac. of Royal Soc. Edin.

had with the stones, a mixture of earth, and rubbish. They seem also to have had the usual adjuncts of such strengths, consisting of wells, roads, tumuli, temples, and other accommodations. And, it thus equally appears, that all those hill-forts, in Britain, and Ireland, were the works, and the safeguards of the first people, or their immediate descendants. Nor could those fortresses be the labours of the Danish rovers, who neither penetrated far enough into the country, nor remained long enough on the shore, to erect such impregnable strengths (x).

With regard to the vitrification, various systems were immediately formed. Those philosophers, who arrogated the most knowledge, decided, that the hills, and forts, and vitrification, were all the necessary effects of extinct volcanos (y). Inquirers of a different sort have said, indeed, with less confidence, that the hills are natural, that the forts are artificial, but that the vitrifications are volcanic (z). The discoverer of those vitrified forts, with those, who have followed him, maintain that, vitrification was used, when those strengths were erected,

Edin. Part ii. p. 13. In Aberdeenshire, there are the vitrifications on the hill of Noth, the *Noeth* of the Britons, signifying, in their descriptive language, naked, bare, exposed. Cordiner's Scenery, p. 11—13; Archæol. v. vii. p. 88: In the same shire, there are the vitrifications of Dunodeer, which more modern art has applied as materials for the royal palace of Gregory. Ib. p. 89; Stat. Acco. v. xvii. p. 487: in the same shire, at Troup, a peninsulated rock, hanging over the sea, was once fortified by a *vitrified wall*. Williams's Acco. p. 67-8. In Kincardine-shire, there is the green carn of Balbegno, the fictitious castle of Finella, which was once surrounded by an inner wall, thirty feet thick, "that has all undergone the operation of vitrification." Ja. Strahan's MS. Description, and Plan, which he surveyed, by my directions, in 1798; Stat. Acco. vol. v. p. 334. In Forfar-shire, there is upon the Castle-hill of Finhaven, an eminence of great height, a British fortress, which was once surrounded by a rampart of dry stones, but cemented by a semi-vitrified substance. Pennant's Tour, v. ii. p. 165; Trans. Royal Soc. Edin. v. ii. Part ii. p. 14; Stat. Acco. v. i. p. 465: in the same shire, on Drumsturdy-moor, upon the summit of a mount, stood an ancient fort, which had once been surrounded by a rampart, that appears to have been vitrified by the external application of burnt wood. Stat. Acco. v. xiii. p. 484: on Dundee-law, the most ancient fortress has partly undergone a partial vitrification by the accidental application of fire. Ib. v. viii. p. 206. In Perth-shire, on Barry-hill, among the ruins of the ancient fort, are several pieces of vitrified stone, which must have been accidental, as they are few, and inconsiderable. Ib. v. i. p. 508-9.

(x) The ruins of the ancient works on Dunodeer, in the Garioch, evince, that the castle, which tradition supposes to have been the residence of Gregory, whom fiction calls *the great*, was, in a great measure, constructed from the vitrified fragments of the more ancient walls. Archæol. v. vi. p. 89; Stat. Acco. v. xvii. p. 87.

(y) Phil. Transact. 1777, Part ii. No. 20.

(z) Pennant's Tour, v. ii. p. 165-6; Cordiner's Scenery of Scotland, p. 11—13.

as a mode of architecture (*a*). But, a more sober inquirer has clearly shown, that the vitrified forts are the elaborate works of design, for the security of the earliest people; and that the vitrifications are the accidental effects of fire upon structures, which had been formed of fusible materials (*b*).

(*a*) Williams's Letters throughout, and Dr. Anderson's Essays in the *Archæol.* v. vi. p. 89; *Ib.* vol. v. p. 256-9. As the vitrified forts, in North-Britain, are merely the same sort of structures, as the earliest strengths of South-Britain, and of Ireland, wherein no vitrifications have yet been discovered, the probability is, that the ramparts were not originally constructed, by the action of fire.

(*b*) See Mr. Tytler's Account in the *Phil. Transact.* of Edin. Part ii. p. 3. to 32, with the plates annexed. In Williams's Account, p. 81, there is a letter, from that celebrated chymist, Dr. Joseph Black, which is written, with all the modesty of knowledge; and which shows, "that there are in most parts of Scotland different kinds of stone, which can, without much difficulty, be melted by fire." This truth is confirmed by experience. The fort of Cullen, which is of a much more modern erection, was burnt down by accident; and exhibits many vitrifications, as the necessary effects. *Cordiner's Scenery*, p. 49; and *Stat. Acco.* v. xii. p. 153. The vitrifications on the *law* of Dundee were probably produced, by the frequent action of the fires, which were lighted on it, during the middle ages, as beacons. The vitrifications on the hill, in the parish of Anwoth, are said by the minister "to have been the accidental effect of large fires, kindled on those high rocks, either for some domestic purpose, or for signals to alarm the country, on the approach of an enemy." *Stat. Acco.* v. xiii. p. 351. The British strengths appear to have been frequently used as the commodious sites of succeeding people: the Romans erected forts, within the British strengths, at Burrenswark, at Castle-over, at Wood-castle, at Inchtuthel. In the same manner, the Danes refortified Burgh-head, the *Ptorotone* of the Romans. Macbeth probably made some use of the British fort on "high Dunsinan-hill." In Wales, the more ancient forts were converted into more modern strengths. A round tower was erected within the area of the British hill-fort, called *Caer-gurle*, in Flint-shire. *Munimenta Antiq.* v. i. p. 42—82—85.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Learning; and Language; during this Period.

THE celebrated school of Iona, which was founded, as we have seen, by Columba, ruled by Cumineus, and administered by Adamnan; and which, in the prior age, had instructed the various regions of Northern-Britain; gradually disappeared, amidst the frequent ravages of the Scandian vikings, during the present period (*a*). The school of Abernethy, which was established, at the Pictish metropolis, by Kenneth, but ill supplied the loss of the Columban learning at Hy: this was a period of savage adventures, as we have perceived, in our progress, and of barbarous manners, which forbade the cultivation of letters. And, the seminaries, which were established, on the neighbouring continent, by Charlemagne, and his successors, attracted the few scholars, who arose,

(*a*) The following notices, as they have been collected, from the Ulster Annals, and from the Irish Martyrologists, will show, with sad conviction, the frequent ravages of the Danish pirates, and the final destruction of the venerable abbey of Iona. In a° 797, the monastery of Hy was burned, by those ravagers. In a° 801, it was again burnt, by the same Danish rovers, with its inhabitants. In a° 805, the people of the monastery of Hy, amounting to sixty-eight, were destroyed by the Danes. In a° 814, died St. Kellach, the son of Conghall, the abbot of Hy. In 816, Diarmid, the abbot of Hy, went into Scotland, with Columba's reliques. In a° 824, Blathmac, the son of Flann, was martyred in Hy, by the Danish Pagans. In a° 864, Cellach, the son Aillil, the abbot of Hy, died, in the land of the Picts. In a° 879, died Ferach, the son of Cormac, the abbot of Hy. In a° 890, died Flan, the son of Maoledrin, the abbot of Hy. In a° 935, died St. Aongus, the son of Murchartach, the coadjutor of the abbot of Hy. In a° 945, died Caoinchomrach, the abbot of Hy. In a° 964, St. Fingin, the bishop of Hy died. In a° 985, the monastery of Hy was rifled, on Christmas-eve, by the pirates, who killed the abbot, with fifteen of his learned disciples. In a° 1004, died Maolbride O'Rinneve, the abbot of Hy. In a° 1015, died B. Flamidi Abhra, the abbot of Hy. In a° 1069, the monastery of Hy was destroyed by fire. In a° 1070, B. M'Boithen, the abbot of Iona, was killed. In a° 1099, died B. Duncha, the son of Moenach, the abbot of Hy. While life was thus uncertain, what knowledge could be cultivated by the learned of Iona!

during

during an infelicitous age (*b*). Meantime, not a person came upon the stage of learning, who is remembered, for any endowments of mind, or superiority of knowledge, in North-Britain, if we except Turgot, a monk of Durham, and bishop of St. Andrews. The abbots of Dunkeld, during the Scottish period, are exhibited, by the foregoing history, oftener in the field, than in the schools. Berbeadh appears, indeed, conspicuous, as the rector of the schools of Abernethy, during the age of Turgot (*c*). In this period, the foundations of the Scottish church were only laid, while the edifice of the English church was raised to some height, by the authority of ecclesiastical councils, under the influence of abler men (*d*). Learning became stationary, in North-Britain, under the Culdee establishments of the Scottish period. The introduction of foreign scholars, by David I., when he reformed the Celtic church of Scotland, gave a new body, and an energetic soul, to the learning of his people.

If we were, indeed, to convert this inquiry into an investigation of the *Gaelic* literature of Gaelic Scotland, the labour of the research would be still worse requited, by the success of the investigation. The bards enjoyed all the erudition *among* the Celts of old, as we know from classic authors. But, their learning, whatever it were, declined, as the precepts of christianity prevailed. The introduction of the christian religion, and of useful letters, into Ireland, had probably the same epoch. Whatever the Irish professed of either, they brought into North-Britain, soon after the sixth century began. Of the learned professions, the divines possessed a sort of monopoly of the erudition, which existed, during those religious times: Law, and Physic, as they were hereditary, in particular families, whatever may have been the profit to the individual, communicated little instruction to the people, who were restrained, by ancient habits, from receiving the lights of knowledge, or propagating the effusions of literature. The total absence of inscriptions on sculptured stones, within North-Britain, throughout the Scottish period, is an instructive fact: We may, indeed, say, in the strong language of a great dramatist, that “Dumb cairns, and unbreathing “stones, star’d on each other.” This fact seems to evince, with full conviction, that the Gaulish maxim, which, as we have seen, discountenanced *writing*,

(*b*) Launoy, “De scholis celebribus, a Carolo M. ex post Carolum M. in occidente instauratis.”

(*c*) Berbeadh, “Rector scholarum de Abernethy,” is mentioned, among other considerable persons, who are witnesses to a grant, in favour of the Culdees of Loch Leven; “et coram cæteribus “totius universitatis tunc de Abernethyn.” Reg. of St. Andrews; Crawford’s Off. of State, Ap. p. 430-1.

(*d*) See Book iii. ch. viii.

as an unwarlike practice, came down to the Gaelic people of Scotland, as a confirmed habit (*a*).

Yet, the same Gaelic people of Scotland seem to have transmitted, by tradition, appropriate *music*, which has conferred celebrity on their Celtic country. England, meantime, is acknowledged to have no *national* music (*b*). The Welsh, the Scots, and the Irish, have all *melodies* of a simple sort, which, as they are connected together by cognate marks, evince at once their relationship, and antiquity (*c*). Yet, it is idly supposed by Hawkins, that the *Scots music* was introduced, from the north of England, even as early as the age of Bede (*d*). Sacred song may have been then introduced into the Scotican churches (*e*): But, this does not apply to the *Scotish melodies*, which are supposed, by the more learned Burney, “to be of higher antiquity, than it is generally thought (*f*).” James I., who was undoubtedly a very accomplished prince, is yet allowed by some to have been the original composer of the Scottish melodies (*g*): But, as what he knew of music had been learned, in England, he could not teach what he had not been taught. The wretched Rizzio has been reprobated, by all the admirers, and historians of music, as either the author, or the improver, of those Scottish airs, whose artless tones will be admired, while the heart shall continue to be affected by what is simple. and pathetic.

Music, and poetry, have been considered by critics as sister arts. Since the Gaelic Scots have transmitted to their countrymen those celebrated melodies, it is supposed, that they must necessarily have excelled in poetry: And, the

(*a*) Astle seems to have proved, in his useful work on *writing*, that the *letters* of the Irish, and Scoto-Irish, are similar to each other; and that the oldest specimens of writing, which he had obtained, were of the tenth century. Plate xxii. and page 123.

(*b*) Hawkins's Hist. Music, iv. p. 7.

(*c*) Cambrensis mentions the appropriate music of all those Celtic people; and as he wrote, during an age, when there were few Saxon people, in North-Britain, this fact alone evinces, that the melody, and song, of Scotland, were indigenous among the Gaelic people. Major mentions that, in his time, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the *Highland Scots* were the principal *harpers*. His contemporary, Dunbar, laughs at the minstrels of Edinburgh, for having only two tunes. Satire on Edinburgh.

(*d*) Hist. Music, iv. p. 1—8.

(*e*) Stephen Eddi, or Heddius, a monk, was one of the first masters, for *singing*, in the Northumbrian churches; and was, for this purpose, invited out of Kent, by Archbishop Wilfrid, as Bede relates. This singing monk wrote the life of Wilfrid, which was published, in Gale's Collections of English Writers, vol. iii. Tyrrel's Hist. England, v. i. Pref. p. x.

(*f*) Hist. Music, i. p. 38. He also shows what confirms his intimation, that there is a great likeness between the Scottish melodies, and the Chinese music.

(*g*) Arnot's App. Hist. Edin. p. 632.

poems of Ossian, composed as they were, in an age of rude antiquity, are produced, as sufficient proofs of this obvious assumption(*b*). But, as the poesy of Ossian was composed, in the Scoto-Irish language, we must recollect when that expressive tongue was first heard, in North-Britain. The Erse language was not introduced here, as we have clearly seen, till the *sixth* century: It did not become general, in North-Britain, till the ninth(*i*). The Poems of Ossian turn much on the Danish invasions of Ireland, which did not commence till the ninth age began. These intimations of history confine the poesy, and the heroes of Ossian, to much more recent times, than their supposed epoch. That the Gaelic people of Scotland have transmitted poetry, appears, from adequate evidence, to be certain. And the reign of Malcolm-Ceanmore produced a Gaelic *Duan*, which, whatever may be its merit, as a *poem*, has supplied some historical notices. Yet, recent inquiry has not been so much occupied about the nature, as about the identity, and existence, of the common language of Gaelic Scotland, during the Scottish period of her annals. The preceding pages may seem to have ascertained what language was actually spoken, though this point is contested by theorists(*k*). A Celtic king; a Celtic government; a Celtic

(*b*) Arnot's Hist. Edin. Ap.

(*i*) See before Book II. Ch. III. ; Book III. Ch. I.

(*k*) "That the language of the *Irish* prevailed, in Scotland, saith the Enquirer, 1789, v. ii. p. 160, after the time of Kenneth, the conqueror of the Picts, there is not the shadow of proof." This assertion is again repeated with some enlargement: "There is not the shadow of Proof, that the *Irish* tongue ever was at all used, in the lowlands of Scotland." Id. These observations have been re-echoed by the copyists of the Enquirer, 1789. The people, who imposed the Gaelic names on places, throughout Scotland, must have spoken the Gaelic language: All persons, who repeat those Gaelic names, in their daily intercourse, speak the Gaelic language, in the lowlands, to this day. The same theorist, who makes the foregoing assertions, again and again acknowledges, however, that "the only common clergy, in Pictland, were *Irish*." Ib. p. 278-79. "The *Irish* clergy," he adds, "were the sole churchmen, in Pictland." Ib. p. 282. When the whole clergy of Scotland assembled, as we have observed, under Malcolm and Margaret, they could not understand the *English* language of the *Scottish* queen. The king, who understood her language, as well as his own, acted as interpreter, between them, says Turgot, who was present. *Vitæ Sanctorum*, 1789, p. 339, 376. The editor of these Lives attempts to explain away the meaning of this curious passage, in opposition to Lord Hailes, in his Annals, v. i. p. 35. And the notion, that the Scoto-Irish speech was the vernacular tongue of Scotland, in that age, is considered, as a *strange opinion* by the Dissertator on Ossian, and by all those, who think that the Picts were a Gothic people. Laing's Hist. of Scot. v. ii. p. 432. The same *strange opinion* of the common use of the Gaelic speech, in proper Scotland, was entertained by Buchanan, whose authority may, perhaps, influence some minds: "Totaque, says he, tum Scotia *prisco* *sermone* et institutis uteretur." Ed. Man. p. 167. The context shows, that by the *ancient speech*, Buchanan meant the *Gaelic* language. Ib. p. 47—51. In the same opinion, concurred with Buchanan, Verstegan, a native Fleming, and a better antiquary, who assures us that, "As now (at
" the

Celtic church; concur to evince, that the people were necessarily Celtic, who spoke the Gaelic tongue. That the Cambro-British speech was spoken, by the Picts of the prior period, is a fact, which we have seen established, as a moral certainty (*l*). That the Scots overpowered the Picts, and over-ran North-Britain, in the subsequent period, which began with 843 A.D., are events, that have been historically settled (*m*). That the Scoto-Irish tongue was spoken, in every part of proper Scotland, from the accession of Kenneth, the conqueror of the Picts, till the demise of Donal-bane, is a proposition, which may be made so certain, as not to be doubted, by any one, who would avoid the charge of obstinacy, or folly. If such a proof were required, it might be introduced to the mind of the sober sceptic, under three heads: 1. The names of Persons; 2. The appellations of places; and, 3. A comparative topography of the *Saxon* names of places, in the south, with the *Gothic* names, in the northern parts of Scotland.

“ the conquest) the English court, by reason of the abundance of Normans therein, became most
 “ to speak French; so the Scottish court, because of the queen, and the many English, that came
 “ with her, began to speak English, the which language, it should seem, King Malcolm himself
 “ had before that learned, and now by reason of the queen did the more affect: But, the English
 “ tongue did in fine prevail more in Scotland, than the French did in England: For, English be-
 “ came the language of all the south part of Scotland; *the Irish before that having been the general*
 “ *language of that whole country*, since remaining only in the north, where, by reason of the altera-
 “ tion thereof, in the south parts, the vulgar Highlanders began to call their southern countrymen,
 “ by the name of Englishmen, and that part of Scotland, by the name of England.” Restitution
 of Decayed Intelligence, 1605, p. 180. He who cries out that, “ There is not a shadow of proof
 “ that the Irish tongue was ever at all used, in the lowlands of Scotland,” may be confronted with
 the notorious John Harding, who travelled through Scotland, in 1434, under a safe conduct of
 James I.; and who reported, that he heard the *wild Scots* speak the *Irish tongue*, in the *Gariach*,
 and in the lowlands of Moray. Gough’s Top. v. ii. p. 581. Why; the *Irish tongue* was commonly
 spoken, in the celebrated school of Aberdeen, during the reign of Mary Stewart. See that rare
 book Vaus’s *Rudimenta*, Edin. 1566. The historian, Major, informs us, indeed, that “ *Una*
 “ *Scotiæ medietas Hibernicæ loquitur.*” Hist. Ed. 1521, fol. 15. Munster, the geographer, after
 relating the migration of the Scots from Ireland, more specially adds: “ *Scoti utunt in hodiernam*
 “ *usque diem pro majori parte Hibernica lingua.*” Cosmographia, 1559, p. 48. Thus, they both
 concur in the same fact. Here, then, is something more than *the shadow of a proof*, that the Irish
 tongue was generally spoken in Scotland, till recent times. It is, indeed, an instructive fact,
 which confirms those authorities, that the Gaelic language is even now spoken throughout two
 thirds of proper Scotland, lying northward of the two friths; as we may learn, by comparing the
 appropriate informations of the several ministers, in their Statistical Accounts, with the map of
 Scotland.

(*l*) Book I. Ch. I.

(*m*) In Book III. Ch. I. V. VII. VIII. IX.

1. The

1. The names of persons, in proper Scotland, appear to have been all Gaelic, during that period; as we know from record (*n*). The appellations, and sobriquets, of the Scottish kings, and of the royal family, were obviously Irish, however they may have been blundered by copyists, or barbarized by translators (*o*). The chief nobility of *the lowlands*, beyond the Forth, were mostly Celtic, as low down, as the memorable accession of Robert Bruce, if we except the Gothic earls of Cathness (*p*). The appellations of bishops, abbots, and indeed the whole clergy, were all Gaelic, during the Scottish period (*q*).

At the demise of Donal-bane, the whole people, inhabiting every district of proper Scotland, spoke the Irish tongue, if it be true, as we have seen, that they were ruled by Scoto-Irish kings, and instructed by Scoto-Irish ecclesiastics. At that epoch, the Gaelic people expelled the English, as we may learn from the English chroniclers (*r*). During the reign of William, the Lion, the Gaelic people

(*n*) See the Chartularies throughout. See the Ancient Chronicles; the Annals of Ulster; the Register of the Priory of St. Andrews, as the contents thereof have been published, in the Enquiry, 1789, v. i. p. 450—70. Notwithstanding the influx of many new settlers, during the twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, the great body of the people, who inhabited the *lowlands of Scotland*, was still Celtic. This appears conspicuous in the Chartularies, particularly, wherever we find a number of the inhabitants collected together. David I. granted to the monks of May the half of the lands of Ballegallin, in Fife, “*sicut Gillecorm, Mac-Ghimbethin, Macbeth, Mactorfin, et Malmure, Thein de Cellin, eis predictam terram pertinueret.*” Chart of May, No. 4. The principal persons, whom David I. convened to decide a controversy, about the lands of Kirkness, near Loch-Leven, were *Constantin*, the earl of Fife, and great judge, in Scotland, *Macbeth*, thane of Falkland, *Duffgal*, the son of *Mac-Che*, and *Maldoineith*, the son of *Machedach*. Reg. of St. Andrews. At the end of the twelfth century, the lands of Balfech, in the Merns, were preambulated, in pursuance of the king’s precept, by *Angus Mac-Dunet*, *Malbride*, *Mac-Leod*, *Duff’s Coloc* of Fetteressoe, *Muirac*, *Malmuir*, *Dac-Gillemichael*, *Gillechrist*, *Macfadworth*, and *Cormac* of Nig, et alios probos homines domini regis *de Anegus et de Moernes*. Chart. Arbroth. 70. In 1231, some lands, in Fife, were perambulated, by the following jurors: *Gillecris de Laen*, *Gilleconstantin*, *Gillethomas*, *Bridi Camb*, *Gilleserf*, *Mac-Rolf*, *Gillemartin*, *Gillecolm*, *Mac-Melg*, *John Trodi*, *Rescoloc*, *Gillandres*, *Seth Mac-Leod*, *Gillepatrick*, *Mac-Manethin*. Chart. Dunfermlin. Such were the Gaelic jurymen, of the Merns, of Angus, and of Fife, in that age. And many such, equally distinguished, by their Celtic names, might be enumerated, from the Chartularies.

(*o*) See Innes’s Crit. Essay, p. 765; the Ancient Chronicles, in his Appendix; the Ulster Annals; O’Flaherty’s Ogygia, p. 481—491: And see before, Book III. Ch. VII., with the Chronological, and Genealogical Tables.

(*p*) The fact appears distinctly, in the charters, and chartularies, of that period, which have been just quoted.

(*q*) See the Ancient Chronicles; the Annals of Ulster; and, particularly, see the Enquiry, 1789, v. i. p. 468-9-70, for those Gaelic names.

(*r*) Sax. Chronicle, p. 200, with which concur Florence of Worcester, Simeon of Durham, and Bromton. This is one of the most curious passages, in the North-British annals; and it is as decisive

people, even in that more recent age, attempted to expulse the foreigners to their lineage, and strangers to their language; as we know from William of Newbrig (s).

2. In the course of colonization, and in the progress of conquest, by every successive people, the first language was superseded by the second; and the second language, by the third. The first language, as we know from demonstration, was the Cambro-British speech of the original colonists, who remained unchanged, till 843 A.D. The second was the speech of the Scoto-Irish, which remained, without change, in proper Scotland, comprehending *the lowlands*, for many an age, even after the epoch of 1097 (t). The third was the Scoto-Saxon tongue, which, after that period, gradually superseded the Scoto-Irish, at least in *the lowlands*. It is even possible, to show the Scoto-Irish people, in the very act of changing the previous language of the Britons, or Picts. Thus: David I. granted to the monks of May “*Inver-in, qui fuit Aber-in (u).*” Here, then, is a pointed instance, in which the Scoto-Irish people of Fife substituted their own *Inver*, for the British *Aber*; both denoting, as the two words are synonymous, the *influx* of a small rivulet into the frith. We may also see another example of such an innovation, near the capital of the Picts, at the influx of the Nethy, into the Ern, where the curious eye may perceive both *Aber-nethy*, and *Inver-nethy* (x). It was thus, that the Scoto-Irish people,

decisive of the present inquiry, as it is curious: For, as it proves, that the people of Scotland were Gaelic, it also demonstrates, that they spoke the Gaelic language: Now; this is the very point, which was to be proved.

(s) Lib. ii. cap. xxxiv. On that occasion, the Gaelic people drove the Saxon colonists into towns, and under castles: This fact proves two points; 1. That the Saxon colonization had made some progress; 2. That the people of the country continued to be Gaelic.

(t) In the charters of the twelfth century, the Scoto-Irish language was distinguished by the appellation of *Scotish*, as the people were known by the name of *Scots*. In a charter of William, the Lion, to John Waller, he described the boundary of some lands, in Fife, as running, “*usque ad fontem illum versus Karel [Crail] qui Scottice Tobari nuncupatur.*” Astle’s MS. Diplom. Scotiæ: Now, the *Scotish Tobar* of this charter is obviously the *Gaelic Tobar*, signifying a spring. Fife is even now full of Gaelic names: But, it had many more, when the surveys of Pont, and Gordon, were made, in the reign of Charles I. See Blaeu’s *Atlas Scotiæ*, No. 30, 31, 32; and Ainslie’s recent map of this shire.

(u) Chart. May, No. 3.

(x) See the Map of Perthshire: *Aber-nethy* was the Cambro-British name, for the *confluence* of the Nethy: *Inver-nethy* was the Scoto-Irish name, for the same object, which had been, subsequently, imposed by the conquerors of the Picts: Such changes could not have happened, if the Scoto-Irish people had not come in on the ancient Picts.

coming

coming in upon the Picts, in the ninth century, changed much of the topographical language of North-Britain.

Yet, the Scoto-Irish people, in their progress of settlement, throughout every part of proper Scotland, allowed many British names to remain, which continue to be spoken there, even at this day. The speech of the primæval Britons, and the tongue of the conquering Scots, are congenerous languages: And, the Scoto-Irish people, understanding the propriety of the names, which they found imposed, by their predecessors, generally, allowed them to remain unchanged; and transmitted them, by tradition, to the people of North-Britain, British, Scoto-Irish, and Saxon, even to this time. Of those words, which form the chief compounds, in many of the Celtic names of places, in *the lowlands*, some are exclusively *British*; as, *Aber, Llan, Caer, Pen, Cors*, and others: Some of those local appellations are common to both the British, and the Irish; as, *Carn, Craig, Crom, Bre, Dal, or Dol, Eaglis, or Eglwys, Glas, Inis, or Tnys, Rinn, or Rhyn, Ros, Strath, or Ystrad, Tor, Tom, Glen, or Glyn*. And, many more of those local names are significant only, in the Scoto-Irish; as, *Ach, Ald, or Alt, Ard, Aird, Auchter, Bar, Blair, Ben, or Bin, Bog, Clach, Corry, or Curry, Cul, Dun, Drum, Fin, Glac, Inver, Kin, or Ken, Kil, Knoc, Larg, Lurg, Lag, Logie, Lead, Lethir, Lon, Loch, Meal, Pit, Pol, or Pow, Stron, Tullach, Tullie*, and others. It is unnecessary to prove, how many of the names of places, in proper Scotland, are significant, in those Irish forms (y); and yet is it demonstrable, that the Irish people, who imposed those significant names, within *the lowlands* of Scotland, must have over-run the country, before they could have marked their progress, by imposing on so many places their descriptive appellations.

The topography of North-Britain, rather than her history, supplies that demonstration (z). This truth will appear, whether we look, for local language, into her charters, her tax-rolls, or her maps. The names must have been imposed by a people, who spoke the Celtic tongue, before they could have appeared, in either of those depositories of topical information. As the British names were applied to the great features of nature, by the first colonists; the Irish appellations, which still out-number all other names, within *the lowlands* of Scotland, were undoubtedly imposed, by the Scoto-Irish people, who subdued the descendants of the original colonists, and gave their own names to their appropriate settlements. Those Scoto-Irish people, and their posterity, who transmitted their proper speech, by means of those settlements, spoke their

(y) See the Topographical Dictionary.

(z) See the Topographical Dictionary.

Gaelic language, in every district of North-Britain, from the demise of Kenneth MacAlpin, to the demise of Donal-bane. The Pictish speech, which is supposed to have fallen into non-existence, is even now spoken, as well in the streets of Edinburgh, as in every district of Caledonia, as often as the British names of places are mentioned, in daily life. The Irish continues a living tongue, within the *Lowlands*, where it is said to have been never spoken: the theorists, who cry out for evidence to prove a self-evident proposition, speak, and write the Gaelic language, though they be unconscious of the fact: what is this, but what has been happily called, *the learned frenzy of dogmatizing schools*. Yet, it may be asked, whence, and when, did the Irish become here a living tongue? The answer must be, when the Scoto-Irish people, coming from the western coast, over-ran the east, under Kenneth, the son of Alpin. From that epoch, the Irish language, has continually been spoken, in proper Scotland; as record, and history, tradition, and facts, concur to attest, in opposition to the follies of scepticism.

Thus, whatever mode of proof may be referred to, it clearly appears, that the topography of proper Scotland was purely Celtic, during the *Scottish* period of her annals. It appears, indeed, from the same kind of proofs, with equal distinctness, that the topography of proper Scotland was as much Celtic, during the earliest reigns of the Scoto-Saxon period, in her subsequent progress, from Gaelic ages of long duration to Saxon times of ultimate prevalence. In the charters of Alexander I., who began his reign, in 1124, every one of the names of places, on the northern side of the Forth, are Celtic, without one exception of a Gothic, or Saxon name, which would show a Teutonic colonization of whatever age (*a*). In the many charters of David I., of Malcolm IV., of William, the lion, as well as the grants of other distinguished persons, the names of places, in proper Scotland, are nearly all Celtic, with only a few exceptions, which evince that, the Saxon settlers had made but very little change on the Celtic topography, during the twelfth century (*b*). From the charters, and other documents, during the
thirteenth

(*a*) See the Chartulary of Scone; and the various charters of that king to the monks of Scone.

(*b*) See the numerous charters of those kings in the Reg. of St. Andrews, in the Chartularies of Dunfermlin, of Scone, of May, of Cambus-Kenneth, of Inchcolm, of Lindores, of Cupar, of Arbroth, of Aberdeen, of Moray, and the *Diplom. Scotiæ*. From *thirty* names, in a charter of David I. to the monks of Dunfermlin, system has singled out *five*; Pitcorthin, (Pitcur), Kirkaldit, Kinghorn, Smitheton, Wymet; as "a proof, that, in 1126 A.D., the language was [Teutonic] Scots, from which these words were derived." See a Dissertation on Ossian. This objection, if it were founded in fact, might be completely confuted, by recollecting that, the Scoto-Saxon settlements beyond the Forth had begun long before the epoch of this charter: but, it may be

thirteenth century, we may perceive that, the alteration on the Celtic topography of

be shown that, the points, on which the objection is grounded, are mere misconceptions. *Pitcorthin* is not *Pitcur*, as is mistakingly supposed; but is *Pitcorthie*, which is still the name of two hamlets, in the vicinity of Dunfermlin. *Petioker* applies to the *Pittyocher* of Blaeu, or *Pi tuchar* of Ainslie, a hamlet, in Kinglassie parish. Both those names are Gaelic, in whatever form they may appear, as are all the names, in David's charter, that begin with *Pit*, which, in Gaelic, signifies a *hollow*: the *Pit*, in those names, cannot be derived from the English *Pit*; because it is compounded with Gaelic words, in the Gaelic formation; being *prefixed*, and not *affixed*, as it would have been, if it had been compounded with a Scoto-Saxon, or English word. See the Topographical Dict. under *Pit*, which forms the *prefix* of many Gaelic names. The two last examples of the Scottish language are *Smithetun*, which is now *Smeaton*, and *Wymet*; and they are both, in *Lothian*, the proper country of the Saxons; and, therefore, cannot be applied, in fair discussion, to an inquiry about the Scoticism, or Gaelicism, of the names of places, lying northward of the Forth. Thus, the *five* names, which were to establish, in opposition to so many Gaelic names, the Scoto-Saxon speech of Scotland, in that age, are reduced to two, *Kirkcaledie*, and *Kinborn*, on the prominent shore of the Forth, opposite to Lothian. As these are the only instances, wherein the Saxon appears among a crowd of Celtic names, they would have shown a fair disquisitor how little change the Saxon settlers had yet made, in the Celtic topography beyond the Forth. In *Kirk-caledie*, the Saxon *Kirc* had been substituted for the Gaelic synonym, *Cil*, in the original name. See Martin's Reliquiæ Divi Andreæ, and Dalrymple's Col. p. 132. In *Kinborn*, we may see one of the many instances of a pleonastic combination, from the language of the successive colonists, within North-Britain. To the headland, or corner, upon which Kinhorn stands, the Gaelic people applied their term *Kin*, to which the Saxons superadded their epithet *born*; whence the name of *Kin-born*, which was easily corrupted, *Kinghorn*, as the descriptive Gaelic name of *Kinedar* has been corrupted into the unmeaning appellation of *King Edward*. If, says the Dissertator, there had been any writings, in the age of queen Margaret, we might have seen "the harbour, where the queen's ship escaped from the tempest, named S. Margaret's Hope; the place, where she landed, the Queensferry; " whereas it would have been *Portree*, had the language been *Erse*." But, the deficiency of writings, in that age, is a proof of the language being Celtic: there have not been discovered any charters, during Celtic times: and, the appropriate name of Queensferry, in Gaelic, would have been *Aisag-na-bhean-riogh*, and not *Port-ri*, which signifies *King's-harbour*. If the Saxon attendants of Malcolm's queen gave the name of *St. Margaret's Hope* to the bay, which afforded her shelter, this solitary example would no more prove the contemporary prevalence of the Scoto-Saxon language, in proper Scotland, than the names that were given to headlands, and bays, by our voyagers, prove what was the existing speech of the savages, who roamed upon the desert shores of the South-Sea Islands. The attendants of the virtuous Margaret were driven from Scotland, after her decease, by the Celtic people, as aliens to their lineage, and strangers to their speech. And as there is no proof, when the name of St. Margaret's-Hope was given to this bay, we may easily believe what probability attests, that this name was imposed by the foreign monks of Dunfermlin; in the fond recollection of her legendary miracles. Neither is this systematic writer more lucky, in producing Queensferry, as an evidence, that the Scoto-Saxon language prevailed, during that age, beyond the Forth. There is no proof, that the name had been imposed, during the reign of Margaret, who died, in 1093. There is positive evidence, that this name did not exist, during the reign of her youngest son, David I.: for, when he granted this ferry to the monks of Dunfermlin,

of proper Scotland, was but inconsiderable, during that busy age (c). This change becomes somewhat more apparent, during the fourteenth century, from the progress of the Saxon colonization, and from the change of manners (d).

he called it, "Passagium de Inverkethin:" See the Chart. Dunfermlin. It first appeared, under the name of Queensferry, in a charter of Malcolm IV, in 1164, when he granted to the monks of Scone, and their men, free passage, "ad portum regine." It is easy to perceive, then, that the name of *Queensferry* is a mere modern translation of a Latin description, during prior times. The ancient Gaelic name of the place, which is now called Queensferry, was *Ardehinnechenam*. Dalrymp. Coll. 122. The Latin charter, which founded the Abbey of Holyroodhouse, is produced, as a demonstration, that the national language was not Erse. It is not very felicitous to quote a *Latin* charter, founding a religious house, in *Lothian*, to prove that, the language on the northward of the Forth, was not Gaelic. The "*Ecclesia Sanctæ Crucis*" of this charter, was a Latin name applied, on this occasion; and so, can prove nothing: but, system might have seen, in this charter, that the names of places, on the northern side of the Forth, are wholly Celtic; and that even the greater number of the names of its places, even on the south of the Forth, are also Celtic; as *Inverleith*, *Linlith*, *Renfrew*, *Strivelin*, *Corstorfin*, *Avon*, *Hereth* (Airth), *Pitendriche*, *Kelcu*, *Cragenmarf*. Chart. in Maitl. Edin. 144.

(c) See the Chartularies before quoted, with those of Balmerinach, and Inchaffray, and the Diplom. Scotiæ. In the charters of King William, of Alexander II, and Alexander III, as well as of other distinguished persons, to the bishops of Moray, in the 12th and 13th centuries, the names of towns, parishes, and hamlets, are nearly all Celtic: of eighty-two names of places, which appear, in those charters, seventy-eight are Celtic, and only four are Scoto-Saxon. See the Chart. of Moray. In the charters to the bishops of Aberdeen, during the 12th and 13th centuries, the names of places are, in the proportion of twenty-four Celtic to one Scoto-Saxon. See the Chartulary of Aberdeen. The names of places on the north of the Forth, which appear, in the charters of the Diplomata Scotiæ, are forty: of which, thirty-nine are Celtic, and the remaining one, *Rossive*, or *Rossyth*, is a compound of Saxon, that is grafted on a Celtic term. The British *Rhaws*, or Gaelic *Ros*, was applied to the promontory here, and to this the Scoto-Saxons added their term *Hyth*, signifying a haven, and assuming, in vulgar pronunciation, the form of *Hive*; as in *Stone-bive*. St. Andrews appears, both under its modern name, and under the ancient Gaelic name, *Cilrimont*. From the Tax Rolls it appears that, the names of the parishes, throughout the country, from the Forth to the Moray Frith, were very nearly all Celtic, in the 13th and 14th centuries. In the *Taxatio*, which was made, in the reign of Alexander II, there are, in the bishopricks of St. Andrews, Brechin, and Aberdeen, from the Forth to the river Doveran, 241 names of parishes, of which 235 are indisputably Celtic; and the other six are Scoto-Saxon, or English, as St. Andrews, which took the place of the original Gaelic name, *Cilrimont*. See this curious Tax-roll, in the Chartulary of Arbroth, and Aberdeen. In a more recent roll of parishes, within the bishoprick of Moray, extending from the Doveran to the Beaulie, there are sixty names of parishes, which have all Celtic names, except that of Wardlaw, a Saxon appellation, that had been substituted, for the Gaelic name of *Knoc-faire*. See the Chartulary of Moray, p. 338.

(d) See the Chartularies before mentioned, with Robertson's Index to the Public Records: This useful document shows what a vast change took place, in the territorial property of Scotland, during the reigns of Robert Bruce, and of his son David II.; a change, that induced a material alteration, in the names of many places.

Yet,

Yet, it was long before the Scoto-Saxon names bore any proportion to the Celtic (*e*). And, even now, after all the changes of recent times, the Celtic names are so prevalent, throughout the whole extent of the low countries, as to prove decisively, that the Scoto-Irish people colonized every district of proper Scotland, after they had overpowered the Picts, in 843 A.D. (*f*). We have thus seen that, during the changeful effluxion of the twelfth century, the Saxon settlers, in proper Scotland, began to change the Celtic topography of that country; yet, after a progressive alteration of seven centuries, the Gaelic names are still the most numerous class (*g*). It is, indeed, remarkable that, throughout

(*e*) In the Tax-rolls of 1554, there are 924 names of landed estates, within the counties of Fife, Clackmannan, Perth, Forfar, Kincardine, Aberdeen, Banff, Elgin, and Nairn, from the Frith of Forth to the Frith of Moray; and of those 924 names, 741 are Celtic, and only 183 are Scoto-Saxon.

(*f*) The surveys of Pont, and Gordon, in the reign of Charles I, evince that, even at that period, the great body of the names of places, within the Lowlands of proper Scotland, were Celtic. See the Maps in Blaeu's *Atlas Scotiæ*. From the recent surveys of shires, we may perceive, that, during the intermediate period, much alteration has been made of the names of places, in the Lowlands, which stretch along the eastern coast, where many of the ancient Celtic appellations have given place to English names of modern innovation: yet, the Gaelic names are still so numerous, as to show that, every part of those Lowlands must have been colonized by the Scoto-Irish people, during the long period of their predominance, after the great epoch of 843 A.D. All those Gaelic names must have been imposed by a people, who spoke the Gaelic tongue.

(*g*) From the vouchers, which have been already quoted, thousands of Celtic names, British, and Irish, might be enumerated, that have altogether disappeared, in the course of those changes. In the 12th century, the Gaelic name of *Cilrimont* was supplanted by that of St. Andrews; and *Eglis*, near Stirling, by that of *Kirktown*, and this last, by St. Ninians. Reg. of St. Andrews, Chart. Cambus-Kenneth. The British *Aber-cromie* was changed to St. Monance; *Aberkerdur* to Mar-noch; *Strathbogie* to Huntly; *Dun*, or *Doun*, to Macduff; *Sanchar* to Burdsyards; *Inver-ern* to Findhorn; and so of many others. In the Celtic names of parishes, the prefix *Kil* has been supplanted, by the Scoto-Saxon *Kirk*. Some of the Celtic names have been half translated, as *Keltor*, (in the charters of David to the monks of Cambus-Kenneth,) into *Tor-wood*; *Aber-tay*, into *Tay-mouth*; *Inver-spey*, into *Spey-mouth*. It is remarkable that, in half translating those names, the Celtic formation has been changed to that of the Saxon, or English. Of the class of Celtic names, beginning with the Gaelic, *Inver*, signifying an influx, many have been corruptly abbreviated, by omitting this significant prefix, as *Inver-lieth*, *Inver-lunan*, *Inver-bervie*, *Inver-crudan*, *Inver-bondie*, *Inver-culan*, *Inver-nairn*, are pronounced *Lieth*, *Lunan*, *Bervie*, *Cruden*, *Boyndie*, *Cullen*, *Nairn*. A number of Celtic names, that appear, from ancient charters, in a form perfectly intelligible, has been corrupted into complete nonsense; as *Kin-edar* into *King Edward*; *Germach* into *Garmouth*; *Breacmonadh* into *Brightmoney*; and the Gaelic *Inver* has been corrupted *Inner*. The succession of the Saxon to the British, and Gaelic people, in Scotland, appears in the composition of many names, which have been formed, by grafting Scoto-Saxon words upon the previous Celtic terms; as *Blair-ball*, *Blair-toun*, *Bin-hall*, *Bin-sie*, *Ern-side*, *Avon-toun*, *Esk-dale*, *Esk-mount*, *Speys-law*, and

out this long course of innovation, the old Celtic names of the most considerable places, and noted objects, have been nearly all retained; the obvious change having been chiefly made on those of less note. The rivers, the lakes, as well as the more conspicuous hills, and projecting headlands, have nearly all retained their Celtic names of pristine imposition (*b*). The ancient districts, lying beyond the Forth, have all retained their Celtic names, except Cathness, and Sutherland, on the northern extremity, where the Scandinavian Goths made some settlements, as we have seen (*i*). All the shires, in proper Scotland, are still distinguished, by Celtic names, except the modern counties of Cathness, and of Sutherland (*ii*). The chartered boroughs, and principal towns, throughout proper Scotland, as they were settled by the Gaelic people, as hamlets, before they grew up into villages, and towns, during happier influences, are still distinguished, by their Celtic names of ancient times, except a few, in Fife, where the Celtic names were mixed with the Saxon, as early as the twelfth century (*k*).

On and many others. A number of those compound names are mere pleonasms: as, *Bin-hill*, *Dun-hill*, *Avon-river*, *Esk-water*, *Dal-field*, *Knock-knows*, *Kinn aird-head*, *Alt-more-burn*, *Inch-island*; and so of other pleonastic compositions of fantastic appearance to intelligent eyes.

(*b*) See the Topographical Dictionary.

(*i*) The names of those districts are; *Fife*, *Fotheriff*, *Strathdovan*, forming the shires of Fife, Kinross, and Clackmanan; *Glendevon*, *Strathern*, *Strath-allan*, *Menteith*, *Braidalban*, *Rannoch*, *Athol*, *Glen-shee*, *Strath-ar-dle*, *Stormont*, *Gowrie*, *Strathmore*, in Perthshire; *Angus*, including *Glen-ista*, *Glen-Prosen*, and *Glen-esk*, in Forfarshire; *Moerne* or *Mernes*, forming Kincardineshire; *Marr*, *Cro-mar*, *Brae-mar*, *Breas*, now *Birse*, *Glen-taner*, *Glen-muick*, *Strath-dee*, *Strath-don*, *Strath-bogie*, *Garviach*, *Formartin*, and *Buchan*, in Aberdeenshire; and the *Boyne*, the *Ainie*, or *Enzie*, *Strath-ista*, *Strath-doveran*, *Glen-fidich*, *Glen-ivat*, and *Strath-aven*, in Banffshire; *Moray*, or *Murray*, *Brae-Moray*, *Strath-ern*, *Strath-nairn*, in the shires of Elgin and Nairn; *Strath-craig*, *Strath-glass*, *Glen-elg*; *Knoidart*, *Morir*, *Arasaig*, *Moidart*, *Strath-spey*, *Badenach*, and *Lochaber*, in Invernessshire; *Ardgowar*, *Ardnamurchan*, *Suuart*, *Morven*, *Lorn*, *Appin*, *Benediraloeh*, *Muckearn*, *Glen-urchay*, *Cowal*, *Argyle*, *Knapdal*, and *Kintyre*, in Argyleshire; *Levenachs*, and *Arrochar*, in Dunbartonshire; *Ross*, *Ard-Ross*, *Ardmeanach*, *Kintail*, *Lochalsh*, *Kisbarn*, *Toridon*, *Gairloch*, *Loch-caron*, *Coigach*, and *Strath-carron*, in the shires of Ross and Cromarty; *Assint*, *Ederachylis*, *Duirrenes*, *Strath-na-ver*, in Sutherlandshire; and finally, *Cathness*, which has a Celtic prefix, with a Gothic termination.

(*ii*) The Celtic names of the shires are *Fife*, *Kinross*, *Clackmanan*, *Perth*, *Forfar*, *Kincardin*, *Aberdeen*, *Banff*, *Elgin*, *Nairn*, *Inverness*, *Argyle*, *Bute*, *Dunbarton*, *Stirling*, *Ross*, *Cromarty*, or *Crombachty*.

(*k*) The towns, which are still distinguished by Celtic names, are *Perth*, *Dundee*, *Aberdeen*, *Strivelin*, that has been perverted to *Stirling*, *Dunbriton*, that has been transformed to *Dunbarton*, *Inverkeithin*, *Dunfermlin*, *Culross*, *Clackmanan*, *Tarail*, or *Crail*, *Dysart*, *Pittenweem*, *Kilrenny*, *Kinross*, *Cuper*, *Forfar*, *Aberbrothoc*, *Brechin*, *M. wros*, or *Montrose*, *Inverbervie*, *Kintore*, *Inverurie*,

On the other hand, not a Saxon name appears, on the northern side of the Forth, till the twelfth century; as the chartularies attest: and, when Saxon names did at length appear, from the Saxon colonization of proper Scotland, the appellations, which they affixed to their settlements, seem to the judicious eye much more modern, in their forms, than the Saxon names, within the Lothians (1).

Again: It were easy to show, that the Gaelic tongue was spoken, during the Scottish period, even on the south of the two friths. Tradition, history, and facts, concur to evince that, before the union of the Picts, and Scots, the Scoto-Irish people began to form settlements, in Cuningham, Renfrew, and Levenachs, along the shores of the Clyde. After the Scoto-Irish had acquired the ascendancy, by that union, they overspread the country on the south of the

verurie, Banff, Inverculan, Elgin, Forres, Invernairn, Inverness, Rosmarkie, Cromartie, or Crombachty, Dingwall, Tain, Dornoch, and Inveraray: *Kinghorn* is a compound of Saxon, which is grafted on Celtic: the burgh of Wick, in Cathness, received its appellation from the Scandinavians, who settled on that coast: and Campbeltown, in Kintyre, is only a century old.

(1) The intimations of history, as to the settlement of the Saxons, during the fifth, and sixth centuries, within ancient Lothian; and the recitals of the more recent colonization of the English people, in proper Scotland, during the twelfth century, may be illustrated, and confirmed, by topography, as it assumed various appearances, in successive periods. In the southern shires throughout the Lothians, there are many names of places, which were imposed, in the old speech of the first Saxon settlers, before it had undergone any change: such as those compounded of the vocables, *Wic, Botle, By, Stow, Stoc, Dod, Cleugh, Hope, Shaw, Wealt, Weyde, Threap, Thwait, Chester*: the names, from these old Saxon words, gradually decrease in number, as we proceed, northward, through the Lothians to Stirlingshire; and in proportion, as they decrease, the Gaelic names increase: in proper Scotland, these old Saxon words are not to be found, in any names of places, if we except one or two instances of the *By*, in Fife, a single instance of *Shaw*, and another of *Threap*. In this country, the Celtic names abound; and such names, as are mixed with them, are given from the Scoto-Saxon of more recent times, after it had undergone a change, and assumed the form, in which it appears in the 13th, and 14th centuries. The most common vocables, in the Scoto-Saxon names of places, on the north side of the Forth, are, *Ton, or Toun, Ham, Hill, Muir, or Moor, Myre, Moss, Burn, Wood, Water, Stane, Ford, Field, Ley, Haugh, Land, Yard, Mill, Kirk, Fauld or Fold, Dyke, Seat*: now, all those words were retained, in the Scoto-Saxon language, as it was formed, during the 12th, and 13th, centuries; and they are of course common to the Scoto-Saxon topography, on the south of the Friths: but, it is very remarkable, that the old Saxon words, which have been enumerated, and which appear in the topography of the country south of the Forth, are not to be found in the topography of proper Scotland; because they were not retained in the Scoto-Saxon language of the people, who more recently colonized this country. Thus, does the evidence of topography support the intimations of history, that proper Scotland was inhabited by a Celtic people till the demise of Donal-bane, when the country along the east coast began to be colonized, by Anglo-Saxons, by Anglo-Normans, and by Flemings.

Friths.

Friths. The great numbers of Gaelic names, which were imposed by those Gaelic settlers, though they be now much diminished, in their numbers, and disfigured in their orthography, by modern innovation, clearly show the progress of the Scoto-Irish settlements, from the Friths to the Tweed (*m*). The whole of Galloway and Carrick are full of Scoto-Irish names of places. These were all imposed by the Irish colonists, who settled, in those countries, at the end of the eighth century. These colonists, in the subsequent times, gradually overspread Kyle, the upper part of Strathclyde, Nithsdale, and even pushed into Annandale, and Eskdale. And these Galloway-Irish, in their progress of colonization, northward, appear, from the decisive intimations of the names of places, to have met the Argyle-Irish, in their progress southward, in Kyle, and Strathclyde. Such, then, are the lights, which topography throws, instructively, on the obscurities of history. And, as good sense forbids the absurd supposition, that those Gaelic names could have been imposed on those several places, by any other people, than the Gaelic settlers, it follows, as a moral certainty, that the Gaelic language was spoken, though not exclusively, in the countries on the south of the two Friths, during the long period, from the accession of Kenneth MacAlpin, to the demise of Donal-Bane.

3. Meantime, during the enterprizing ages of the Scottish period, the Scandinavians, who had settled the Orkney isles, colonized the nearest shores of

(*m*) The Gaelic names of places, which are so numerous, in Renfrew, in Strathclyde, in Stirling, in Linlithgow-shire, gradually diminish in numbers, as we proceed east, and south-east, through the Lothians, into Tweeddale, Etterick-forest, and throughout Teviotdale, and Berwickshire. See the Maps of those countries, in Blaeu's *Atlas Scotiæ*, compared with the modern Maps. The Gaelic names, in those districts, are not confined to insignificant places; as many of the chief towns, parishes, churches, and villages, derive their descriptive names from the Gaelic language, which was spoken by the Gaelic settlers: such as, *Renfrew, Greenock, Rutherglen, Glasgow, Linlithgow, Inver-leith, Dalkeith, Inveresk, Dunbar, Melrose, Dunse*; and the parishes of *Erskine, Inchinnan, Inverkip, Kilbarchan, Kilmalcolm, and Kilallan*, in Renfrewshire; *Cambuslang, Cambusnethan, Culter, Dalserf, Dalziel, Dunsyre, Gowan, Kilbride, Strathaven, Pittenain*, in Lanarkshire; *Dalmeny, Ecclesmachan, Torphichen, Kinneil, Strathbroc, Binnin, Calder, Corstorphin, Currie, Glencross, Ratho, Gogar, Killeith, Wymet, Garwald, Golyn, Inver-wick, Pitcocks, &c.* in the Lothians; *Aldcamus, Ellum, Eccles*, in Berwickshire; *Botheldun, Alnrum, Minto*, in Roxburghshire; *Drummelzier, Inverleithen, Glen-holm, Kilbucho, Skirlin*, in Peebles-shire. See the *Taxatio* of the churches, during the 13th century, and the Chartularies of Glasgow, Paisley, Kelso, Melros, Dryburgh, Newbotle, Coldingham, and Soutra. The Gaelic names of places of less note; such as estates, and farmsteads, hills, and waters, in those southern countries, are too numerous for recapitulation. See the Chartularies, and Maps, as above; and see the Topographical Dictionary, and the county histories. Many of the persons, in the country south of the two Friths, who appear in the charters of David I, Malcolm IV, and William, the lion, were undoubtedly of Celtic lineage; as appears from their Gaelic names. See the Chartularies, as before.

Cathness,

Cathness, and Sutherland (*n*). They did not, indeed, intrude into the interior country: but, they established themselves along the coast, so firmly that, in their adventurous progress, their chiefs disputed for superiority with the Scottish kings; and their descendants may still be distinguished, within Cathness, and Sutherland, as a distinct race of Gothic people, from the Saxon inhabitants of the more southern districts (*o*). But, it is topography, rather than history, which exhibits the whole extent of the Scandinavian colonization of Cathness, and of Sutherland; and of the nature of the Scandinavian language, which is so different from the Anglo-Saxon speech, though both had a common parent. From Caxton's Chronicle, indeed, we may learn, "that *Cateness* is beyond "Scotland." We shall see, that the topography of Orkney, Shetland, and *Cateness*, is completely different, from the Celtic, and Saxon topography of Scotland, which does not exhibit one Scandinavian name, that is distinct from the Northumbrian Dano-Saxon. On the other hand, the Cambro-British topography of North, and South-Britain, is the same; the Scoto-Irish topography of North-Britain corresponds with that of Ireland; and the Saxon topography of Scotland is the same as the Saxon topography of England. From all those agreements, and coincidences, we may perceive the lineage, and the language, of those several people, who successively colonized North-Britain, which, we may thus see, was never settled, by Scandinavian Goths. Had proper Scotland been colonized of old by a Gothic, rather than a Celtic, people, the topographic language of proper Scotland would have been the same, both in sense, and in sound, as the topographic language of *Cateness*, Orkney, and of Shetland, which is so entirely different, from the topographic language of Lothian, and of Northumberland (*p*).

Such,

(*n*) See before, book iii. ch. iii. vii.

(*o*) See before, book ii. ch. iii. iv. v.; Orkney-inga Saga, p. 48—87; Sagan of Gunlaug, p. 169. 263—5; and Torfæus Orcaædes, throughout.

(*p*) A few examples will completely establish those interesting truths. Of the Celtic names of places, in Scotland, a very numerous class begin with *Ach*, which signifies a field, or a place for settlement, and *Bal*, which means a dwelling-place, a hamlet: and these words are always prefixed, according to the Celtic mode of construction. Of the Scoto-Saxon names, in Scotland, the great body terminates in *ton*, or *town*, which, like the Irish *bal*, signifies a dwelling-place, and some terminate with *ham*, a hamlet: and, these are always affixed, according to the Gothic mode of construction. Of the Scandinavian names in Orkney, and in Cathness, the great body terminate, according to the Gothic construction, in *Buster*, signifying a dwelling-place, in *Ster*, denoting a station, or settlement, and in *Seter*, a seat, or settling place. See Andreas's Isl. Dict.; Verelius's Hervar. Saga; Arij Polyhistor. Schedæ. But, there is not a single instance of the *Buster*, the *Ster*, or the *Seter*, in the topography of proper Scotland; because the Scandinavians never effected a

Such, then, are the decisive aids, which topography brings to history, in tracing the successive migrations of people, who settled, in various ages, within North-Britain. If language be the genealogy of nations; if the topography of Scotland exhibit to the eye, and show to the understanding, the several tongues of the successive settlers; it follows, from those circumstances, that topography must furnish proofs, the most satisfactory, of the nature of the people, who gave the existing names to the ancient settlements. This argument has been found so oppressive to those theorists, who substitute conceit for knowledge, and assertions for facts, that they have endeavoured to free themselves from the weight of reasoning, which they could not support, by transforming the Gaelic names into Gothic, and by metamorphosing the language of the Maps; so as to

permanent settlement in that country; and there are no such words, either in the topography, or language of England. In Orkney, and Shetland, the words, *How*, *Hoy*, and *Holl*, form the prefix of many names of places, in *high* situations; and in the common language of those islands, *How* signifies a height: but, there is not a single instance of *How*, *Hoy*, or *Holl*, in the topography, or language of proper Scotland, in that sense: on the contrary, the Scoto-Saxon *How* signifies a *hollow*, as the *How of the Merns*; and it is thus applied in the topography of England, as well as of Scotland. For *Holl*, *Hoi*, *Ho*, *How*, see Ihre, Wolf, Wachter, and Gibson's Gloss. Sax. Chronicle. In Orkney, Shetland, and Cathness, *Wattin* is applied to denote water, a lake, from the Islandic *vatn*. See Andreas's Dict.; Torfæus's Norway. But, there is no such word as *Wattin*, either in the topography, or language, of proper Scotland. The Scandinavian *Strom*, a current, a stream, is frequent, in the topography of Orkney, Shetland, and Cathness: but, there is no instance of *Strom*, in the topography, or language, of proper Scotland, or of England. For *Strom*, see Ihre, Wolfe, and Andreas. In Orkney, and Shetland, the Scandinavian *Tang* is applied to the many long points of land, which run out into the sea: but, no such word appears, in the topography, either of Scotland, or of England; because it is not in the Saxon language. The numerous points of land, which project into the ocean, around the west coast of Caledonia, are named, from the Scoto-Irish *Ru*, which signifies a projection; and some headlands are named, from the Irish *Aird*, which denotes a promontory. In Shetland, the numerous inlets of the sea are named *Voe*, from the Islandic *Vogr*, as we learn from Andreas: and on the coast of Cathness, several creeks are termed *Goe*, as *Girni-go*, *Papi-go*, from the Islandic *Go*. See *Go*, in Andreas, and *Gea*, in Arij Polyhist. Schedæ. But, there is not a single instance of *Voe*, or *Goe*, in the topography of Scotland. The numerous inlets of the sea, on the west coast of Caledonia, are generally termed *Loch*; from the British *Llewch*, or the Scoto-Irish *Loch*, some are called *Pool*, from the Celtic *Pol*, *Poul*, *Poll*, and some of the creeks are named *Port*, from the *Porth* of the British, or *Port* of the Irish, a haven; and *Camus*, from the Gaelic *Camus*, a bay. The Scandinavian word *Quoy*, or *Quoya*, forms a compound, in many names of places, in Orkney, Shetland, and Cathness, and signifies a strip, or piece of cultivated land: but, there is not a single instance of this word, in the topography, or language, of Scotland, or England; because it is not in the Saxon speech. The Scandinavian words, which have been thus enumerated, and explained, as they denote the chief objects, in the settlement of a country, form the great body of the names of places, in Orkney, Shetland, and on the shore of Cathness. The other Scandinavian words, which appear, in the topography of those northern countries, are all equally unknown, in Scotland.

substitute

substitute fiction for fact, and to establish the absurdities of error, for the consistencies of truth. Those theorists seem not to have been aware, when they thus endeavoured, by a stroke of perversion, to convert the *Celtic* topography of North-Britain into Gothic logomachy, that there is a radical difference, in the formation of the *Celtic*, and *Gothic* names, which furnishes the most decisive test, for discriminating the one language from the other, in topographic disquisitions; and even in the construction of the two tongues: such vocables as are *prefixed*, in the formation of the British, and Gaelic names, are constantly *affixed*, in the composition of the Gothic, the Saxon, and English names (*q*). In those names, which are simply composed of a substantive, and an adjective, the British, and Gaelic rule of formation is to place the substantive *first*, and the adjective last; while the Gothic, the Saxon, and the English rule is, to place the adjective *first*, and the substantive *last* (*r*). This radical difference, in the formation of the *Celtic*, and Saxon names, with other concurring circumstances; such as, the nature, and signification of the vocables, that are conjoined; furnish the most decisive rule, for distinguishing the British, and Gaelic, topographic names, from the Saxon, the Gothic, and the English (*s*). By those decisive tests, it was, that the Celtic names were ascertained,

(*q*) A few examples will illustrate this:

<i>Celtic Names.</i>		<i>Scoto-Saxon Names.</i>		<i>Celtic Names.</i>		<i>Scoto-Saxon Names.</i>
<i>Strath-clyde</i>	-	<i>Clydes-dale.</i>		<i>Bal-na-craig</i>	-	<i>Craig-toun.</i>
<i>Strath-annan</i>	-	<i>Annan-dale.</i>		<i>Bal-na-eaglis</i>	-	<i>Kirk-toun.</i>
<i>Aber-tay</i>	-	<i>Tay-mouth.</i>		<i>Bal-na-t'sagairt</i>	-	<i>Priest-toun.</i>
<i>Inver-ey</i>	-	<i>Ey-mouth.</i>		<i>Ach-na-cairn</i>	-	<i>Cairn-field.</i>
<i>Dun-edin</i>	-	<i>Edin-burgh.</i>				

(*r*) Take, for example, the following instances of synonymous names:

<i>Celtic Names.</i>		<i>Scoto-Saxon Names.</i>		<i>Celtic Names.</i>		<i>Scoto-Saxon Names.</i>
<i>Uisge-du</i>	-	<i>Black-water.</i>		<i>Baile-beg</i>	-	<i>Little town.</i>
<i>Alt-du</i>	-	<i>Black-burn.</i>		<i>Baile-more</i>	-	{ <i>Mickle-toun.</i>
<i>Bein-more</i>	-	<i>Mickle-hill.</i>				{ <i>Mickle-ham.</i>
<i>Bein-ard</i>	-	<i>High-hill.</i>		<i>Baile-meanach</i>	-	<i>Middle-town.</i>
<i>Drum-more</i>	-	<i>Mickle-rig.</i>		<i>Coile-more</i>	-	<i>Mickle-wood.</i>

(*s*) Those tests are so decisive, as to give the means of discriminating the *Celtic* from the *Saxon*, or *Gothic* names, where the form of the vocables compounded are nearly the same. For example; *Dal*, Gaelic, *Dol*, British, signify a flat field, and are frequent prefixes, in the names of places: *Dal*, in the Saxon, and other dialects of the Gothic, signify a valley, and is a frequent affix in local names: now, the names of *Dal-beth*, *Dal-eaglis*, and *Dal-gain*, we certainly know, must be from the Celtic *Dal*; because it is *prefixed*, according to the Celtic mode of construction; because it is coupled with Celtic words, as *Beith*, signifying birch, *Eaglis*, a church, and *Gain*, sand; and because the places, to which these names are applied, correspond with the signification of the Celtic

tained, in their nature, and distinguished, in their application, from the Saxon names, throughout this inquiry, which has historical certainty, for its important end.

There is another branch of the same rule, which equally shows the different manner, in which the Celtic, and Gothic people, applied the *patronymic mark*; the Celts *prefixed* it; the Goths *affixed* it: hence, we every where see, the *Aps* of the Welsh, the *O's* of the Irish, and the *Macs* of the Scottish people, *prefixed* to the names of sons; while we perceive the Gothic people always *affix* the *patronymic* note, by adding *son*, or *dotter*, to the name of the father (*t*). This rule has been the means of discriminating persons, throughout this work, which has required the conjoint helps of history, topography, and philology.

We have now seen, from this investigation, what foundation there was, for the doubts of scepticism, whether the Gaelic tongue was spoken, in proper Scotland, or the Lowlands, during the *Scottish* period of her annals, from 843 to 1097 A.D. It was a little absurd to doubt, whether the people living, in such ages, under a Gaelic government, and a Gaelic church, with Gaelic kings, and Gaelic chieftains, at their head, were Gaelic: it was still more absurd to doubt, whether the Gaelic people of a Celtic country spoke the Gaelic tongue. In order to expose such absurdities to the eye of judiciousness, it was deemed necessary

Dal. On the other hand, the word *Dal*, in the names of *Annan-dale*, *Clydes-dale*, *Esk-dale*, we certainly know must be from the Saxon *Dal*, a valley; because it is *affixed*, according to the Saxon mode of construction; and because it is actually applied to a valley, which the Saxon *Dal* signifies. Again; the Gaelic *Beg*, as well as the British *Byc*, or *Bycan*, signify little, and the Saxon *Big* signifies great: now; the names of *Bal-beg*, *Strath-beg*, &c. are ascertained to be from the Celtic adjective *beg*; because it is *affixed*, according to the Celtic mode of construction; and because it is compounded with the Celtic words *Bal*, and *Strath*: on the other hand; the names of *Big-holm*, and *Big-house*, we know to be from the Saxon adjective *Big*; because it is *prefixed*, according to the Saxon, and English mode of construction; and because it is coupled with the Scoto-Saxon words *holm*, and *house*. By such nice rules of discrimination, may the Celtic be certainly distinguished, from the Gothic topography of North-Britain; and the Gothic, from the Celtic. Those theorists who sit down, under the influence of prejudice, to support a system, by etymologizing the topography of Scotland, merely from a similarity in the combination of a few letters, without attending to the construction, the syllabication, and the location of the names, only delude themselves, and deceive their readers.

(*t*) We have already seen, in this chapter, some judges, and jurors, of the 12th and 13th centuries, whose names almost all begin with the Gaelic *Mac*: I will now produce, for the illustration of this rule, a decree of the Lawman of Bergen, in Norway, and also the Lawman of Shetland, in 1485: there are, Guttormson, the Lawman of Bergen, Williamson, the Lawman of Shetland, and Ander-son, Sturkar-son, Jen-son, Swen-son, Salmon-son, Thoma-son; Johns-dotter, Alexanders-dotter. See James Mackenzie's *Grievances of Orkney and Shetland*, Edin. 1750, App. No. 1; which is a very curious document.

to treat this subject under three distinct heads: 1st, To prove, affirmatively, that the persons of proper Scotland, during the Scottish period, the kings, the nobles, and clergy, and even the resentful commons, were a Gaelic people: when we hear the Saxon Chronicle declare, that the Gaelic people of North-Britain rose up as one man, at the demise of Donal-Bane, to expel the English, the Normans, and other foreigners, who can doubt whether the Scottish people, at that epoch, spoke Gaelic, or Gothic; when we perceive, that the Scottish people again rose, a hundred years afterwards, to expel the English settlers; and when we hear Major, and Munster, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, pronounce, that the one half of the Scottish people spoke Gaelic; who can reasonably doubt, whether the people of proper Scotland, during that long effluxion of years, were Gaelic, or Gothic. 2. The topography of proper Scotland was brought in, affirmatively, in aid of history, to prove, that the names of places, at the demise of Donal-bane, were all Celtic; and must necessarily have been imposed by a people, who spoke Gaelic. 3. The Saxon topography of Lothian was compared with the Gothic topography of Cathness; in order to prove, negatively, that the non-existence of Gothic names, in proper Scotland, incidentally evinces, the non-residence of a Scandinavian people, in *the Lowlands*, during any age. Such are the proofs, both affirmative, and negative, which must for ever demonstrate the often mentioned theory of an early colonization of proper Scotland, by a Gothic people, to be an egregious fiction. When the dogmatist shall hereafter cry out, in the face of moral demonstration that, *there is not the shadow of proof, that the Gaelic tongue was ever spoken, in the Lowlands*, his outcry must be heeded as the wail of childishness, or the bawl of idiotcy.

Such was the philological point to be proved! We shall soon perceive, in our progress, the introduction, into proper Scotland, of Saxon colonists, with their Saxon tongue, who gradually imposed some new names, and finally acquired an ascendancy, both in polity, and in language, over the usages, and speech, of the Scoto Irish people, who had themselves previously domineered over their Pictish predecessors. We shall perceive, in our historical advance, what efforts of power, and what length of time, were requisite to silence the Gaelic speech, in the Lowlands of Scotland, by introducing gradually the Scoto-Saxon tongue, in its ancient place.

We are at length conducted, by the progress of events, to the conclusion of the Scottish period of the North-British annals. It began, and it ended, with a revolution, which has passed unheeded, by history. The first was accomplished,
by

by the Scoto-Irish people, who, when they had conquered the Picts, every where introduced their own language, and customs; established their peculiar polity, civil, and religious, and brought with them their royal family, and their native Maormors. The last revolution will be found, in the course of our inquiries, to have introduced a Saxon people, with a different dynasty, a new series of kings, novel maxims, and, by a slow progress, a dissimilar speech.

B O O K IV.

THE SCOTO-SAXON PERIOD; from 1097 to 1306 A. D.

C H A P. I.

Of the Saxon Colonization of North-Britain, during this Period.

THE Scoto-Saxon period, which began one-and-thirty years, after the Saxon period of the English annals had closed, will be found to contain historical topics of great importance. The Gaelic Scots predominated, in the former period; the Saxon-English will be seen to give the law, in this. We shall perceive a memorable revolution take place, concerning which the North-British annals have hitherto been altogether silent: we shall soon observe a new people come in upon the old, a new dynasty ascend the throne, a new jurisprudence gradually prevail; new ecclesiastical establishments settled, and new manners overspread the land. It must be the business, then, of this Fourth Book, to investigate the Anglo-Saxon colonization of proper Scotland, by modes of proof, as uncommon as they are decisive; to narrate the history, both civil, and sacred, from documents of a nature, as novel, as they are satisfactory; and to exhibit the laws, the customs, and the manners of the dominating people, under aspects of attractive appearances.

History, if instruction be its end, is written in vain, unless the successions of the people, of whom it treats, be periodically traced; the dissimilarity of their various tongues be distinctly marked; and unless the changes of their polity, and the series of their rulers be deduced, from their sources to their effects, through every change, in their fortunes, whether happy, or adverse. Such retrospective notices are peculiarly useful, in the North-British annals, which have been obscured by system, and distorted by controversy.

A regard to all those objects demand that, in tracing the Anglo-Saxon colonization of North-Britain, we should advert to the several lineages, who have successively inhabited this country, in every age. I. At the birth of Christ,
the

the same British people, of Gaulish origin, possessed both North, and South-Britain (*a*). The British people remained, during four centuries, and a half, notwithstanding the Roman conquests, without much other change, than acquiring a greater, or a less civilization, from the long residence of the Romans among them. And they left within every district of North-Britain, indubitable traces of their original colonization, in the British names of places, which the topography even now exhibits to every inquisitive eye (*b*). II. Soon after the Roman abdication, a new people of Gothic origin came in upon the British tribes; settled upon the Tweed, and colonized upon the Forth; and, in the progress of their conquests, intruded themselves upon the Solway and the Clyde (*c*). The Anglo-Saxons left every where, within the southern districts of North-Britain, distinct traces of their settlements, by the names, which they imposed on places, as the local Maps would evince, if history did not relate the arrival of the Angles, their conquests, and their settlements. III. At the recent beginning of the sixth century, a second people, but of Gaelic origin, came in, from Ireland, upon the British tribes of Kintire, and Argyle; and in the quick progress of two centuries, and a quarter, the Scoto-Irish colonists overspread the western isles, and Highlands, where their descendants have continued unmixed, till late times, to speak their Gaelic language, and to practise their peculiar customs (*d*). IV. At the end of the eighth century, new migrants, from Ireland, settled among the Romanized Britons, and Gothic intruders, in Galloway; and overrunning that great peninsula, by speedy settlement, were, after awhile, joined by the kindred people of Kintire, and Argyle, in giving new inhabitants to the districts, and novel names to the places, as far as the Clyde, and the Annan (*e*). Such were the three races of men, who were the only people, that ever made permanent settlements in North-Britain, if we except the Scandinavians, who colonized Orkney, and Cathness. The Britons were the first, who became known, during the Roman period, by the name of Picts; the Saxons were the second people, whose descendants have finally prevailed over the posterity of the other two; and the Irish-Scots of Kintire, Argyle, and Galloway, were the third race, who, by a singular fortune, were doomed to new-settle, and new-name every district of proper Scotland. The year 843, as it is the commencement of the Scottish period, is also the epoch of the ascendancy of the Scots over the Pictish govern-

(*a*) See a moral demonstration of this truth, in book i. ch. i. A distribution of the distinct tribes, throughout every district, may be seen, in the same book, chap. ii.

(*b*) See book i. ch. i. ii; and the Topographical Dictionary.

(*c*) See book ii. ch. ii. of the Strathclyde Britons; and ch. iii. of the Saxons, in Lothian.

(*d*) See book ii. ch. vi. of the Scots. (*e*) See book iii. ch. v. of Strathclyde, and Galloway.

ment : The Scots now mixed with the Picts, throughout *Pictinia* ; and, as they overspread the country, gave new names to almost every place, which they acquired by their address, or arms : it was from this epoch, when the Scots became the predominating people, that their Gaelic language also became the common speech, in proper Scotland, northward of the two Friths ; and that their polity was practised, as the universal law ; that their manners prevailed, as the general usages : and, these representations, with regard to those successive settlements, are attested, by the united voice of history, tradition, and topography (*f*).

The chief objects of the present inquiry, with regard to the Saxon colonization of *proper Scotland*, must be, to trace the change, which certainly took place, during the Scoto-Saxon period ; and which introduced Saxon, Norman, and Flemish colonists among the Gaelic inhabitants. In this period, we shall see an Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Norman, and Anglo-Belgic colonization begin, in the country beyond the Forth, and a Scoto-Saxon dynasty commence. In our course, we shall perceive the prevalence of the Celtic customs insensibly superseded, by the introduction of new manners, and the influence of a Celtic government gradually reduced, by the establishment of an Anglo-Norman jurisprudence, and by the complete reform of a Celtic church.

If we were, indeed, to yield full credit to systematic writers, we ought to believe that, all those changes took place during the obscure reign of Malcolm Ceanmore. He undoubtedly married a Saxon princess, who brought to Scotland her relations, and her domestics. Some barons certainly fled, with their dependants, into Scotland, from the violences of the conquest, in England : Insurrection marked the enmity of the Northumbrians, during the three subsequent years, 1068, 69, 1070, which unsettled the inhabitants of the north of England ; and gave many Northumbrian people to Lothian, and to the other southern districts of North Britain (*a*). Malcolm, as he encouraged, and aided, those insurrections, gave an asylum to the fugitives ; and during his incursions into Northumberland, and Durham, carried away so many of the young men, and women, that they were seen, in the age of David I. not only

(*f*) See book iii. ch. i. of the Union of the Picts and Scots ; ch. vii. of the Civil History of the Scots and Picts : the same book, ch. viii, under *the Ecclesiastical History*, shows clearly, that the Scotican church, with its ecclesiastics, were Gaelic : in ch. ix, of the same book, which treats of *the Laws*, we see nothing but Gaelic usages : the same book, ch. x., exhibits only Celtic manners, Celtic customs, and Celtic antiquities : and ch. xi. of the same book demonstrates, by affirmative, and negative proofs, that the Scoto-Irish speech was the general language of proper Scotland, from 843 to 1097 A.D.

(*a*) Sax. Chron. p. 174 ; Sim. of Durham, p. 197. 199, 200-1 ; Flor. of Worcester, p. 431-2-3.

in every village, but in every house, within his dominions (*b*). Malcolm also afforded an asylum to Edgar, and his sisters, with those Saxons, who were attached to their fortunes; and, about the same time, he married Margaret, one of those sisters, whose fecundity, and virtues, will be found to have had so great an influence on the subsequent affairs of North Britain. Yet, upon the sad demise of Malcolm, the Saxon followers both of Edgar, and of Margaret, were driven away, by the usual enmity of the Gaelic people (*c*). It is thus apparent, that the Scoto-Irish were then the predominating people; while the English, and Normans, were deemed strangers, whom jealousy expelled, and enmity tried to exclude. Under such circumstances, during a rude age, we can scarcely consider the Saxon colonization as yet efficiently begun, in proper Scotland, except by the lowest orders, who consisted of ungenerous *vileyns* (*d*).

During the busy effluxion of the *Scotish period*, indeed, the Scandinavian inhabitants of Orkney and Shetland, colonized the nearest shores of Cathness, and Sutherland (*e*). They did not penetrate far into the interior of a mountainous country: but they established themselves along the coast so firmly that, their descendants may still be distinguished within Cathness, and Sutherland, as a distinct race of Gothic people, from the Saxon inhabitants of the more southern districts (*f*). Yet, is it topography, rather than history, which exhibits the whole extent of the Scandinavian colonization of Cathness, and Su-

(*b*) Simeon of Durham, 201; Bromton concurs with Simeon, in this curious notice: and the *Scala Chronica* states, that in this irruption Malcolm “toke with him so many prisoners, that almost every house, in Scotland, had sum of them.” *Lel. Collect.* v. i. p. 531. As far as those notices go to prove, that the lowest orders of people, in Scotland, during the reigns of David I., Malcolm IV., and William, his successor, were English *Vileyns*, those chroniclers are confirmed by the chartularies: and see Smith’s *Bede*, Ap. No. xx; *Fragments of Scottish Hist.* Ap. No. ii.

(*c*) *Saxon Chron.* Gibson, 199; *Flor. Worcester*, 4to ed. p. 460. Even, when Duncan obtained the government, with the aid of the English, and Normans, the Celtic inhabitants would not submit to his authority, till he had agreed, never again to introduce Normans, or English, into their country. *Ib.* 200. This jealousy of strangers continued under Donal-bane. *Ib.* 201. The same animosity to strangers occasioned insurrections, under William, the lion. *William of Newbrig*, lib. ii. c. xxxiv.

(*d*) Malcolm, and Margaret, gave several *vileyns*, and *Cumberlachs*, to the Trinity church of Dumfermlin. *Fragments of Scottish history*, Ap. No. ii.

(*e*) See before Book iii. Ch. 3—7, and particularly Ch. xi., where this subject is more fully treated.

(*f*) See before Book iii. Ch. xi.; *Orkneyinga Saga*, p. 48—87; *Sagan of Gunlaug*, p. 169—263—5; *Toræus Orcades*, throughout.

therland, and the nature of the Scandinavian language, which is so different from the Anglo-Saxon of the southern shires (g).

After this exposition of the Scandinavian settlements of Cathness, and Sutherland, for the purpose of contrast, it becomes necessary to submit satisfactory evidence of the Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Norman, and Anglo-Belgic, colonization not only of the southern districts, but also of proper Scotland, which was wholly inhabited by the Gaelic people, when those migrations, from England, began (h). The conquest of England, as we have seen, contributed to the colonization of Scotland. And some of those Northumbrian insurgents, who sought an asylum, in North-Britain, as they were persons of considerable consequence, may still be traced, in the families, which they left firmly settled behind them. Of all those Northumbrians, the greatest undoubtedly was Earl Gospatrick, who, being deprived of his country, in 1072, obtained from Malcolm many lands in the Merse, and Lothian; and left three sons, and many vassals (i): the sons were Dolphin, Gospatrick, and Waldeve, who were all Witnesses to the *Inquisitio Davidis*, 1116 A. D. Gospatrick succeeded to the Scottish estates of his father (k). Waldeve obtained from Ranulph, and William Meschines, vast estates, in Cumberland, and Westmorland (l): he gave lands to three Sisters, Ethreda, Gurwelda, and Matilda: his son Alan succeeded to his lands, in those counties; and was also very bountiful to his two sisters, Ethelreda, who married Ranulph Lyndsey, and Guynolda, who married Uchtred, the son of Fergus, the lord of Galloway. The heir of Alan was his nephew, William, the son of Duncan, the son of Malcolm Ceanmore; William being the son of Ethreda, the daughter of Waldeve (m). Arkel, ano-

(g) See demonstrations of that proposition, in book iii. ch. xi.

(h) See book iii. ch. xi. for full proofs of this important point.

(i) Kennet's Par. Antiq. 58; Crawford's Peerage, 307; 1 Dug. Monast. p. 400; the *Cronicon Cumb.* Sim. of Durham, sub An. 1072. One of the Corbets, who probably came from Shropshire, obtained the manor of Foghou, which he held as a vassal of the earls of Dunbar. Chart. Kelso, No. 304. William de Courtney married Ada, the daughter of earl Patrick, and obtained, with her, the lands of Home. Ib. 120—8. In the charters of Gospatrick, who died, in 1166, and of his son Waldeve, who died, in 1182, we may see many of their English vassals, and officers, as witnesses. Diplom. Scotiæ, fol. 71—73. Smith's Bede, Ap. No. xx; and many of the English vassals who settled under this potent family, throughout Berwickshire, and East Lothian, may be traced in the chartularies of Coldingham, of Newbottle, of Dryburgh, of Kelso, of Melros, and of Soutra.

(k) Smith's Bede, Ap. No. 20.

(l) Douglas, the Peerage writer, was unable to tell what was the fate of Waldeve. Peerage, p. 438.

(m) See the *Cronicon Cumbrie*, 1 Dug. Monast. 400.

ther of the Northumbrian chiefs, who fled from the power of the conqueror, got from Malcolm lands, in Dumbartonshire; where his descendants became earls of Lennox (*m*). Merleswane is also mentioned, as one of those emigrants, from the devastations of the conqueror, to the asylum, which Malcolm afforded them, in Scotland (*n*). He probably settled, in Fife; as we see his posterity in possession of considerable estates, in that Gaelic peninsula, during the twelfth, and thirteenth centuries (*o*). Waltheof, and Morcar, are also mentioned with Gospatrick, the earl, and Edgar, as leaders, in the same insurrection (*p*). Siward, Barn, and Alfwin, the brother of Arkil, are also stated, as insurgents, on those occasions, against the conqueror (*q*). Siward was, no doubt, the progenitor of a numerous family, who rose to eminence, in North-Britain. Edward, the son of Siward, witnessed a charter of David, to the monks of Dumfermlin, soon after his accession in 1124 (*r*). His descendant, Richard Siward, who lived in the reign of Alexander II., was one of the guarantees of the peace with England, in 1244 (*s*). Richard Siward, the grandson of the former, was one of the *Magnates Scotiæ*, who engaged to recognize the princess Margaret, on the demise of Alexander III. (*t*). As one of the Scottish barons, he sat in the Parliament, at Brigham, in 1290 (*u*). Richard Siward, and his family, were involved in the disasters of the succession war (*v*). And, on the settlement of the government

(*m*) Sim. Durham, 197—9; Crawford's Peer. 256.

(*n*) He is called *Maerlswezen*, in the Saxon Chronicle, 173—4. *Marlswen*, and *Marleswein*, by Simeon of Durham, 197—99, and *Merle-Swein* by Florence of Worcester.

(*o*) The descendants of that Northumbrian appear to have been, in the following series: Marle-Swane had a son Colban, who lived under David I.: Colban had a son, Marle-Swane, who flourished, towards the latter end of the same reign, under Malcolm IV., and under William, the lion. Chart. Dumferlin: MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 106. Chart. Scone; Shaw's Moray; Ap. xiv. Chart. Arbroth, 63. This last Marleswane was succeeded, in the latter part of the twelfth century, by his son, Waldeve, who inherited the manors of Ardross, of Fethkill, and of Kennauchy in Fife. Chart. Inchcolm; Chart. St. Andrews. Waldeve was succeeded, in the reign of Alexander II., by his son, Marleswane, who, in 1239, made an agreement with Galfrid, the Bishop of Dunkeld, about the advowson of the church of Fethkill. Chart. Inchcolm. No. 6. Merleswane died, about the year 1250; leaving an only child, Scolastica, who inherited the lands of Ardross, Fethkill, and others; and she confirmed to the bishop of Dunkeld the advowson of the church of Fethkill. Id. No. 7.

(*p*) Scala Chronica in Leland's Collect. v. i. 530; Fordun l. v. cap. xvii.

(*q*) Simeon of Durham, 199.

(*r*) Chart. Dumfermlin; MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 106.

(*s*) Rymer's Fœd. v. i. 428. And see the same Richard Siward, in 1234 A. D. Ib. p. 370.

(*t*) Ib. ii. 266.

(*u*) Ib. p. 471. And see p. 547, 567, 594, and 643, for other notices of him.

(*v*) Richard Siward was one of the leaders of the Scottish army, that invaded Cumberland, in March 1296. Math. West. 427; Walt. Hemingford, i. 87. He soon after obtained the charge of

vernment of Scotland, by Edward I. in 1305, Richard Siward was appointed Sheriff of Dumfries (y). The family of Siward ended in a female heir, Helen Siward, who, having married Isaac Maxwell, carried the blood, and the estates of the Siwards, to strangers (z). In this manner, commenced a Saxon colonization, which, however, did not extend northward, beyond the Tay, till the *Scottish period* had almost elapsed.

But, it was the new dynasty of kings, who succeeded, at the conclusion of that epoch, that were destined to give a more diffuse course to the peopling of proper Scotland, by Saxon, by Anglo-Norman, and by Flemish colonists. Edgar, the first of that dynasty, forced his way to the bloody throne of his Gaelic ancestors, by the decisive aid of an English army. The new polity, and the different usages, which the Scoto-Saxon kings introduced, gradually, brought in those new people, who unalterably established the Saxon colonization of North-Britain. In the successive charters of Edgar, Alexander, and David I., the three first kings of that dynasty, we scarcely see any other witnesses, than Anglo-Saxons, who enjoyed under them all power, and acquired vast possessions, in every district of Scotland (a).

The first person of the English race, who appears conspicuous, as a colonist, during the reign of Edgar, was Thor-longus, who obtained from him a grant of Ednaham, which was then a waste; and which he improved, with his own money, and his *people*: Here he settled a village, and built a church, that he soon conveyed to the monks of Durham (b). This is an accurate representation of the genuine mode, by which the English colonization of Scotland was begun, and completed: A Baron obtained, from the King, a grant of lands, which he

of the castle of Dunbar; and was made prisoner, when it surrendered, on the 29th April, 1296. Lord Hailes, An. i. 238—9. On the 4th September following, the English king issued a writ to his lieutenant, in Scotland, directing an assignment of 40 marks of land, of legal extent, to Maria, the wife of Richard Siward; and to Elizabeth, the wife of Richard, his son. In this writ, he states that, Richard Siward held 500 marks *per Annum* of land. Rymer, ii. 728. On the 30th July, 1297, Richard Siward was liberated, with several other prisoners, on condition of serving the English king, in France. Ib. 775.

(y) Ryley's Placita, 503.

(z) She lived under David II., when she resigned the barony of Kellie, in Fife. Robertson's Index, p. 20, 25, 28, 51. The Sandilands, the Ainslies, and some other families, pretend to have come, from England, into North-Britain, during the early age of Malcolm III; but, I will not warrant the exact period of their several pretensions.

(a) The charters of Edgar are addressed by him, "*omnibus in regno suo Scottis, et Anglis*:" The charters of Edgar, and of David, are witnessed by Englishmen: those of Alexander I., by the Scottish nobles, chiefly; as he ruled beyond the Forth.

(b) Smith's Bede, Ap. No. 20.

settled

settled with his followers; built a castle, and a church, a mill, and a brewhouse; and thereby formed a hamlet, which, in the practice of the age, was called the *Ton* of the Baron (*c*).

During the reign of Alexander I., few foreigners settled in Scotland. His easy communications with England were cut off, by the possessions, which his brother, David, held on the southern side of the Friths. He married, however, an English Princess; he introduced a Bishop of St. Andrew's, from England; he planted canons regular, from the same country, at Scone, at St. Andrew's, at Inchcolm, and at Lochtay; and he encouraged English settlers, in his favourite residence (*d*).

It was the reign of David I. which was so propitious to the settlement of Scotland, by English families; as he introduced so many favourable institutions. He was educated at the court of Henry I.; he married an English Countess, who had many vassals; and when he came to the throne, in 1124, he was followed, successively, by a thousand Anglo-Normans, to whom he distributed lands, which, like Thor-longus, they settled, with their followers (*e*). The mixed army, which David led to *the battle of the standard*, in 1138, evinces the mixed nature of his people, who were chiefly Gaelic Scots (*f*). In civil

(*c*) Whether Thor-longus, who undoubtedly came from Northumberland, where we may find *Thors* by, *Thors-ford*, *Thor-man-by*, is uncertain. He mentions, in his charter, his brother Lefwin, who was then dead. There was a *Thor-aldus*, who is mentioned, in several charters, under David I., as archdeacon of Lothian. Smith's Bede, Ap. xx; Charty Kelso, No. 272—287. There was a *Thor-de-Travement*, about the same time. Charty, N. Botle, No. 130. None of those *Thors* were probably the father of Swan, who lived under William, the lion. The Lyons carry their pretensions as high, as the reign of Edgar. The claims of the Livingstons to equal antiquity seems to be better supported. Levingus probably settled, in North-Britain, under Edgar. He certainly obtained a grant of lands in West Lothian, which he called Levingus-ton; and whence was derived the surname of this respectable family. Thurston, the son of Levingus, who inhabited the lands of Levings-ton, lived under David I. Thurston left a son, Alexander, who, in a charter of King William, is designed of Livingston. The direct line of this family became extinct, during the reign of James the Fourth. Crawford's Peer. 274.

(*d*) See the chartulary of Scone.

(*e*) There are several charters of David I., of his son, Earl Henry, of Malcolm IV., and William, which are addressed to their very mixed subjects, in those early times; to the French, the English, Scots, Welsh, and Galloway-men; *Francis, Anglis, Scottis, Walensibus, et Galweinsibus*. Diplom. Scotiæ. Dugdale's Monasticon; Chart. Kelso; Chart. Glasgow.

(*f*) Aldred, a contemporary writer, describes very minutely his order of battle: the Galloway-men formed the first body, and began the battle, and like other Gaelic men fought, without armour. The men at arms were the English subjects of David: the second body was composed of these, and of the men of Cumberland, and Teviotdale. The third body was formed, of Lothian men, of islanders, and of *Lavernani*, whom, I conjecture, to have been the men of Levenacha.

David

civil affairs, David chiefly employed his English barons (g). David is said, indeed, to have founded monasteries, built castles, erected towns, and promoted trade, which all tended to colonize North-Britain with foreigners (h). Even now may be traced, in the chartularies, the many Norman-English families, who settled in North-Britain, under the beneficent reign of that excellent prince.

Among those English settlers, not one was more early in his attachment, or rose to greater eminence, in the state, than Hugh Moreville, who came from Burg, in Cumberland (i). Under David, he acquired vast possessions, in Lauderdale, in the Lothians, and above all, in Cunninghame, along the northern bank of the river Irvine. Under his munificent master, Hugh Moreville, became Constable of Scotland, which office descended, hereditarily, through a long succession of illustrious heirs, both male, and female (k). He was the original founder of the monastery of Dryburgh, and, he died in 1162 (l): By Beatrice de Bello-Campo, his wife, he left Richard de Moreville, who enjoyed his high office, and great possessions, and became the principal minister of William, the lion. Richard married Avicia de Lancaster, who is emphatically

David put his chief trust in his new subjects. The Celtic Earl of Strathern, who was not harnessed, broke out into indignation, at the preference shewn to the men at arms. Alan de Percy, with the spirit of his family, said, the Earl boasted of more than he dared perform. The King interposed. The reserve consisted of the true Scots, and the Moray-men.

(g) In the *Inquisitio Davidis*, 1116, we may see as witnesses, among other Englishmen, Cospatrick, the brother of Dolphin, and Waldeve his brother, Cospatrick, the son of Uchtred, Cospatrick, the son of Alden, Maccus, the son of Unwyn, Hugh de Moreville, Gervase Ridel, Berenger de Engain, Robert Corbet, Walter de Lindsey, Robert de Burneville, Alan de Percy, Walter de Bron. And in the charter of the same Prince to the monks of Selkirk, we also see, as witnesses, Robert de Brus, Robert de Umfraville, Reginald Muscamps, Radulf Anglicus, Roger de Leicester, with other Englishmen.

(h) Fordun l. v. cap. 53. As it is obvious, from record, that David was the legislator, who instituted the *Leges Burgorum*, it is apparent from the fact, that the intimations of Fordun are not altogether unfounded.

(i) *Inquisitio Davidis*: See Dug. Monast. v. 274, 5, 6, for his charters, and the grants of his daughter Johanna, who married Richard de Germin, which show their liberality to the monks of Holm-Cultram. This Hugh de Moreville, the progenitor of an illustrious family, in Scotland, must be distinguished, from the assassin of Becket, in 1171, who was also of the North. Dug. Baron. i. p. 612.

(k) The chart. of N. Botle evinces, that Hugh Moreville was Constable, before the year 1140.

(l) "An. 1162. Obiit Hugo de Moreville, fundator ecclesiæ de Dryburg." Chron. Mailros 168. He also founded a monastery at Kilwinning in Cunningham, for Tyronensian monks, who were transplanted from Kelso. He appears, from the chartularies, to have had a brother William de Moreville, who had for his wife Muriel, and had lands at Broxmouth, in East Lothian. Chart. Kelso, No. 320.

mentioned

mentioned with him, as a patroness of the monks of Mailros. Richard de Morville died, in 1189; and his wife Avicia, in 1191 (*m*). They left their opulence, and feudatories, to their son William; and a daughter, Elena, who was destined to carry all those enviable objects into a different family. William acted a conspicuous part, towards the end of the twelfth century. He married Christian, though of what family does not appear (*n*); but, she brought him no issue: and he died, in 1196 (*o*). On the death of William, without lawful children, his high office, and vast estates, were enjoyed by Elena, and her husband, Roland, the lord of Galloway (*p*). Their son, Alan, who is mentioned in the *Great Charter* of England, was one of the most opulent barons, in Britain: And, he dying, in 1234, his immense property, and great office, descended to his three daughters: The eldest of whom, Elena, had married Roger de Quinci, the Earl of Winchester; the second, Christian, had married William de Fortibus, the son of the Earl of Albemarle; and the youngest, Dervorgil, had espoused John Bailol, the lord of Bernard-Castle (*q*). Those descents, and marriages, introduced among the Gallowaymen, to their great discontent, many new people, as well as new customs. The chief vassals of the Morevilles rose up, in aftertimes, to be persons of great consideration, in various districts of North-Britain (*r*).

Gervase

(*m*) Chron. Mailros, p. 178-9. That great baron is noted, by the gratitude of the chronicler, as, "*familiaris noster*."

(*n*) Christian is frequently mentioned as his wife. Chart. in Bibl. Harl.; Chart. Glasg. p. 165.

(*o*) Chron. Mail. 180. He appears to have had a natural daughter, Alicia, who married Malcolm, the son of David de Constablestun. Chart. Glasgow, p. 449. She is only called the daughter of William de Moreville: But, if she had not been spurious issue, she would have succeeded to her father, in preference to Elena, his sister.

(*p*) Chart. Mailros, No. 133, No. 63.

(*q*) Chron. Mailros, 201; which is somewhat inaccurate, as to those matrimonial engagements.

(*r*) Henry de Saint Clare, the founder of the family of Herdsmanton, was *Viccomes* to Richard Moreville; and he acquired from him the lands of Herdmanston, in East Lothian, which had been possessed by Richard Camerarius, under Hugh Moreville. Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. 75. The son of Henry, Alan de St. Clare was Sheriff to William Moreville, from whom he obtained a further grant of lands, in Upper Lauderdale. Ib. No. 81. The Morevilles had several English vassals on the lands of Saulton, in East Lothian. Chart. Dryburgh, No. 1-141-142. Chart. Soltre, No. 11-12. The *Thirlstane* family were vassals of the Morevilles. Hugh de Moreville granted the lands of Thirlstane to Elsi the son of Winter. Title-deeds of the Lauderdale family. Elsi was succeeded by his son Alan, who assumed the local surname de *Thirlstane*. Id. And Alan was succeeded by his son Thomas de Thirlstane, who lived in the reign of Alexander II. and whose only daughter carried the family property, by marriage, to Richard de Mautelant. Id. The first person of the name of *Mautelant* was Thomas, who appears as a witness to a charter of John de Landeles,

Gervase Ridel was a witness, with Hugh Moreville, to the *Inquisitio Davidis*, 1116; and witnessed many of his charters, after he ascended the throne.

Landeles, of Hownam, in 1227. Chart. Melros, No. 3. Douglas, artfully, misquotes this charter, and transaction. Peerage, 391. There was one William de Mauteland, who appears as a witness to the charters of subjects, but not of kings, much about the same time. Chart. Kelso, No. 185-241. Richard de Mauteland obtained the lands of Thirlstane, by marrying the heiress of Thomas de Thirlestane, who lived under Alexander II. Title deeds of the Lauderdale family. The progenitor of the Clephanes settled in Lauderdale, as a vassal of the Morevilles: And Alan de Clephane executed the office of Sheriff of Lauder, under Alan of Galloway, the successor of the Morevilles, in the beginning of the thirteenth century. Chart. Kelso; Chart. Newbotle. The progenitors of the Haigs held the lands of Bemerside, near Dryburgh, under the Morevilles, and under their successors, the lords of Galloway. Chart. Dryburgh; chart. Kelso, 253, 244. Several other English vassals settled, under the Morevilles, in Lauderdale; and various places, in that district, obtained their names, from those English settlers, as Ilifs-tun, Lyles-tun, Sampson-shiels, Edgar-hope. See the chartulary of Dryburgh, throughout. These observations equally apply to the district of Cuningham, where several English families settled, as vassals of the Morevilles. The progenitor of the family of Laudon was a vassal of the Morevilles: James, the son of Lambin, acquired from Richard Moreville a grant of the lands of Laudun; from which he assumed the local surname of *Laudun*. Dalrymple's Col. Pref. lxxv; Chart. in Bibl. Harl. 56. The progenitor of the Cuninghams settled, in that country, as a vassal of the Morevilles: Warnebald, who came from the north of England, obtained from Hugh Moreville a grant of the manor, named Cuningham, in the parish of Kilmaurs, whence he assumed the local surname of Cuningham; and from him are descended the family of Cuningham, Earls of Glencairn. Camden's Brit. ed. 1607, p. 695; Chart. Kelso, 104, 282, 283, 284; Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. lxxv. Several persons, who were surnamed Ros, from the north of England, settled under the Morevilles, in Cuningham: Godfrey de Ros, James de Ros, Reginald de Ros, and Peter de Ros, were vassals of Richard Moreville, and witnessed his charters. Godfrey de Ros acquired from Richard Moreville the lands of Stewar-ton, in the possession of which he was succeeded by his son, James de Ros; and these are the progenitors of the Rosses of Halkhead, Ros Lord Ros, Ros of Tarbet, in Cuningham, Ros of Sanquhar, in Nithsdale, and various other families of this name. Chart. Glasg. 163, 165; Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. 75, 81; Chart. in Bibl. Harl. 56; Chart. Paisley, passim; Dalrymple's Col. 420; Douglas's Baron, 323; Douglas's Peer. 580-1. Stephen, the son of Richard, got from Richard Moreville some lands in Cuningham, where he settled; and named the place *Stephens tun*, which is now Stevenstoun. Stephen witnessed the charters of Richard Moreville, and some deeds of his son William. Chart. Glasg. 163, 165. Edulf the son of Uchtred obtained from Richard Moreville the lands of Gillemorestun, in Tweeddale: Here Edulf settled, and changed the name of the place to *Edulfes tun*, which has been corrupted, by vulgar pronunciation, to Eddleston. Chart. Glasg. 163, 165, 251, 255, 257. Another vassal named Edulf got from the same opulent baron some lands in the territory of Lochogow, in Lothian, where he settled: And he was succeeded by his son, Adam, and he, by his son Constantin. Chart. Newbotle, 33 to 38. Roger Masculus, or Maule, of Anglo-Norman lineage, a vassal of Richard Moreville, acquired from him some lands, in the same territory of Lochogow, where he settled, and these lands were held by his descendant Radulph Masculus, under the Lords of Galloway, who succeeded the Morevilles. Chart. Glasg. 163; Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. 75; Chart. Newbotle, 33 to 38. Richard de Warewic, an Englishman, appears as one of the followers of William Moreville. Chart. Glasg. 165.

Gervase appears to have been the first of a very ancient family, that came from Ridal, in Yorkshire, into Scotland. Gervase seems to have been one of the earliest sheriffs of Roxburghshire (*a*). He obtained from Earl Henry a grant of the manor of Praunwesete [Primside], in Roxburghshire (*l*). Gervase Ridel appears, in many charters, and offices, under David I, and his son Earl Henry; and dying a very old, and respectable man, he was succeeded, by his son Gaufrid, in his manor of Praunwesete, who lived under Malcolm IV, and William; and was very bountiful to the monks of Kelso, and Melross (*b*). Walter de Ridale, lived at the same time with Gervase; and obtained, from David I, the territory of Lilliesclif, and other lands, in Roxburghshire (*c*). All those lands, Walter left by will, with all his goods, to his brother, Ansketin (*d*). The Ridel's also spread into Mid-Lothian: Hugh de Ridel, who was probably the son of Gervase, settled at Cranstown, which was called from him Cranston-Ridel; and he was the progenitor of the family of Cranston-Ridel (*e*). He seems to have had a brother, Jordan, who appears, in the chartularies, under Malcolm IV. From this double stock of the Ridel's, there branched out several families, in different districts of Scotland. The Ridel's of Roxburghshire settled various vassals under them, who also contributed to swell the population of those districts (*f*).

Robert Corbet, who was one of the witnesses, with Gervase Ridel, to the *Inquisitio Davidis*, was probably the progenitor of one of the most ancient families, in North-Britain (*g*). Shropshire was the original country of the Corbets, where we may see traces of them, which still remain (*h*). His son,

(*a*) Sir J. Dalrymple's Col. 348.

(*l*) Chart. Kelso, No. 364.

(*b*) Dal. Col. 365; Chart. Melros, No. 60-1.

(*c*) Sir Ja. Dalrymple's Col. 348; Doug. Baron. 64: The genealogists, mistakingly, suppose Walter to have been the eldest son of Gervase; but we see Gaufrid, as the heir of Gervase, in the chartularies, which the genealogists saw, or might have seen.

(*d*) Sir Ja. Dalrymple's Col. 348. The will appears to have been confirmed by the several bulls of two Popes.

(*e*) Hugh flourished under Earl Henry, and Malcolm IV, whose charters he often witnessed. 1 Dug Monast. 886; Chart. Glasgow, 296; Chart. Antiq. Bibl. Harl. Douglas again, inattentively, confounds this Hugh, with Hugh, the son of Ansketin. Sir Hugh Ridel, during very rough times, had the amenity of a gentleman: having some disputes with the monks of Newbotle, about the boundaries of his lands of Cranstoun, he renounced his pretensions, on an examination of the controversy, "per vicinos amicos meos, ac per probos ac fideles homines patriæ." Chart. N. Botle, No. 22.

(*f*) Chart. Melros, No. 12, 13, to 19 and 74.

(*g*) Robert Corbet witnessed the charter of Earl David to the monastery of Selkirk, and a charter of the same prince to the church of Glasgow. Chart. Kelso, No. 4; Chart. Glasgow, 13. He also witnessed a grant of David I. to the monks of Dunfermlin. Sir Ja. Dal. Col. 388, 405.

(*h*) Dug. Bar. v. i. p. 515.

Walter,

Walter, acquired the manor of Malcarvestun, and other lands in Teviotdale (*i*). Walter Corbet appears to have been an opulent, and liberal man; as we know, from his grants to the monks of Kelso (*k*). He flourished under Malcolm IV. (*c*). He was succeeded by his son Walter, who became conspicuous, at the commencement of the reign of William, the lion. He also was studious to practise the beneficent virtues of the age, as we perceive, in the chartularies (*l*). He married Alice de Valoines, the daughter probably of Philip de Valoines, the chamberlain, who also possessed lands in Teviotdale: she brought him a son, Robert, who lived to witness some of his father's charters; yet died before him; and a daughter, Christian, who married William, the son of Patrick, the Earl of Dunbar; and who carried with her, as heiress, the large estates of her father (*m*). In 1241, died this opulent, and liberal woman, the last of this ancient race of the Corbets (*n*). They also had their vassals, who, as they settled around their lords, contributed to people Teviotdale (*o*). Several Corbets, indeed, found their way into the north; and settled, in Moray, while Brice was bishop, at the beginning of the thirteenth century (*p*). There was a family of Corbets, who held the manor of Foghow, in Berwickshire, as we have seen, under the Earl of Dunbar (*q*).

The surname of Lindsay is said by Dugdale, who mentions several of this name, in England, during the 11th and 12th centuries, to have been assumed, from the manor of Lindsay, in Essex (*r*). There were some of this family, who attached themselves to Earl David, before he ascended the throne (*s*). Two brothers,

(*i*) Chart. of Kelso and Melros. (*k*) Chart. Kelso, No. 2; Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. 2. (*c*) Id.

(*l*) Chart. Kelso, No. 234-5, 356: He confirmed to this monastery the grant of one of his vassals of some lands in the territory of Malcarvestun. Ib. 237. He likewise possessed a part of the lands of Scottun, and some lands in the territory of Clifton, in Teviotdale, where he had also his vassals. Ib. 356-7.

(*m*) Chart. Kelso, No. 238-258: In her grant to the priory of St. Andrews, she speaks, with affection, of her husband, of her father, and of her mother. Chart. St. And. Crawford's MS. Notes.

(*n*) "An^o 1241, obiit Christiana Corbet uxor Gulielmi filii Comitis, et in capitulo de Melros sepelitur." Chron. Mailros.

(*o*) See their confirmation of their vassals grants, in the chartularies of Kelso, and Melros.

(*p*) Sir Archibald, and Sir Hugh Corbet, knights, were witnesses to a composition, between Brice, the bishop, and John Byset. Chart. Moray, fol. 28: Hugh Corbet was a witness to several charters, in the time of Brice, who died, in 1222: and of Andrew, who succeeded him. Id.

(*q*) Chart. Kelso, No. 304.

(*r*) Dug. Baronage.

(*s*) Walter de Lindsay was a witness to the *Inquisitio Davidis*, 1116; and he also witnessed the charter of Earl David to the monks of Selkirk; Chart. Kelso, No. 4: and one of the same prince

brothers, Walter de Lindsay, and William de Lindsay, obtained from David I. various lands, in Upper Clydesdale, and in Middle, and East-Lothian. From those brothers, are descended all the Lindsays of Scotland, if we may believe the genealogists. William de Lindsay had for his son, and heir, Walter (*t*). He had also a son, who was called William, and who witnessed many charters of William, the lion (*u*). This William de Lindsay, the son of William, acted as Justiciary of Lothian, during the ten years, which elapsed, from 1189, to 1199 (*x*). He granted some lands in the territory of Crawford to the monks of Newbotle (*y*). David de Lindsay, one of this family, appears to have settled in Fife, where he held lands under Ermengarde, the Queen of William, the lion (*z*). Several of the Lindsays settled in Berwickshire, and in East-Lothian; as we know from the chartularies (*a*).

The great stock of the Percies branched out, beyond the border, into Roxburghshire. Alan de Percy, *le Meschin*, the younger Alan, attached himself to Earl David, and adhered to this beneficent prince, when he became king (*b*). He accompanied David, with the spirit of a Percy, to the battle of the standard,

to the church of Glasgow. Chart. Glasgow, 13. He witnessed a number of David's charters, after he ascended the throne. Randulf de Lindsay witnessed a grant of David I. to the monks of St. Bega. Chart. Ant. Bibl. Harl. He also witnessed a grant of Earl Henry to the monks of Holm Cultram. Dug. Monast. v. i. p. 886. William de Lindsay was a witness to many charters of David I, and of Malcolm IV.

(*t*) Sir Ja. Dalrymple's Col. p. 351-2; and Dougl. Peer. 153-4.

(*u*) William de Lindsay held Ercildon, and other lands, in Lauderdale, under the Earls of Dunbar. Chart. Dryburgh, No. 76 to 83, 115; Chart. Melros, 143. He granted two bovates of land, in Ercildon, to the monks of Dryburgh, with the consent of *Walter his son and heir*. Chart. Dryburgh, No. 83. He also granted some lands, near Caddisley, to the same monks. Ib. No. 76. Chart. Cupar, No. 7-35. These grants were confirmed by Walter his son and heir. Ib. 77. And Walter granted the patronage of the church of Ercildon, to the monks of Kelso.

(*x*) Chart. Soltre, No. 6; Chart. Glasg. p. 211; Chart. Kelso.

(*y*) Chart. N. Botle, 144: To this grant David, his son, and heir, is a witness with Earl David, the brother of William, the lion. Id. See in the same chartulary a series of grants, by this son and heir.

(*z*) David de Lindsay, de Brenwevil, granted to the monks of Balmerinach 20 shillings Sterling, yearly, from his mill of Kerchow, "*faciendum in aniversario bone memoriae Ermengard quondam regine Scotiæ, dominae meæ.*" Chart. Balmerinach, No. 79. This was confirmed by Alex. II, in 1233. Douglas confounds this David, with David de Lindsay of Crawford. Peerage, 155.

(*a*) David de Lindsay was, in the 13th century, under Alexander II, dominus de *Luffenach*, Lord of Lufness, in East-Lothian. Chart. Newbotle, No. 10. William de Lindsay was, at the same time, Lord of Lamberton, in Berwickshire. Id.

(*b*) He was a witness to the *Inquisitio Davidis*, 1116. He witnessed the grant of David I. of Strathannan to Robert Bruce. Chart. Antiq. Bibl. Harl.

in 1138. In return, David gave him the manors of Oxenham, and Heton, in Teviotdale (*c*). Alan, dying without issue, was succeeded, in those two manors, by his brother Geoffry: and, he imitated Alan, in his bounty, to the monks of Jedburgh, Kelso, and Dryburgh; as we may learn from the chartularies of those several monasteries (*d*). Geoffry also dying without issue, was succeeded, in those lands, by his brother Henry de Percy, who also imitated his two brothers, in their bounties to the monks on the border (*e*). But, he seems to have left no issue, to propagate the race; and to transmit the name of Percy, in North-Britain.

The Somervilles have just pretensions to be considered, as an ancient race. Gualter de Somerville, who accompanied the conqueror to England, obtained from him Whitchnour, in Staffordshire, and Somerville-Aston, in Gloucestershire. He left several sons, at the commencement of the 12th century; Gualter, who inherited his estates, in England; and William, his second son, who attached himself to David I. (*f*). William de Somerville appears to have witnessed many of the charters of David I. (*g*). He obtained, in return, for his attachment, the manor of Carnwath. He died in the year 1142 (*b*). This, then, is the progenitor of the Somervilles of Scotland. He left a son, William,

(*c*) Alan de Percy granted a carucate of land, in each of those manors, with the usual easements, to the monks of Whitby, for the salvation of his own soul, for the salvation of the souls of his *Lord King David*, and his son, Earl Henry, and for the souls of his father Alan de Percy, and of his mother. His grant was witnessed, by his brothers, William de Percy, Walter de Percy, Geoffry de Percy, and Henry de Percy. Dug. Monast. v. i. p. 74; Charleton's Whitby, p. 81. This grant was confirmed by David I, and by Malcolm IV, and by his brother Geoffry, and Henry. Charleton's Whitby, p. 81-2.

(*d*) To the monastery of Jedworth, he granted the church of Oxenham, with two carucates of land, and two bovates, lying adjacent to the church, with common of pasture, and other easements, in this manor. Chart. Jedworth. To the monastery of Kelso, he granted a carucate of land, in Heton, "pro salute animæ regis David." Chart. Kelso, 355. To the monastery of Dryburgh, he granted two bovates of land, in Heton. Chart. Dryburgh, 166.

(*e*) Henry de Percy gave to the monks of Jedburgh the lands of Newbigging, in the presence of Malcolm IV. Chart. Jedburgh. Henry de Percy seems to have been much about Malcolm IV: he witnessed a charter of Malcolm, at Roxburgh, somewhat before the year 1159. Dug. Monast. v. i. p. 851. He witnessed a charter of Malcolm, at Roxburgh, in 1159. Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. 24.

(*f*) Dugdale's Bar.; Douglas Peerage, 624; Sir Ja. Dalrymple's Col. 394-5.

(*g*) Chart. Kelso; Chart. Melros, No. 54; MS. Monast. Scotiæ, p. 106-7; Astle's MS. Diplom. Scotiæ, No. 1: he was a witness of Earl Henry's grant to the monks of Holm Cultram. Dug. Monast. v. i. p. 886.

(*b*) An^o. 1142, Ob. Willielmus de Sumerville, et apud Melros sepelitur. Chron. Melros, 206. This date evinces how mistaken Douglas's Peer. p. 624 is, on this head.

who

who died before the year 1161; and whose posterity branched out into many families of great respectability (*i*).

The Umphravilles may vie with the Somervilles, for antiquity. Their progenitor, Robert de Umphrville; also came into England, with his relation, the Conqueror, who gave him Redesdale, for his attachment (*k*). A grandson of Robert de Umphrville of the same name, appears to have attached himself to Earl David, and adhered to him, when he became king (*l*). Robert de Umphrville left a son Gilbert, who also adhered to David, and to his son, Earl Henry (*m*). He obtained from David the manors of Kinnaird, and Dunipace, and other lands, in Stirlingshire (*n*). Gilbert flourished, also, under Malcolm IV, whose charters he witnessed; and he died, in the beginning of the reign of William, the lion (*o*). With him, also, flourished Odonel de Umphrville, who also witnessed the charters of Malcolm IV, as we learn from the chartularies (*p*); and died, in 1181, as we know from Dugdale (*q*). It was Gilbert, the great-grandson of Odonel, who married Matildis, the Countess of Angus, in 1243 (*r*). Gilbert, who thus became Earl of Angus, died, in 1245, leaving a son Gilbert, who succeeded to his mother, as Earl of Angus; and acted a splendid part, during those eventful times, till he died, without issue, in 1302 (*s*).

Niaccus, the son of Unwyn, as he attached himself to Earl David, was one of the witnesses to the *Inquisitio Davidis*. He obtained, from this beneficent

(*i*) Crawford's Peerage, p. 445; Doug. Peer. p. 624: he witnessed many grants of Malcolm IV, as we learn from the chartularies. Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. 24; Chart. Glasg. 300; Monast. Angl. v. i. p. 851.

(*k*) Dug. Baron. v. i. p. 504.

(*l*) Robert de Umphrville is a witness to the charter of Earl David to the monks of Selkirk. Chart. Kelso, No. 2; Sir J. Dal. Col. p. 404. He witnessed a grant of David I. to the monks of Melross. Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. 14. And he witnessed other grants of David. Chart. Glasgow, p. 21; Astle's MS. Diplom. Scotiæ, No. 2.

(*m*) Gilbert de Umphrville witnessed a charter of Earl Henry to the monks of Wetherall. Dug. Monast. v. i. p. 399; and another grant of Henry. Chart. Glasgow, p. 267.

(*n*) Gilbert de Umphrville granted to the monks of Cambus-Kenneth two carucates of land in the manor of Dunipace. Chart. Cambus-ken. No. 85. His son Gilbert gave to the monks of Holyrood a carucate of land, in the manor of Kinnaird. Macfarlane's Col.

(*o*) Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. 22. 24; Chart. Paisley, No. 8; Chart. Glasg. 300; Chart. Antiq. Bibl. Harl. 10. Gilbert de Umphrville witnessed a charter of K. William to the church of Glasgow. Chart. Glas. 27.

(*p*) Chart. Glasgow, 203; Chart. Antiq. Bibl. Harl. 11.

(*q*) Peerage, v. i. p. 506.

(*r*) Chron. Melross, 206.

(*s*) Dug. Bar. v. i. p. 506; Lord H. Ad. Sutherland Case, p. 10, 11.

prince,

prince, whose rights were supported, by so many followers, some lands on the Tweed; which, from him, acquired the appropriate name of *Maccus-ville*. His sons, Hugh, and Edmund, assumed the surname of *Maccus-ville*; and his grandson, Herbert, inherited the estate, and bore the name, which was abbreviated by the vulgar to *Macs-well*, and *Max-well*. Herbert flourished under Malcolm IV, and William (t). He rose to be sheriff of Roxburgh (u). And from Herbert are descended the knightly families of the Maxwells, in Scotland (x).

Berenger de Engain, of an Anglo-Norman family, attached himself early to the fortunes of Earl David (y). Among other very respectable persons, the fathers of so many families, we may see Berengerius de Engain a witness to the *Inquisitio Davidis*. He obtained from David, as the reward of his attachment, one of the manors of Crailing, in Teviotdale, where he sat down, with his family, and followers. And here, like a respectable man, he practised the munificence of his age (z).

The family of Sules, who settled, in the same country, during the same age, rose to greater eminence, than the Engains. Owing to whatever cause, Ranulph de Sules followed David I. from Northamptonshire into Scotland (a). The attachment of Ranulph was amply rewarded, by a grant of Lidisdale, the manor of Nisbet in Teviotdale, with some other lands, both in this district, and in Lothian (b). In Lidisdale, he built a fortalice, which gave rise to the village of

(t) He witnessed several charters of William, the lion. Chart. Glasgow, p. 25. He granted the church of Maccuswell to the monks of Kelso, before 1159. Chart. Kelso, No 2.

(u) Chart. Kelso. John de Maccuswell witnessed some charters of William. Chart. Arbroath, No. 31--51.

(x) Crawford's Peer. p. 363; Dougl. Peer. 180; Dougl. Bar. 56; Ib. 450.

(y) William Engain, who was probably of the same family, witnessed a grant of Earl Henry to the monks of Holm-Cultram. Dug. Monast. v. i. 886.

(z) Berenger de Engain granted to the monks of Jedburgh a mark of silver yearly from the mill of Crailing, with two bovates of land, a toft, and a *vileyn*: and, for the support of a chaplain, who served, in the chapel of the same place, he granted other two bovates of land, with another toft, and a third toft, lying near the church. Chart. Jedworth. This grant was confirmed, by William, early in his reign. Id.

(a) The surname of this eminent family was obviously derived from two bailiwicks, which are called *Sule*, in Northamptonshire. Brydges Northampton, v. ii. p. 486-7.

(b) This Ranulph de Sules, who settled, in Scotland, before the middle of the 12th century, witnessed a charter of Earl Henry to the monks of Holm-Cultram, about the year 1140. Dug. Monast. v. i. p. 86. Before the year 1147, he granted to the monks of Jedworth the church of Dodington, near Barton, in Northamptonshire, and the church of Lidisdale, with a carucate of land.

of Castletown; and which, as it was unlucky, has produced popular legends. He held the office of *Pincerna regis*, for some time, during the first years of William, the lion. He died not long before the year 1170: and was succeeded, in his estate, by his nephew Ranulph, the son of William de Sules (*c*). The office of *Pincerna* did not descend to Ranulph, the second; as it was not then hereditary, in the family of the Sules (*d*). Contemporary with him flourished under William, the lion, Richard, his brother, who witnessed his charter of confirmation; and Fulco de Sules, who must also have been of the same blood; as he confirmed that charter of confirmation (*e*). Ranulph, the second, fell by a detestable stroke of domestic assassination, in 1207 (*f*). Nicolas de Sules, the son of Fulco, succeeded the second Ranulph; and he acquired, by his talents, the office of *Pincerna*, which he exercised under Alexander II, and even under Alexander III (*g*). Amidst the clash of parties, which divided Scotland, between the Scottish, and English interests, during the minority of Alexander III. Nicolas de Sules was removed from the king's councils in 1255 (*h*). He died, in 1264, with a great character for wisdom, and eloquence (*i*). In 1271, William de Soules, the son, and heir of Nicolas, was knighted, at Haddington, by Alexander III. (*k*). William became justiciary of Lothian under the same

land in the manor of Nisbet. Chart. Jedworth. He appears to have witnessed several charters of David I. Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. 16; Astle's MS. Diplom. No. 1. He witnessed a grant of Earl Henry to Holm-Cultram. Dug. Monast. v. i. p. 886. He witnessed the charters of Malcolm IV. Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. 24; Chart. Antiq. Bibl. Harl. And he witnessed several grants of William, the lion. Chart. Arbroth, No. 6; Chart. Moray, 156.

(*c*) The second Ranulph granted a charter to the monks of Newbotle, wherein he mentions his uncle the *Pincerna*: and this must have been granted, before the year 1171; as it was confirmed by a charter of William, which was tested by Nicholas, the chancellor, who died, in 1171. Chart. Newbotle, No. 45-6-8.

(*d*) Chart. Cuper, No. 3.

(*e*) Chart. Newbotle, No. 47.

(*f*) An^o 1207, Ranulfus de Sules occisus est in domo sua a domesticis suis. Chron. Melros. Of this terrible fact, the minstrel, who sung of *Lord Soules*, appears to have been ignorant, or he might have turned the grievous end of a respectable man to a poetical use. There never was a *Lord Soules*, whatever the border minstrels may sing.

(*g*) Chart. Newbotle, No. 191. The enjoyment of Lidisdale, of Gilmerton, and of other lands, which were held by the two Ranulphs, evinces that, Nicolas was their acknowledged heir.

(*h*) Rym. Fœd. v. i. 566.

(*i*) "An^o 1264, obiit Nicolaus de Soules Dom. Vallis de Lydal apud Rothomagum [Rouen "in Normandy] vir totius regni eloquentissimus et sapientissimus, cui successit Will' filius ejus." Crawford's MS. Notes. By his wife, a daughter of the Earl of Buchan, he left two sons, William, and John. Wyntown, b. viii. ch. vi. This intimation throws a little light on the dark motive of William de Sules, when he plotted against Robert Brus.

(*k*) Ford. l. x. cap. xxix.

king.

king (*l*), He was one of the *Magnates Scotiae*, who engaged, in 1284, to support the succession of the princess Margaret to her father Alexander III. (*m*). In 1290, he was present, with John Soules, his brother, in the parliament, at Brigham, for betrothing the heiress of Scotland to the prince of England (*n*). Besides William, and John Soules, there were Thomas de Soules of the county of Roxburgh, who swore fealty to Edward I, in 1296, and Sir Nicholas de Soules (*o*). Meantime, one of the competitors for the crown in 1290, with Baliol and Bruce, was Nicholai Soules; who soon withdrew his pretensions, which could not be supported; and is perhaps the same Sir Nicholas de Soules, that swore fealty to Edward, in 1290 (*p*). This numerous family seems to have been all involved, finally, in the ruinous effects of that memorable competition.

Robert Avenel, an Englishman, was settled by David I, in the same vicinity with the Souleses, in Upper-Eskdale (*q*). He flourished, during the reigns of Malcolm

(*l*) On the 8th April 1280, William de Soules, the *Justiciary of Lothian*, witnessed a charter of Alexander III. Orig. Writs of Sinclair of Roslin. He held this office in 1284. Char. Paisley, 106.

(*m*) Rym. Foed. v. i. 266.

(*n*) Id. 471: In 1283, John de Soules was one of the ambassadors to France, for marrying Jolletta, the daughter of the Count de Droux, to Alexander III. Ford. l. x. c. xxxix. In 1294, John de Soules was sent to France to negotiate the marriage of Edward Baliol with a daughter of Charles, the French king's brother. Ib. l. xi. c. xv. In 1299, he was made, by John Baliol, *custos regni Scotiae*. Ib. l. xi. c. xxxv. In 1300, Sir John de Soules commanded at the siege of Stirling Castle, which was surrendered to him by the English. In 1303, he was one of the Scottish commissioners at Paris. Rymer's Foed. p. 929-30. He was excepted by Edward I. from the conditions of the capitulation at Strathurd the 9th February 1304: and it was provided, that he should remain in exile for two years. Ryley's Placita, 369-70. He joined Robert Brus, from whom he got a grant of the baronies of Kirkandrews and Torthorwald, and the lands of Brettalach, in Dumfries-shire. Robertson's Index, p. 5. 9. In 1315, Sir John Soules went with Edward Bruce to Ireland, and with him fell, in battle, near Dundalk, the 5th October 1318.

(*o*) Prynne iii. p. 651. 661. In 1300, Thomas de Soules, knight, was taken prisoner by the English, in Galloway, and Edward I. ordered an allowance of 4 d. per day for his maintenance. Wardrobe Acco. p. 76. In 1306 Alicia, the widow of Thomas de Soules did homage to Edw. I. for lands in Scotland. Rymer, ii. 1015.

(*p*) Prynne, iii. 507. His claim to the crown was thus deduced: 1. Alexander II. left a *bastard* daughter, Margery, who married Alan Doorward, an active, and ambitious baron, that died, in 1275; leaving three daughters: 2. One of those daughters, Ermingard, married a Soules: 3. Of this marriage was Nicolai Soules, who competed for the crown. Rym. Foed. ii. 577. The seal of this competitor has been engraved by Astle, among the Scottish seals, pl. 3. No. 111. But, his armorial-bearings are quite different, from the arms of the Lidisdale family of Soules, as set forth by Nisbet. From this circumstance, there is reason to infer, that the lineages were also different.

(*q*) In his charter to the monks of Melros, (Chart. No. 4.) he states his grant to have been

Malcolm IV, and William, whose charters he witnessed (*r*). And he officiated, as justiciary of Lothian, for a short period, after the accession of William, in 1165 (*s*). He married Sibilla, by whom he had a son Gervase, and a daughter, whose illicit love, with King William, produced a daughter, Isabel, who was given by her father, in marriage, to Robert Brus, in 1183; and to Robert de Ros, in 1191 (*t*). Robert Avenel retired from the turmoils of life into the monastery of Melros, where he died, in 1185 (*u*). Gervase succeeded his father, whose grants to the monks of Melros, he confirmed (*x*). He outlived the long life of William, the lion; and died, in 1219, when he was buried, with his father, in Melros Abbey (*y*). Gervase Avenel was succeeded by his son, Roger, who flourished under Alexander II. (*z*). He disputed with the monks of Melros, about their several rights to their lands in Eskdale (*a*). He died, in 1243, and was buried, near his father, in Melros Abbey (*b*). He left an only child, who married Henry, the son of Henry de Graham of Abercorn, and Dalkeith; and thereby carried the estates of the Avenels into the family of Graham. One of the Avenels, however, a younger son, perhaps, Robert, married Cecilia, one of the two co-heiresses of Eschina, the Lady of Moll, in Teviotdale. By Cecilia, he left a son, Gilbert Avenel, who inherited the estate of his mother, which he held, in 1251, as vassal of William, the son of Eustace de Vesci, who had married a daughter of William, the lion (*c*). Gervase Avenel, who was probably a younger son of Gervase, that died, in 1219, possessed the manor of Dodinston, in West-Lothian, during the reign of Alex-

made "pro anima domini mei regis David, qui eadem terram dedit mihi, servicio meo." He witnessed a grant of David to the monks of Dryburgh.

(*r*) Diplom. Scotiæ; Chart. Cuper, No. 1, 2; Chart. Paisley, No. 8.

(*s*) Chart. St. Andrews; Chart. Cambuskenneth, No. 105.

(*t*) Chart. Melros, No. 94; Chron. Melros, 175: W. Rex Scottorum filiam suam Isabel, quam genuit ex filia Roberti Avenel, Roberti de Brus honorifice dedit. Ib. 179.

(*u*) Ib. 176: To this monastery he granted a large portion of his lands, in Eskdale. Chart. Melros, 91. 95.

(*x*) Chart. Melros, No. 92.

(*y*) Chron. Mel. 197. He witnessed many of William's Charters. Chart. Melros, No. 4; Chart. Arbroth, No. 56; Chart. Cambuskenneth, No. 106.

(*z*) He witnessed several charters of this king. Chart. Arbroth, No. 138; Chart. Newbotle, No. 150, and No. 21.

(*a*) The king himself settled this suit, in 1235, who found, that the monks were entitled to the soil, but not to the game, which belonged to Avenel, the lord of the manor. Chart. Melros, 97.

(*b*) Chron. Melros, 207.

(*c*) Chart. Kelso, No. 162—170.

ander

ander II, with some vassals under him of English lineage (*d*). Warin, the son of Robert English, granted to John, the son of Gervase Avenel, his lord, half a carucate of land, in Dodinstun (*e*).

David de Olifard is said to have accompanied the retreat of David I. from Winchester, in 1142 (*f*). David I. certainly gave the companion of his journey the manors of Smallham and Crailing, in Roxburghshire (*g*). David Olifard had the honour to be the first Justiciary of Lothian, of which any record appears. In this important character, he appeared, during the year 1165 (*b*): And, he continued to act, as justiciary, for several years, under William, the lion (*i*). When he died, appears not: but, he left five sons; David, William, Walter, Philip, and Fulco, who all appear in the chartularies, during William's reign (*k*). David Olifard inherited the effects of his father; and he died at the end of the twelfth century; leaving two sons, Walter, and David. Walter inherited the estates of his father; and acted, with applause, as justiciary of Lothian, for more than twenty years, under Alexander II. (*l*). There was not a person, in Scotland, during that intriguing age, who was more trusted, in public councils, or in private affairs, or was more worthy of trust, than Walter

(*d*) Sir Ja. Dalrymple says, that this Avenel family possessed the lands of Cramond, a part of which they granted to the bishop of Dunkeld; and this part was afterwards called Bishop's Cramond. Col. 397.

(*e*) The grant of Warin was witnessed by G. Avenel, by G. filio suo et herede, Roberte fratre suo, by Thomas de Sumervill, Bernard de Hawden. Chart. Inchcolm, No. 9. John Avenel granted this half carucate of land to the monks of Inchcolm. Ib. No. 10.

(*f*) Dalrymple's Col. 174; Dougl. Peer. 524, who speak of his rewards, without producing any authority. David Olifard was the *godson* of David I.: Olifard, who served, in the army of Stephen, learning the danger of his *godfather*, after the siege of Winchester, concealed the Scottish king; and went with him to Scotland. Hagustald, 271.

(*g*) After the demise of David, in 1153, David de Olifard granted to the monks of Dryburgh a carucate of land, in Smalham, with pasturage for 300 sheep, for the remission of his sins, "et pro animabus eorum qui illas terras mihi dederunt." Chart. Dryburgh, No. 117. This was confirmed by Malcolm IV. Ib. No. 118. David de Olifard also granted to the monks of Jedworth the tenth of the multure of the mill of Crailing; and this was confirmed by William, the lion. Chart. Jedworth. And the munificent Olifard gave to the house of Soltre a thrave of corn, from each plough-land, in his manors of Smalham, and Crailing. Chart. Soltre, No. 16, 17.

(*b*) Crawford's Peerage, 376.

(*i*) Chart. Scone, No. 24.

(*k*) David Olifard, and Philip Olifard, witnessed, indeed, a charter of Malcolm IV. Chart. Dunfermlin. William Olifard was a witness to a charter of William, the lion. Chart. Cupar, No. 35.

(*l*) He died in 1142: Ob. Dom. Gualterus Olifard Justiciarius Laudoniæ, et in capitulo de Melros sepelitur honorifice; he began to act, in that distinguished character, during the year 1220.

Olifard (*m*). He married Christian, the daughter of the Earl of Strathern, with whom he obtained an estate in that Gaelic district. This seems to have been the first settlement of this family, in Perthshire. Walter's brother, David, married Johanna, the heiress of Cader, in Lanerkshire, wherein he planted the Olifards (*n*). This name was afterwards softened to Oliphant; and from this stock, sprung the several branches of the Oliphants, in Scotland. They acquired the peerage from James II. (*o*). There was another Olifard, who settled among the Gaelic people of the Merns. during the reign of David I. He was probably a brother of the first Olifard, who settled in Roxburghshire. Osbert Olifard was sheriff of the Merns, under Malcolm IV. His only daughter married Hugh, who was designed de *Aberbuthenoth*, from the name of his estate; and who was the progenitor of the Viscounts of Arbuthnot, and of other respectable families of the same name, who are all descended of the blood of the Olifards (*p*).

The *Giffards*, as they were relations of *the conqueror*, were distinguished, for their many possessions, in England (*q*). Two of this race, William Giffard, and Hugh Giffard, came to Scotland, under David I (*r*). William Giffard was probably an ecclesiastic (*s*). Hugh Giffard obtained a considerable grant of lands, in Lothian, where he settled, with his followers. He was succeeded, at the commencement of the reign of William, the lion, by his son Hugh, who appears to have witnessed many of the charters of King William (*t*). He had the honour to be one of the hostages, for his captive sovereign, in 1174 (*u*).

(*m*) He was one of the most frequent witnesses to the charters of Alexander II. Walter Olifard granted the church of Smalham, with its pertinents, to the monks of Coldingham. Chart. Coldingham, 18. And he confirmed a grant of *Claribald de Olifard* of Esseby to the same monks of two fishings, in the Tweed. Id. In the Chart. of Glasgow, 171, there is a charter of Walter Olifard, *junior*, the justiciary of Lothian, which was witnessed by David Olifard, by Robert de Parc, Robert de Malevyn, *militibus nostris*, David, *clerico nostro*, Osbert Magnus, Osbert Scotus, Walter Pistor, *servientibus nostris*. These intimations show the *followers* of this respectable family.

(*n*) Chart. Glasgow, 247.

(*o*) Dougl. Peer. 527.

(*p*) Sir G. Mackenzie's MS. Baron.: App to Nisbet's Heraldry, 86; Ib. v. i. p. 261; Dougl. Peerage, 29. Richard de Aberbuthnot witnessed a charter with Turpin, the bishop of Brechin, in 1178. Chart. Arbroth, No. 32.

(*q*) Dug. Baron. v. i. 60—499.

(*r*) Elias Giffard was a witness with David I. to a charter of the Empress Matilda, in 1141. Rymer's Foed. v. i. p. 8.

(*s*) Brother William Giffard of the monastery of Dunfermlin stands at the head of the witnesses to the charter of David I. to the monks of May. Chart. May, No. 1.

(*t*) Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. 28; Chart. Arbroth, No. 132; Chart. Dunfermlin, 520; Hugh Giffard witnessed a charter of David E. of Huntingdon. Chart. Kelso, 225.

(*u*) Rymer's Foed. v. i. p. 40.

William

William not only confirmed to Hugh the lands of his father, but granted to him *Yester*, which became the seat of the family, and the title of their peerage (*x*). Hugh appears to have also enjoyed the manor of Tealing, in Forfarshire (*y*). He appears to have outlived William, the lion, who died, in 1214; and to have been succeeded by his son, William, who was also a considerable person (*z*): For, he was one of the guarantees of the Peace, with England, in 1244. He was followed, by his son Hugh, who also acted a conspicuous part in the drama of those times; and died, in 1267 (*a*). From this great stem, branched out several families of Giffard, in Scotland, who rose, indeed, to less eminence.

In England, there were, of old, two considerable families, who were named *Say*; and who derived their descent from the same Norman original (*b*). The first of this ancient race, who came into Scotland, was *Seiher de Say*; and he obtained, from David I, lands, in East-Lothian, which, from him, were called *Say-tun*; whence his descendants obtained the surname of *Saytun*, or *Seton* (*c*). *Seiher* was succeeded by his son, Alexander, who flourished under David I. (*d*). He enjoyed the lands of Seton, and Winton, in East-Lothian, and Winchburgh, in West-Lothian. He was succeeded, at the commencement of the reign of William, the lion, by his son Philip, who obtained from him a confirmation of the lands of his father (*e*), and who died at the end of the reign of William; leaving his son Alexander. Such were the progenitors of the Setons, in Scot-

(*x*) Crawford's Peer. 501: According to an ancient tradition, which came down to Fordun, the castle of Yester had been constructed by *demoniac art*!

(*y*) He granted to the priory of St. Andrews the church of *Theiling*, with the pertinents; and his grant was confirmed by William, the lion. Macfarlan's MS. Col. John Giffard, who may have been a younger son of Hugh, possessed the lands of Polgavie, in the Carse of Gowrie, at the end of William's reign. Chart. Cuper, No. 49.

(*z*) In 1200, William was sent on a mission to England. Rymer Foed. v. i. p. 121. He witnessed several charters of William, the lion, from 1198 to 1214. Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. 28; Chart. Arbroth, 120-2; Chart. Paisley, 63.

(*a*) Ib. 559—566 7: He granted to the monks of Newbotle the lands of Cresswell, in Lothian, "per suas rectas divisas sicut Alexander *vicecomes* mihi eas perambulavit." Chart. Newbotle, No. 89. This grant was confirmed, by William, the son of Hugh; and by John, the son of William. Ib. No. 90, 9.

(*b*) Dug. Bar. v. i. p. 453—510.

(*c*) Sir Rich. Maitland's MS. Hist. of this family; Nisbet's Heraldry, v. i. p. 236.

(*d*) He witnessed a charter of David I. with Andrew the bishop of Cathness, and others. Sir Ja. Dalrymple's Col. p. 4. 6; Nisbet's Herald. Ap. 304.

(*e*) This charter confirms to him Setun, Wintun, and Winchburgh, "que fuit Alexandri de Setun, sui patris." Charter in the family archives; Dougl. Peer. 701.

land, who acquired the Earldom of Winton, in 1600 (*f*); which they forfeited, by misconduct, in 1715.

The origin of the Keiths, as derived by the Scottish genealogists, is altogether fictitious. Their real progenitor, and the first of the race, who settled, in Scotland, was Hervei, the son of Warin, who attached himself to David I. (*g*). He obtained, from his munificent protector, a donation of one of the manors, which are called Keith, in East Lothian. He did not, perhaps, survive David I. And, he was succeeded by his son Hervei, who assumed the surname of Keith; and under Malcolm IV., and William, held the office of Mareschal of the King. He had a long contest with the monks of Kelso, about the church of Keith, which was finally settled, by Joceline, the bishop of Glasgow, and Osbert, the Abbot of Paisley (*h*). Hervei died, a short time, before the year 1196 (*i*). He had a son, Malcolm, who witnessed several charters of William, at the end of the twelfth century (*k*); but died before his father Hervei. Malcolm left two sons, Philip, who succeeded, as heir to his grandfather, Hervei (*l*); and David, who, as he held the office of Mareschal, conjointly, with his brother Philip, assumed the surname of Mareschal (*m*). Philip, by marrying the grand-daughter of Symon Fraser, acquired the other manor of Keith; and thereby consolidated the two manors of Keith-Hervei, and of Keith-Symon (*n*). Philip died before the year 1220; and was succeeded by his son Hervei; while his uncle David continued his associate, in the office of

(*f*) Dougl. Peer. 706. Of this family was Seton, Earl of Dunfermline; Seton, Viscount of Kingston; Seton of Touch; Seton of Culbeg; Seton of Pitmeden; Seton of Careston; Seton of Barns; Seton of Munie; Seton of Parbroth.

(*g*) Hervei, the son of Warin, witnessed the grant of David I. to Robert de Brus of Annandale. Chart. Antiq. Bibl. Harl. He also witnessed other charters of David I.

(*h*) Chart. Kelso, No. 86-94-5-6, upon this settlement, which was made between 1175 and 1178, he confirmed to the monks the church of Keith. Ib. 88-9.

(*i*) He witnessed some charters of William, the Lion, from 1189 to 1196. Chart. Arbroth. No. 48, 63.

(*k*) He witnessed a grant to the monks of Arbroth, in 1178, wherein he is called the son of Hervei de Keith, the Mareschal. Chart. Arbroth. Dougl. Peer. 449. He witnessed two other grants, in 1185, and in 1190. Id.

(*l*) Philip de Keith, Mareschallus regis, witnessed a charter of William to the monks of Arbroth, between 1196 and 1198. Chart. Arbroth, No. 120.

(*m*) In 1201, Philip, the Mareschal, and David, the Mareschal, witnessed a charter of William the Lion. Chart. Glasgow, 49. And see Sir James Dalrymple's Col. Pref. 77, and p. 373, for Philip, and David, appearing together, as brothers, and as joint Mareschals.

(*n*) Philip, in fact, married Eda, the daughter of Hugh Lorens, by Eda, the heiress of Symon Frasen.

Mareschal.

Mareschal (*o*). This association of two persons of the same family, in the same office, which seems to have been an anomaly, gave rise, as we shall see, to future disputes. Hervei, the son of Philip, and the great grandson of Symon Fraser, confirmed to the monks of Kelso the church of Keith, with its pertinents, and some rights, in Keith-Symon, the donation of his great grandfather (*p*). Hervei died soon after the year 1242, certainly before the year 1250; when his son John, *Mareschallus*, de Keth was in possession both of his estate, and office (*q*). John lived, and died, though with little notice, under Alexander III. By whatever wife, John de Keth left two sons; William, who became his heir; and Adam, who was rector of the church of Keth-Mareschal (*r*). William de Keth appears not in history, and little in the chartularies (*s*). A cloud seems to obscure this family, throughout the busy, and important reign of Alexander III. At the eventful demise of this lamented prince, not one of this family appears among the *magnates Scotiæ*. William de Keth is said to have married Barbara, a daughter of Adam de Seton, the ancestor of the Earl of Winton (*t*). This lady, who was of a gallant race, seems to have infused a new spirit into the blood of the Keiths: By William, her husband, who died, before the year 1290, she produced Robert de Keth; Richard de Keth; and Philip de Keth, who became rector of Biggar, in La-

(*o*) David, *Mareschallus*, and Hervei, *Mareschallus*, appear together, acting in their office, at York, on the 15th of June, 1220, when Alexander II. married Joan, the Princess of England. Rymer's Fœd. v. i. 241. About the year 1226, they together witnessed a charter of Alexander II. to the monks of Melros. Astle's MS. *Diplom. Scotiæ*, No. 6.

(*p*) Chart. Kelso, No. 86-83. Hervei, the Mareschal, appears in a charter to the monastery of Coldingham, as we see in its chartulary; and he also witnessed a charter to the monks of Arbroth, in 1226. Macfarlan's MS. Col.

(*q*) Before his succession, John appeared, about the year 1242, as a witness to a grant of Vivian Moleney to the Hospital of Soltre. Chart. Soltre, No. 11. John confirmed to the monks of Kelso the grants of his predecessors, with the addition of some lands within the manor of Keith. Chart. Kelso, No. 87. He also confirmed to the Hospital of Soltre some lands, in the district of Joneston, near Keith, which had been granted to them by his great great-grandfather Symon Fraser; and he also confirmed to them some tofts, near the lands of Soltre. Chart. Soltre, No. 26.

(*r*) Ib. No. 37. Dougl Peer. 449: The adjunct *Hervei*, which had long distinguished this place from Keth-Symons, was at length supplanted by the adjunct *Mareschal*, which it still retains.

(*s*) Douglas has found William a witness to a charter of Malcolm, Earl of Lenox, to the monks of Paisley, about the year 1270: He is called William de Keth, but not *Mareschal*.

(*t*) Douglas Peer. 450, who quotes a MS. history of the family.

nerkshire.

nerkshire (*u*). Robert de Keth first appears, in 1294, under John Baliol, from whom he obtained a confirmation of the lands of his family (*v*). Robert de Keth seems to have been admirably qualified, for the bloody, and changeful scenes of that age: As a statesman, he was supple; as a soldier, strenuous; and in his old age, with his sword in his hand, he died at the battle of Duplin, in 1332. He was the second founder of his family, which he planted, in the northern shires, under Robert Bruce (*w*). II. It is now time, to advert to the second branch of this stock, which early adopted the surname of Marshal, from the office (*x*). David, who, as we have seen, was the second son of Malcolm de Keth, was associated with his elder brother Philip, and with his nephew Hervei, in the office of Mareschal of Scotland (*y*). He lived long;

(*u*) Robert de Keth renovated the family, under the gallant Bruce, by his talents, as a statesman, and soldier; Sir Richard de Keith, who appears in the chartulary of Soltre, No. 37, was the progenitor of the Keiths of Galston, in Ayrshire, says Dougl. Peer. 450, from the MS. history of the family, and was the father of Sir William Keith of Galston, who distinguished himself, as a warrior, among the many warriors of Robert Bruce's reign; and who fell, fighting for his country.

(*v*) Sir James Dalrymple says, "I have seen a copy of a charter, in the hands of the Earl Marischal, by King John, the second of his reign, to Robert de Keith, *Mariscallo nostro*," to hold the lands of Keth, &c. Hist. Col. Pref. lxxxvi. This charter evinces that, Robert de Keth was now the King's Marischal, and was the heir of the Keiths. Robert de Keith, *Mariscallus Scotiæ*, granted to the monks of Kelso a right to build a mill on his lands of Hundebey-Keth. Chart. Kelso, No. 99.

(*w*) In 1300, he was a prisoner in Cumberland. Wardrobe Account of Ed. I. p. 76. In 1305, he was one of the Commissioners, who were chosen by the Scottish people, for the settlement of their government. And upon this settlement, he was appointed one of the Justiciaries, for the country from the Forth to the Mount. Ryley's Placita, 503-4. On the 26th of October, 1305, he was one of the guardians of Scotland. Rym. Fœd. ii. p. 970. He joined Robert Bruce, when he became King, who confirmed his office of Mareschal, and gave him many lands. Robertson's Index, p. 1-11-16. Robert de Keth was continued Justiciary on the north of the Forth. Chart. Lindores, No. 10. He appears to have witnessed many grants of Robert Bruce; as we know from the chartularies.

(*x*) There were two persons, who were designed *Marescallus*, under David I. Sir Ja. Dal. Col. 388-393: MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 104-5; Dug. Monast. Ang. ii. p. 1054. But, whether this term applied to the office, or as a surname, is uncertain. The same confusion occurred in England, at the same period. Madox Excheq. v. i. 43-48. This name of *Marshal* became very common, before the end of the thirteenth century. See Ragman's Roll in 3 Prynne.

(*y*) David appears, as an associate, with Philip, in this office, as early as 1201. In this situation, we have seen him with Hervie, in 1220, at the marriage of Alexander II. Rymer v. i. 241. As *Marescallus*, he was a witness to many grants of William, from 1200 to 1214, as we see in the chartularies. David also, as Mareschal, witnessed many charters of Alexander II. As Mareschal, David was present, when the peace was made, at York, in 1237, Ib. 376.

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yet, he must have died, before the year 1240 (z). He left a son, who is involved in the same cloud, which obscure the Keiths, under Alexander III. He appears, however, to have attended that King to Inverness, in 1171 (a). He probably died soon after. He certainly does not appear among the *magnates Scotiæ*, who engaged, in 1284, to maintain the right of the princess Margaret, to the crown (b). But, David, *le Mareschal*, appeared among the barons, in the numerous Parliament, at Brigham, in March 1290 (c). After Edward had overpowered Baliol, and acquired the direct sovereignty of Scotland, in 1296, David, the Mareschal, presented a petition to the King, in parliament, stating his right to this office, from his ancestors, by descent; and praying, that no person might be preferred to him, without the judgement of his peers (d). His claim was probably allowed. When David died is uncertain: But, his son Richard, fighting against the English, in 1296, was taken prisoner, and carried into England (e). Yet, this family, taking part against Bruce, appears to have been involved in forfeiture, and ruin, during the succession war (f).

There was another family, which held a still greater office, in Scotland, as it was connected with greater property. It was the de Quincies, whose progenitors came into this country, under William, the Lion. The first of this

(z) David was the progenitor of many Marshals, but not of all the Marshals, who appear in the chartularies, in the subsequent age to his own.

(a) See the charter of Inverness, in Wight on Elections, Ap. p. 412.

(b) Rymer's Fœd. v. i. 266.

(c) Ib. 471.

(d) Rolls of Parliament, v. i. p. 469: Edward I. referred the petition of David to his *Locum tenens*, in Scotland, to inquire, whether the Marshalship belonged to David, in heritage. Id. The allusion of David's petition was plainly to Robert de Keth, who had been recognized, by John Baliol, in 1294, as his Mareschal.

(e) On the 4th of September, 1296, Edward I. ordered his Lieutenant, in Scotland, to assign ten merks of land of legal extent to Agnes the wife of Richard, the son of David, the Mareschal, then a prisoner in England. Rymer's Fœd. ii. 728. Richard, after his release, presented a petition to Edward; stating, that he was the son, and heir, of David, the Mareschal, who had assigned him 40 pounds of land, for the support of him, and his family; and praying, that the King would confirm it. Edward granted his request. Rolls Parl. v. i. p. 474.

(f) David le Mareschal of Dumfries-shire swore fealty to Edward I., in August 1296, 3 Prynne, 654. David Marshal, Knight, forfeited the lands of Corstorphin, in Mid-Lothian, which were given to Malcolm Ramsay; and the lands of Danielston, in Renfrew, which were granted to Thomas Carno. Robertson's Index, 59. There was a John le Marshal of Toskerton, in Wigtonshire, who also swore fealty to Edward I.; and whose lands were granted by Robert Bruce to William Hurchurche. Ib. 13. There were upwards of twenty persons of the name of *Mareschal*, who swore fealty to Edward I., in 1296; and but one person of the name of Keth, who was Alexander de Keth, the parson of Hodolm, in Dumfries-shire. Prynne, iii. 356; and see the same from 354 to 362, for the Marshals.

family, who settled in Scotland, was Robert de Quinci, a Northamptonshire baron, who appears to have attached himself to William, the Lion, if not to his predecessor, Malcolm IV. (g). From William, he acquired the extensive manor of Travernent, in East Lothian, out of which he made a liberal donation of lands, to the monks of Newbotle (h). William also made him Justiciary of Lothian, which he did not enjoy long (i). Robert de Quinci married Arabella, the daughter of Nes, the son of William, by whom, on her father's death, he obtained the valuable manor of Leuchars, and other lands, in Fife, with the estate of Duglyn, among the Ochil hills (k). Robert de Quinci died about the year 1190; and was succeeded, in his Scottish estates, by his son, Seyer de Quinci, who confirmed his father's grant to the monks of Newbotle, to which he made some additions, and he also showed his liberality by several grants, from his estates in Fife, to the monks of St. Andrew's, and Cambuskenneth (l). Seyer de Quinci, who became Earl of Winchester, about the year 1210, took an active lead, among the English barons, who opposed King John (n). He could flatter as well as oppose such a king (o).

(g) He was a witness to some of the charters of Malcolm. Chart. in Bibl. Harl. He witnessed many charters of William, before 1190. Chart. Glasg. 23; Chart. Kelso, 143. 402. 406.

(h) The manor of Travernent [Tranent], extended, at that epoch, all the way to the boundaries of Pinkie, and Inveresk. To the monks of Newbotle, Robert de Quinci granted the Grange of Preston, in this manor, as he had perambulated the same, in the presence of several honest men, and with it, pasture, in his manor of Travernent, for 700 sheep, and for oxen, sufficient to labour the Grange; and six acres, in his meadow of Travernent, with 20 carriage loads of peats, from his peatery, with other easements. Chart. Newbotle, 71.

(i) Chart. Kelso, 385; Chart. Paisley, 32; Robertson's Ind. p. 79.

(k) Nes, the son of William, lived in the reigns of Malcolm IV., and his successor, William. He witnessed a charter of Malcolm to the monks of Scone. Chart. Scone; Doug. MS. notes. He witnessed a grant of William to the monks of Cuper. Chart. Cuper, No. 5. Nes had the honour to be one of the hostages for William, when he was freed from his captivity, in 1174. Rymer's Fœd. v. i. 40.

(l) Chart. Newbotle, No. 72. He further granted to this monastery the half of a marsh, near the Grange of Preston, also a coallery, and a quarry, on the rivulet of Whiterig, near the same Grange. *Simon de Quinci* witnessed this grant, which was confirmed by King William. Chart. Newbotle, 73-4. Seyer de Quinci made some grants, from his manor of Leuchars, to the monks of St. Andrew's; and in his charters, he mentions his father, Robert de Quinci, and his mother *Arabella, the daughter, and heiress of Nes, the son of William*. Chart. St. Andrews; Crawford's MS. notes. To the monks of Cambuskenneth, he granted all the lands of Duglyn, by the same boundaries, as they had been held, by his *grandfather Nes, the son of William*. And this was confirmed by King William. Chart. Cambuskenneth, No. 75-6-7.

(n) See a full account of Seyer de Quinci, in Dugdale's Baron. v. i. 686.

(o) For livery of a part of the suburbs of Leicester, Seyer gave John three excellent coursers. Ib. 687. He afterwards gave the King another courser, called *Liard*, with a good *pieb brache*. Id. from the Pipe Roll.

His

His principal castle, in Scotland, seems to have been at Leuchars, in Fife, where he held his baronial court (*p*). Seyer married Margaret, one of the coheirresses of Robert, the Earl of Leicester; by whom, when he died, in 1219, he left, as heir of his earldom, and of his estates, in Scotland, Roger de Quinci (*q*). This great baron obtained a large addition to his property, in Scotland, by marrying Elena, the eldest daughter of Alan, the lord of Galloway, who died, in 1234 (*r*). On this event, Roger not only shared the extensive estates, which had come down from the Morevilles to Alan, but acquired, in right of his wife, the high office of Constable of Scotland, which had also descended from them, by a *female* heir, Elena, the sister of William, the last of the Morevilles. After all those accessions of property, and of power, Roger de Quinci became still more liberal to various monasteries (*s*). But, the Gaelic people of Galloway were not much pleased with his principles of feudism, or his practice of colonization: And, in 1247, they besieged him, in his castle; whence they obliged him to flee. Roger de Quinci died, on the 21st of April, 1264 (*t*). And by Elena, the daughter of Alan, the lord of Galloway, he left three daughters: Margaret, who married William, Earl of Derby; Elizabeth, who married Alexander Cumyn, the Earl of Buchan; and Elena, who married Alan la Zouche. These ladies shared their father's vast

(*p*) Having a dispute with Duncan the son of Hamelin, about the lands of Duglyn, he brought Duncan to acknowledge a release of his claims, in his court, "in plena curia mea apud Locres." Ib. No. 78.

(*q*) Seyer had an older son, Robert, whom he mentions, as his son, and heir, in a charter to the monks of Cambuskenneth. Chart. Cambuskenneth, 78. This son, as Dugdale states, (Baron i. 688) was, at the time of his father's death, in the Holy Land, from whence he does not appear to have ever returned. Roger de Quinci confirmed the grants of his father, in his manor of Tranent, to the monks of Newbotle. Chart. Newbotle, No. 75. He granted to the monks of Balmerinach a peatery, in his moss of Swanismire, in Fife. Chart. Balmer. No. 38. And to the monks of Lindores, he granted 200 cart loads of heather, yearly, from his moor of Kindeloch, and peats from his peatery, called Monegie, with some lands adjacent to Monegie, with common of pasturage, on his moor of Kindeloch. Chart. Lindores, 19.

(*r*) Besides Elena, the daughter of his first wife, Alan left by his second wife, Margaret, the eldest daughter of David, the brother of King William, Christian, who married William de Fortibus, the son of the Earl of Albemarle; and Dervorgilla, who married John Baliol, of Castle Bernard, by whom she had John Baliol, the competitor for the crown.

(*s*) Chart. Dryburgh, 44. He granted to the monks of Scone the land which William de Len had held in Perth, and which *belonged to the Constabulary of Scotland*, with the *Stone* house, in Perth, and the *garden*, without the walls, that belonged to the same house. Chart. Scone, No 57-66.

(*t*) The seal of this opulent baron was engraved by Astle, pl. iii. No. 3: The legend on the reverse is: "Sigill. Rogeri de Quinci Constabularij Scotiz."

estates, in Scotland. His office of Constable came to Alexander, the Earl of Buchan, by the resignation of Margaret, the Countess of Derby, who, as the eldest sister, inherited this great office (*u*). But, this office, and those estates, all became forfeited, during the sad events of the succession war (*x*).

Before the middle of the twelfth century, a person of Anglo-Norman lineage, who was called *Male*, settled under David I., on some lands, in Mid-Lothian, which he obtained from that beneficent prince. *Male*, and *Maule*, were probably of the same race. *Male*, who obtained the lands in Lothian, called the place, where he settled, *Male-ville*, and, from this local appellation, his family were distinguished, by the surname of *Male-ville*. Galfrid de *Male-ville* possessed those lands, under Malcolm IV., who demised, in 1165, and under William, his successor (*y*). Galfrid de Maleville was *Vicecomes de Cystella Puellarum*, for Malcolm IV. (*z*). Galfrid de Maleville had the honour, as he thus flourished, at the demise of Malcolm IV. to be the *first Justiciary* of proper Scotland, who appears in record (*a*). Such was the progenitor of the *Male-villes*, in Scotland, though his descendants have not been very accurately stated, by the genealogists (*b*). A younger son of Galfrid settled, in the Merns; as he married Eva, the daughter of Walter, the son of Sybald; and obtained with her the lands of Monethyn, on the Bervie river (*c*). Philip, the

(*u*) This office was resigned by Margaret, after the death of her husband, though she had a son, to the Scottish King, who immediately conferred it on the Earl of Buchan, the husband of the second daughter of the late Constable.

(*x*) See the Appendix, No. 6, to the Fragments of Scottish History, a Catalogue of all the great Constables of Scotland, by Sir James Balfour, who has outdone himself, in the absurdity of his conceits, about the de Quincies, and the office of Constable.

(*y*) Chart. of St. Andrews. He granted to the monks of Dumfermlin the church of *Maleville*, with its pertinents. Chart. Dunfermlin.

(*z*) Chart. Newbotle, No. 159-175. Ranulph de Sules, the *Pincerna* of William, granted a caruate of land, in his lordship of Gilmorestoun, as laid off, by the measurement of Galfrid de Maleville, and other worthy men. Ib. 45. King William granted some lands near Crail, in Fife, as they had been perambulated by Galfrid de Maleville, and others. Astle's MS. Diplom. Scotiæ, No. 4.

(*a*) Chart. Glasgow, 25; Fragments of Scot. Hist. 45.

(*b*) Galfrid was the progenitor of the Earls of Melville. Crawford's Peerage, 323; Doug. Peer. 469; of the Melvilles of Strathkinnes, and Craigtown. Dougl. Bar. 52; of the Melvilles of Raith, of Dysart, of Cairnbee, of Glenbervie, &c. Nisbet's Heraldry, Ap. 30; Dalrymple's Col. 428-9. For correcting the inaccuracies of the genealogists, see Chart. Newbotle, No. 215-240-1-223.

(*c*) Chart. Arbroth. 130-131: Out of those lands, they gave a donation to the monks of Arbroth, which was confirmed by King William. Id.

son of Philip, and the grandson of Galfrid, was Sheriff of Aberdeen, in 1222 (*d*). He was afterwards the Sheriff of the Merns. And, he rose to be joint Justiciary of proper Scotland, with Richard de Montealte, in 1241 (*e*). Such was the respectable progenitor of the Melvilles of the Merns. One of the Melvilles, by obtaining the lands of *Kilblathmont*, became an inhabitant of Forfarshire (*f*). Richard de Melville was a witness, in 1178, with William, the Lion; and Turpin, the bishop of Brechin, to a charter of John the Abbot of Kelso to the monks of Arbroth (*g*). Richard de Melville thus flourished, in Forfarshire, during the reign of William, the Lion. There was a Malcolm de Melville, who lived in Fife, with Malcolm the Earl, at the demise of William, the Lion (*h*).

The family of the *Maules* derive their ancient origin from a person of this distinguished name, called Guarin de Maule, who came from Normandy, with the Conqueror; settled in Cleveland, and died, about the accession of Henry I., in 1100; leaving two sons, the heirs of his adventure: Robert attached himself to Earl David; came into Scotland with him; and obtained, from David, the bountiful, a grant of lands, in Lothian (*i*). Robert died, about the year 1130; leaving several sons: William; Roger; and Radulph; and he was, probably, the father of the Maule, who settled at *Maleville*, in Lothian, as we have seen. William, adhering to David I., attended him to the battle of the Standard, in 1138; and obtained from him the manor of Foulis, in Perthshire (*k*). The younger sons of Robert de Maule appear to have shared his lands, in Lothian. Radulph Maule de Lochogow on the Esk, in Lothian, which he probably held, as a vassal of the Morevilles, granted to the

(*d*) Robertson's Index, liii.; Chart. Arbroth. No. 10.

(*e*) Chart. Glasgow, 271; Chart. Cuper, No. 43. He witnessed several charters of Alexander II. Chart. Arbroth, No. 153-161: He witnessed many charters of the inhabitants in the Merns. Ib. No. 20; App. to Nisbet's Heraldry, 243.

(*f*) Richard de Melville granted to the monks of Arbroth, and to the chapel of Kilblathmont, ten acres *in campo* de Kilblathmont, and half an acre in the village, with the chapel toft, in pure alms. Chart. Arbroth, No. 175.

(*g*) Chart. Arbroth, No. 32.

(*h*) Chart. Moray. p. 103.

(*i*) Holinshed, ii. p. 296; Dougl. Peer. 540.

(*k*) William Masculus is a witness to a grant of Earl Henry to the Priory of St. Andrews. Chart. St. Andrews; Chart. Glasgow, p. 267. William de Maule, or *Masculus*, (as the name was then written in charters) granted to the Priory of St. Andrews the chapel of Foulis, with the pertinents. Crawford's MS. notes, from the Chart. St. Andrews. William Masculus of Foulis gave to Thomas Clericus, "*nepote meo*," the church of Foulis, in pure alms. Michael Masculus, and Richard, his *nepos*, are among the witnesses of his donation. Id.

monks of Newbotle, a portion of the same estate (*l*). It was Roger, the second son of Robert, who was destined to be the progenitor of the family of Maule (*m*). His grandson Peter, by his eldest son, Richard, married about the year 1224, Christian, the heiress of William de Valoniis, the lord of Panmure, and Chamberlain of Scotland, under Alexander II.: And, from this marriage sprung the family of Maule, who became Earls of Panmure (*n*). There was another race of the Maules, who settled on the border, with their followers, and who contributed to swell the population of that important district (*o*).

Of the Anglo-Norman family of Valoniis, two of the younger sons, Philip, and Roger, settled in Scotland, at the end of Malcolm IV.'s reign (*p*). From William, the Lion, Philip obtained the manors of Panmure, and Benvie, in Forfarshire (*q*). He appears to have been the frequent attendant on William, who gave him the office of Chamberlain (*r*). He was one of the hostages, for the Scottish King, when he obtained his freedom, in 1174 (*s*). In 1208, he accompanied the Bishops of St. Andrews, and Glasgow, with William Cumyn, the Justiciary of Scotland, into England, on an embassy to King John (*t*). After the death of William, in 1214, Philip de Valoniis was continued Chamberlain, by Alexander II. (*u*). He died, aged, in 1215; and was buried, in Melros Abbey (*v*). He left a son, and two daughters (*w*). He was succeeded

(*l*) Chart. Newbotle, No. 39. This grant was confirmed by his grandson, Thomas Maule of Lochgow. Ib. 41.

(*m*) Roger witnessed many charters, during the reign of William. Chart. Glasgow, 163; Dougl. Peer. 541.

(*n*) Dougl. Peer. 541.

(*o*) In the Chart. of Kelso, No. 54, there is a charter of William Masculus, confirming the renunciation of *seven of his vassals* to the monks, of fishings, in the Tweed; and he conferred on the monks of the same house, the free use of his slate quarry on his lands of *Twedemow*.

(*p*) In several charters of King William, wherein they both appear as witnesses, Roger is mentioned, as the younger brother of Philip de Valoniis. Chart. Arbroth; Chart. Antiq. Bibl. Harl.

(*q*) App. to Crawford's Officers of State. 468.

(*r*) Chart. Arbroth, No. 55; Chart. Glasgow, p. 23; Chart. Kelso, 388. Philip de Valoniis gave to the monks of Cuper an acre of land, at his port of *Stinchindehaven*, for building, with a fishing, and other easements of the sea, to a port belonging. Chart. Cuper. This donation was confirmed by Thomas de Maule of Panmure, in 1456. Crawford's Officers of State, 466. There are two havens in Panmure barony, Westhaven, and Easthaven, where there are fishing villages, to this day. From this transaction, we may see how the havens, on that shore, became peopled with Englishmen.

(*s*) Rymer's Fœd. v. i. 40.

(*t*) Fordun, l. viii. c. 70.

(*u*) Ib. l. ix. c. 27.

(*v*) An. 1215. Ob. Philippus de Valoniis Camerarius Dom. Willielmi regis, qui apud Melros delatos, in capitulo honorifice est tumulatus. Chron. Mel. 190. To the monks of this house, he had confirmed the lands of Ringwode, in Roxburghshire, which had been granted them by Osulph, the son of Uchtred. Chart. Melros. No. 90.

(*w*) Crawford's Officers of State, 257-8; Doug. Peer. 538.

both

both in his estates, and in his office, by his son William, who obtained from William, the Lion, during his father's life, a confirmation of the manors of Benvie, and Panmure (*x*). Of that King's charters, William de Valoniis was a frequent witness; and as Chamberlain, he witnessed some charters of Alexander II., before he died, in 1219 (*y*). He left an only child, Christian, who by marrying, as we have seen, Peter Maule, carried her heritage, and her blood, into a new family (*z*). II. Roger de Valoniis, the younger brother of Philip, came with him into Scotland, and equally became a favourite of William, the Lion (*a*). From this King, he obtained the manor of Kilbride, in Clydesdale, with other lands, in the west of Scotland, where he had his castle (*b*). With Joceline, the Bishop of Glasgow, from 1175 to 1199, Roger had a law-suit about the church of Kilbride, with its pertinents, which was settled, at Lanerk, by an agreement, in the King's presence (*c*). When he died is uncertain; but, he undoubtedly left a daughter, Isabella, who married David Cumyn, who flourished under Alexander II.; as we know from the Chartularies (*d*). David Cumyn was one of the *magnates Scotiæ*, who engaged to maintain the peace with England, in 1237 (*e*). He performed an act of beneficence to the monks of Newbotle, in 1245 (*a*): but, he certainly died, before the year 1250, when his widow granted her forest of Dalkarn to the church of Glasgow (*b*). She died before the year 1261: and, by David Cumyn, for whose soul she was careful, she had a son William, who flourished

(*x*) Officers of State, 468: This confirmation of his father's lands, which he had obtained from the same king, must have been made between the years 1196 and 1200.

(*y*) Chart. of Scone; Chart. of Arbroth; "An. 1219: ob. Wil. de Valoniis ap Kelchou, "cujus corpus etiam, contra bene placitum Monachorum ejusdem domus, apud Melros deductum "est, et ibidem honorifice sepultum, in capitulo monachorum, juxta sepulchrum patris sui." Chron. Mel. 197.

(*z*) Crawf. Off. of State, Ap. 468-470.

(*a*) Both Philip, and Roger, witnessed many charters of that King, as we know from the Chartularies: From this circumstance, we may infer, that they were his daily courtiers.

(*b*) Chart. Glasg. 39-41.

(*c*) Ib. 39. William confirmed this agreement, by a charter, to which Philip, the brother of Roger, is one of the witnesses. Ib. 40. Roger granted an annuity to the monks of Paisley out of his lands of Kilbride. Chart. Paisley. He left a bastard son, called William de Valoniis, who witnessed a charter of his sister Isabel, lady of Kilbride, before the year 1250. Chart. Glasg. 259.

(*d*) Chart. Cambusken. No. 138; Chart. Soltre, No. 7; Chart. Cuper, No. 19.

(*e*) 1 Rym. Fœd. 376.

(*a*) Chart. Newbotle, No. 192.

(*b*) Chart. Glasgow, 259: This grant was made for the safety of the souls of her parents, and of her husband David Cumyn, who was then dead. It was confirmed in 1250. Ib. 261.

under

under Alexander III; as we may see in the chartularies (*i*). He probably died, soon after the year 1280: he was not among the *Magnates Scotiæ*, in February 1284 (*c*): and, he did not appear, in the numerous parliament of Brigham, in March 1290 (*d*). William Cumyn of Kilbride was succeeded by John Cumyn, who was destined to struggle through the subsequent scenes of intrigue, and warfare. John Cumyn of Kilbride was taken prisoner by the English, in 1296 (*e*). He was succeeded, in Kilbride, not long after, by Edmund Cumyn, who was immediately involved in the same struggles, and misfortunes (*f*). Yet, Edmund Cumyn of Kilbride fought, with the other Cumyns, against Bruce, in favour of Baliol, and Edward I, till he lost his estate, and life (*g*). So terrible to many respectable families were the effects of the long contest, for the bloody crown of the Scottish kings!

The Berkeleys settled, in Scotland, during the twelfth century: and they were a branch of the great family of *Berkeley*, in Gloucestershire (*a*). Robert de Berkeley obtained the manor of Mackiston, about the middle of the twelfth century, by marrying Cecilia, who enjoyed it, as the heiress (*b*). They appear to have been succeeded, in the manor of Mackiston, before the year 1200, by Hugh de Normanville, and Alicia, his wife, who was doubtless the heiress

(*i*) On Whitsun-Monday, 1261, William Cumyn of Kilbride appeared in court, at Jedburgh, before the king himself; and resigned to the bishop of Glasgow the lands of Sleindaff, in the forest of Dalkarn. Chart. Glasgow, 241. See the Chart. of Soltre, No. 8; of Kelso, No. 184; of Arbroth, No. 12; of Glasgow, 443; of Paisley, No. 110. 115. 118; for notices of William Cumyn of Kilbride, from 1261 to 1280.

(*c*) Rymer's Fœd. v. ii. p. 266.

(*d*) Ib. 471.

(*e*) He was liberated on the 9th of August 1297; on his swearing at Brede, that he would serve the English king, in France, or elsewhere, on pain of forfeiting his body, and goods. Rymer's Fœd. ii. 782.

(*f*) Mons. Edmund Cumyn of Kilbride submitted with John Cumyn, the guardian, by the capitulation of Strathurd, on the 9th of February 1304. Ryley's Placita, 369. On the 15th October 1305, Edmund Cumyn, with all those, who submitted, at Strathurd, was fined three years rent of his estate by Edward I. Rymer's Fœd. ii. 969.

(*g*) Robert Bruce granted the barony of Kilbride to Walter Stewart, who had married his daughter Margery. Robertson's Index, p. 9. But, the same king with a mitigated spirit, granted to Mary Cumyn, the spouse of Edmund Cumyn, the lands of Gillennachis, and Sauchope, with the mill, in the thanage of Formartin, Aberdeenshire. Ib. p. 2.

(*a*) Dug. Baron. v. i. p. 349.

(*b*) Robert, and Cecilia, his spouse, granted to the monks of Melros a carucate of land, in the territory of Mackiston, with common of pasturage, and other easements: they speak of David I, and Malcolm, their late lords; and of their lord William, and David, his brother. Chart. Melros, No. 27.

of Robert, and Cecilia (*c*). Walter de Berkeley, who was doubtless the brother of Robert, was appointed chamberlain of Scotland, in 1165, when Nicolas, his predecessor, was made chancellor (*d*). Walter obtained from king William a grant of the extensive manor of Inverkeilor, in Forfarshire; whereon he built Red-Castle, on an eminence, near the mouth of Lunan-water; and he was from it sometimes called, the lord of Red-Castle. He granted the church of Inverkeilor, with other privileges to the monks of Arbroth (*e*). He had the honour to be one of the hostages, for enforcing the treaty, which restored his master, William, to his people (*f*). Walter held some lands, in Galloway, under Roland, the son of Uchtred: he granted those lands to the monks of Holm-Cultram, which grant was confirmed by Roland, the Lord of Galloway (*g*). When Walter died is uncertain: he was alive, at the end of the twelfth, and died, at the beginning of the thirteenth century; as we may learn from the chartularies. He left an heiress, who married Ingelram de Baliol, who was the first of this family, that settled, in Scotland (*h*). Another branch of the Berkeleys took root in the Merns, during the twelfth century; and became the progenitors of Barclay of Mathers, of Barclay of Urie, and of other families, in those northern districts. Humphry de Berkeley, who obtained estates, in the Merns, from William, the lion, was probably a brother of Walter, the chamberlain (*i*). He married Agatha, who witnessed one of his charters. Humphry granted Balfech to the monks of Arbroth (*k*). He probably did

(*c*) Ib. 29, 30. Robert de Berkeley was a witness to many grants of William, the lion; as we may see, in the chartularies.

(*d*) *Crawf. Off. of State*, p. 253. Robert, and Walter de Berkeley, appear as witnesses, together, in many charters. *Chart. Arbroth*, No. 84—86; *Chart. Glasgow*, 25—218; *Chart. Cu-per*, No. 35—39; *MS. Monast. Scotiz*, 108. Robert witnessed the charters of Walter de Berkeley. *Chart. Arbroth*, No. 83—85. There is a charter of Walter de Berkeley, the chamberlain, with his very curious seal appendant, in the *Diplom. Scotiz*, pl. 77: It was witnessed by William de Moreville, the constable, who died, in 1196.

(*e*) *Chart. Arbroth*, No. 83-4, 85-6.

(*f*) *Rymer's Foed. v. i.* p. 40.

(*g*) *Dug. Monast.* vol. v. p. 286.

(*h*) *Off. of State*, 253; *Ruddiman's Index to the Diplom. Scotiz*. Nisbet pretends, that he left two daughters: but, this loose intimation is contradicted by charters, which evince, that Ingelram de Baliol was the only person, who was called upon to confirm the grants of Walter de Berkeley. *Chart. Arbroth*, No. 87. *Monast. Angl.* v. p. 286.

(*i*) *Chart. Arbroth*, No. 27: Humphry de Berkeley witnessed two charters of Gilchrist, Earl of Angus. Ib. No. 58—74. *App. to Nisbet's Heraldry*, 246. From William, Humphry obtained the manor of Conveth, which is now called Laurencekirk, Monbodach, Balfech, Culbach, Kinkell, Glenferchar, and other lands, in Fordun parish.

(*k*) *Chart. Arbroth*, No. 124; as the same had been perambulated, by Mathew, the bishop

did not survive his master, William, who demised, in 1214; and he left the greatest part of his lands to his heiress Richenda, who married Warnebald, the ancestor of the Earls of Glencairn. As they had no issue, they granted their estates, in the Merns, to the monks of Arbroth, which were confirmed by Alexander II. (l). She outlived her husband; and during her widowhood, confirmed her grant to the monks of Arbroth (c). There was one John Berkeley, whether a nephew, or a bastard son of Humphrey, who enjoyed a part of his estate, though Richenda was his heiress; and seems thus to have been looked at, with envious eyes, by Richenda, and Warnebald, when they gave such estates to the monks. John de Berkely disputed with those favourite monks, about some of those lands, soon after the death of his father. This controversy was ended, by an agreement, which was assented to by his son, Robert de Berkeley; and was confirmed by Alexander II, about the year 1225 (m). John de Berkeley had some connection with Roger, the bishop of St. Andrews, who died, in 1202; and whose charters, he often witnessed (n). The Berkeleys enjoyed other high offices, besides that of chamberlain. Walter de Berkeley acted as justiciary under William, the lion. Hugh de Berkeley, was justiciary of Lothian, between 1202, and 1214, the last twelve years of William (o). Another Hugh de Berkeley was justiciary of Lothian, under Alexander III. (p). The brothers Hugh de Berkeley, and Walter de Berkeley, were among the *Magnates Scotiæ*, who entered into a treaty with the Welsh, in 1258 (q). Sir David Berkeley obtained the lordship of Brechin, by marrying Margaret, the heiress, at the beginning of the fourteenth century. This estate went afterwards to the Maules, by another female heir of the Berkeleys (r).

The progenitor of the Anglo-Norman family of the Normanvilles came, from England, into Scotland, during the twelfth century (s). The place, where they first settled, cannot now be easily ascertained. Before the year 1200, Hugh de Aberdeen, and Gilbert, the Earl of Strathern, “*Secundum assisam regni.*” This grant was confirmed by K. William. Ib. No. 125. Humphry was himself a perambulator of lands, under the assize of the kingdom. Ib. p. 4.

(l) Chart. Arbroth, No. 20; and No. 21: this confirmation of Alexander was dated the 20th of March 1243.

(c) Ib. No. 22: Her grant was confirmed by Alexander, 7th March 1246.

(m) Chart. of Arbroth.

(n) Id.

(o) Chart. Newbotle; Fragments of Scottish History, 45.

(p) Diplom. Scotiæ, 36; Chart. Soltre, No. 9; Chart. Kelso, No. 395. These charters show, that Hugh was justiciary of Lothian, in 1265, 1266, and 1267.

(q) Rymer's Foed. v. i. p. 653.

(r) Dougl. Peerage, 87.

(s) We may see several of the English Normanvilles, in Rymer's Foedera, v. i. and in Dugdale's Monasticon.

Normanville

Normanville, and Alicia, his wife, were in possession of the manor of Mackiston, which had previously belonged to Robert de Berkeley, as we have seen. Alicia was doubtless the daughter of Robert de Berkeley; and by her marriage, transferred the possession of Mackiston to her husband. In 1200, Hugh de Normanville, and Alicia, his wife, gave to the monks of Melros the lands of Kelvessete, and Fawlawe, in exchange for the land, which Robert de Berkeley, and Cecilia, his wife, granted to the same monks, in the manor of Mackiston (*t*). Hugh de Normanville had four sons; John, Walran, Guydo, and Thomas. John, as heir, inherited the manor of Mackiston. Before the year 1232, he confirmed to the monks of Melros all the lands, common of pasturage, and other easements, which they claimed, within the manor of Mackiston, under his father Hugh (*u*). He granted to his brother, Walran, a carucate of land in Mackiston (*x*). Walran conveyed this carucate of land to his brother Guydo (*y*). And he transferred it to his brother Thomas, in exchange, for the lands, which he had obtained from the gift of Matildis, the Countess of Angus (*z*). Thomas de Normanville was one of the Scotch party, who acted with the Cumyns; and was removed from the councils of Alexander III, in 1255, by the influence of the English king (*a*).

A cadet of the English family of Montealt, who derived this name, from a place in Flintshire, came into Scotland, during the twelfth century (*b*). Robert de Montealt is a witness to some of the charters of David I. (*c*). This family obtained from William, the lion, a grant of the manor of Fern, in Forfarshire. Robert de Montealt, knight, gave to the monks of Cuper a stone of wax, and four shillings of money to be annually received, from the rents of his lands of Fern (*d*). This family appears to have had other lands, in Forfarshire, particularly, the estate of Both, in Carmylie parish (*e*). Richard de Montealt was

(*t*) Chart. Melros, No. 29.

(*u*) Ib. 30: And he granted several other portions of land to the same monks, under Alexander II. Ib. No. 32. 34-5-6.

(*x*) Ib. 41.

(*y*) Ib. 42.

(*z*) Ib. 44. In 1256, died Walran de Normanville; and was buried at Melros. Chron. Mel. 221.

(*a*) Rymer's Fœd. i. 566.

(*b*) Dug. Baron. i. p. 527.

(*c*) He witnessed David's charter to Holyroodhouse. He was certainly an Englishman, says Sir Ja. Dalrymple. Col. 418.

(*d*) Chart. Cuper, No. 61: Laurence de Montealt is a witness to this grant. Robert de Montealt witnessed several charters of Alexander II, and some of Alexander III. Chart. Arbroth, No. 23; No. 17.

(*e*) On the 17th February 1250, the abbot of Arbroth became bound to William de Montealt, the son of Michael de Montealt, to support a chaplain at his chapel of Both. Chart. Arbroth, No. 14. Michael de Montealt was sheriff of Inverness, in 1234. Chart. Moray, fol. 20.

justiciary of proper Scotland with Philip de Maleville, in the three years, ending with 1242 (*f*). Michael de Montealt was justiciary of proper Scotland, with Philip de Melgdrum, in 1252 (*g*). William de Montealt was one of the Scottish barons, who, in their famous epistle to the Pope, said they would never submit to England, while one of them remained (*l*). Montealt has been vulgarized into Mowat; as the English family of Montefichet has been transformed into Muschet (*b*).

The de Vescies were a Northumberland family, during the reigns of Henry II, and of Malcolm IV. (*i*). Eustace de Vesci obtained from William, the lion, his bastard daughter, Margaret, with the manor of Sprouston, and other lands, in Roxburghshire, in 1192 (*k*). Eustace was killed, by an arrow, when Alexander II. and he, advanced to view Castle-Bernard, in 1216. Eustace, and Margaret, left a son, William, who confirmed their donations to the monks of Kelso, and of Melros (*l*). When so many pretenders to the crown of the Scottish kings appeared, in 1291, William de Vesci, the descendant of Eustace, by the bastard daughter of William, the lion, gave in his illegitimate claim, which he withdrew, in November 1292 (*m*).

(*f*) Chart. Glasgow, 271; Chart. Cnper, No. 43.

(*g*) App. to Nisbet's Heraldry, 131; Rud. Index Diplom. Scotiæ. He was, as we have seen, the father of William de Montealt. Michael had another son, Bernard de Montealt, who was a witness to a grant of Alexander III, in 1265. Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. 36. Bernard de Montealt, with the abbot of Balmerinach, and others, were drowned on their return home, from Norway, in 1281. Index to the Diplom.

(*l*) Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. 51.

(*b*) Dug. Bar. i. p. 438-9; Rud. Index Diplom. Scotiæ.

(*i*) Dug. Baron. i. p. 91: William de Vesci was a witness to a charter of William, the Earl of Northumberland. Chart. Antiq. Brit. Mus. William de Vesci, knight, was sheriff of Northumberland from 1154 to 1168, when he probably died. Hutch. Northumberland, ii. p. 451.

(*k*) Out of that manor, Eustace de Vesci granted twenty shillings to the monks of Kelso, to be received of the tenant of the *Mill of Sprouston*, for the tithes of the mill. Chart. Kelso, No. 207. Margaret de Vesci granted the monks this annual-rent on condition, that they would receive her, her lord, and their heirs, into the society of the house. *Ib.* 209. In 1207, the monks of Kelso agreed, that Eustace de Vesci, and his wife, Margaret, should have a chapel, in their court of of Sprouston. *Ib.* 206. Richard de Vesci, the brother of Eustace, was a witness to this charter. For notices of Eustace, see Rym. Fœd. vi. 88 to 212; and Wallis's Northumberland, v. ii. p. 359-60. Margaret de Vesci confirmed to the monks of Melros the grants of land, which had been made, by some of her vassals, in the territory of Lilliesclif. Chart. Melros, No. 70, 71.

(*l*) Chart. Melross, No. 72, 73: He also confirmed to the monks of Kelso the grants to them, in the territory of Moll, by his vassal, Gilbert Avenel: this charter is witnessed by William de Vesci, his son. Chart. Kelso, No. 170.

(*m*) 2 Rym. Fœd, 546-76.

Thomas

Thomas de London, an Englishman, obtained from David I. the manor of Lessedwyn [Lessuden] in Roxburghshire, where he settled, with his followers (*n*). He married a widow, whose name was Lovel, and who possessed some lands, in his vicinity; out of which, she gave to the monks of Jedburgh that portion, which was called Uchtredsxaghe (*o*). Thomas de London was succeeded by his son Maurice; and he by his son Richard, who married Matilda de Ferrers, by whom Richard had Robert de London, his heir, during the reign of Alexander II. Robert confirmed to the monks of Dryburgh the church of Lessedwyn, for the safety of the souls of William, the lion, of Richard, his own father, and of Matilda, his mother (*p*). Robert de London, the descendant of Thomas de London, must not be confounded with Robert de Loudon, the natural son of William, the lion, his contemporary (*q*).

The two families, who were called *de London*, must be distinguished, also, from two families, who were denominated *de Lundin*, and who settled, in those times, the one, in Fife; and the other, in Forfarshire (*r*). Philip de Lundin obtained from Malcolm IV. the manor of Lundie, in Fife (*s*). Philip outlived Malcolm IV., and continued his career under William, the lion (*t*). He was succeeded by his son Walter, who obtained from King William a confirmation of the lands of Lundie (*u*). Out of these, Walter made liberal grants to the monks of Cambuskenneth, which were confirmed by King William, and by his heirs (*x*). Walter de Lundie, also, possessed the lands of Benvie, near Lundie, in Forfarshire (*y*), a circumstance, which seems to denote, that the Lundies of Fife, and the Lundies of Forfar, were originally the same. Walter,

(*n*) Thomas de Lundonia witnessed some of the charters of David I. Chart. Glasgow, 429. He granted the church of Lessedwyn to the monks of Dryburgh; and this grant was confirmed, by K. William, and by Jocelin, the bishop of Glasgow. Chart. Dryburgh, 40-1.

(*o*) Chart. Jedburgh.

(*p*) Chart. Dryburgh, No. 39.

(*q*) Chart. Inchcolm, No. 15. Robert de Lundyn was a witness to a charter of William, the lion, with Robert de London, the king's son. Chart. Arbroth, No. 6. And they thus appear together, in other charters.

(*r*) The Latin name of the charters is *Lundin*; the English name of common life is *Lundie*, the usual appellation of the lands.

(*s*) Sir Ja. Dalrymple's Col. 398, which quotes the original charter.

(*t*) Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. 28; Chart. Cuper, No. 51; Chart. Arbroth, No. 73—112.

(*u*) Sir Ja. Dalrymple's Col. 398.

(*x*) He granted them four bovates of land, with a toft, in the village of Balcormack, near Lundie, with pasture over his whole estate, for 500 sheep, 20 cows, and three acres of field, which he had perambulated. Chart. Cambus. No. 40. Id. 41-2.

(*y*) Chart. Arbroth, No. 171.

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by his wife Christian, left several sons, who appear in the chartularies, as witnesses of their father's munificence to the monks.

Malcolm, who was designed de Lundin, was contemporary with Philip, who was, probably, his brother. Malcolm equally shared the bounty of David I, and Malcolm IV, from whom he obtained, perhaps, the lands of Lundie, in Forfarshire. Malcolm de Lundie was certainly succeeded by his son, Thomas, who obtained from William, the lion, the office of Door-ward, or *Hostiarius*, which became hereditary, in this family. He acquired lands, in Marr, on the Dee, as well as in Forfar, and in Fife, out of which, his munificence induced him to make several donations to the monks (z). Thomas, the Door-ward, was alive, in 1220: in that year, he was one of the *Magnates Scotiæ*, who ratified the marriage of Alexander II, with Johanna of England (a). He was succeeded by his son, Alan, the Door-ward, who was a busy actor, during a busy period: besides the hereditary office of *hostiarius*, he held the important trust of justiciary, for proper Scotland, from 1243 to 1251, and again from 1255 to 1257: and he became, for a while, the Earl of Athol, though the Peerage writers cannot tell, by what design, or accident (b). He early married the bastard daughter of Alexander II. He had the presumption to oppose the coronation of the infant son of his benefactor, in 1249 (c). As a strenuous sol-

(z) Thomas de Lundin, the son of Malcolm, and the king's Doorward, granted to the monks of Scone the church of Eycht, in Marr, with its pertinents. Chart. Scone, No. 29—58. He gave to the monks of Arbroth the church of Kinernie, in Marr, with the pertinents; which was confirmed by K. William. Chart. Arbroth, No. 88, 89. He granted to the same monks the forest of Trostach, lying between the Dee, and Canie-water. Ib. No. 74. He granted to the monks of Cuper a mark of silver to be paid, yearly, by him, and his heirs, out of his lands of Balmerinach, in consideration of the burying-ground, which he had located before their church-door, where he desired he might be buried. Walter, Hostiarius, de Lundin, is one of the witnesses to this grant, which was confirmed by William, the lion. Chart. Cuper, No. 51. This ground before the church door of the abbey became the burial-place of the family of Lundin, where Alan, the Door-ward, and the son of Thomas, was buried, in 1275, as Fordun relates. l. x. c. xxxv.

(a) 1 Rymer's Fœd. 241.

(b) He calls himself Earl of Athol, in a charter to the monks of Arbroth, confirming his father's grant of the forest of Trostach. Chart. Arbroth, No. 161. This charter was confirmed by Alexander II, in 1233. Ib. 162. He witnessed a charter of Alexander II, in 1234, wherein he is allowed to call himself *Earl of Athol*. Ib. 140. The transactions of those times evince that, he was a most presumptuous character. What Nisbet, in his Heraldry, i. p. 74; and Douglas, in his Peerage, p. 45, say of him, is quite erroneous. Crawford, the antiquary, supposes, that he was Earl of Athol, by having the gift of the wardship of the young Earl. MS. Notes. However anomalous, this is not unlikely, considering the audacity of the man, and his marriage with Alexander II.'s bastard daughter.

(c) Lord Hailes An. i. 162; Fordun, x. c. i.

dier,

dier, and ambitious statesman, he took his full share, in the political management of that reign (*d*). Alan, the Door-ward, enjoyed estates, in almost every district of the north; in Moray, Aberdeen, in the Merns, and in Forfarshire (*e*). He was liberal to the monks; he founded hospitals, and a convent; as we see in the chartularies (*f*). He died, in 1275; and was buried, in the inclosure, which his father had prepared for him, before the Abbey church of Cuper: he left three daughters, who carried his large estates, with his blood, into other families (*g*).

A branch of the Anglo-Norman family of Heriz came into Scotland, during the age of David I. (*h*). It is more than probable, that the same William de Heriz, who appears to have attached himself to David I, and his son, Henry, may have settled, in Scotland. The peerage writers assign to William de Heriz three sons; Nigel, William, and Thomas: but, neither the series, nor the filiation of those Herizes, have been accurately settled by those genealogical writers (*i*). William de Heriz, who witnessed a charter to the monks of Kelso, at the end of the twelfth century, was probably the genuine stock of the Heriz family, in Scotland (*k*). Nigel de Heris was forester, in the southern districts, to Alexander II, who directed a precept to him, and to the sheriffs of Edinburgh, and

(*d*) See 1 Rym. Fœd. 428—559—566-7—670—715.

(*e*) Chart. Mor. 85; Chart. Cuper, 54; Chart. Aberdeen, 309—15. In 1256, he acquired, from Walter, the abbot of Arbroth, the lands of Banchory-Devenich, in the Merns. Chart. Arbroth, No. 16.

(*f*) In 1233, he founded an hospital at Kincardin O'Niel, near the bridge, which his father had built over the Dee. See his foundation charter, in Chart. Aberdeen, 315, and another charter from him to this establishment, in 1250. Ib. 309.

(*g*) Fordun, l. x. c. xxxv: He had a son, who grew up to man's estate, but died before himself: he was a witness in his father's acquittance to the monks of Arbroth, in 1256, by the name of "Thomas Hostiarius filius meus, Miles." Chart. Arbroth, No. 208.

(*h*) William de Heriz was a witness to a charter, which David I. granted to the monks of St. Bega, at Kaplow. Chart. Antiq. Bibl. Harl. William de Heriz also witnessed a grant of Earl Henry to the monks of Wederhall. Monast. Angl. i. 399. He also witnessed a charter of Earl Henry to the monks of Holm-Cultram. Ib. 886. See Dug. Baron. v. i. p. 684-5, for some notices of this family, which leave it somewhat doubtful, whether William emigrated from England. This family, who were not considerable, had their chief residence at Wyverton [Worton], in Nottinghamshire. The Scottish genealogists, taking no notice of this English family of Heriz, derive the Scottish race from the house of Vendosme, in France! Dougl. Peer. 337.

(*i*) Nigel is said to have been a witness in some charters to the monks of Kelso. Sir Ja. Dalrymple Coll. lxxxii.

(*k*) He witnessed a charter of William, the lion, to the monks of Melros, in the period, from 1175 to 1199. Chart. Melros, No. 4. He was a witness to a charter of Robert de Brus, between 1183 and 1190. Chart. Arbroth, No. 66. Thomas de Heriz also witnessed the same charter to the monks of Kelso, with William, and Nigel. There existed other persons of the same name,

and Traquair, to ascertain the extent, and value, of the pasture of Lethanhope, in Tweeddale (*t*). This family settled in Nithsdale, under David II.; they obtained the barony of Terregles, and the lands of Kirkgunneon, in Galloway, and Achry, in Stirlingshire (*l*). The representative of all those Herizes, Sir Herbert, obtained the title of Lord Herries of Terregles, in 1493. From this stock are sprung the several families of Herris in Scotland.

The story, which Douglas tells, from Van Bassen, of the origin of the Cuninghams, is entirely fictitious (*m*). Camden traces them from England, on surer grounds, though he confounds Hugh Moreville, the constable, who lived, in a prior age, with Hugh Moreville, the assassin of Becket (*n*). Warnebald, who came from the north of England, settled as a vassal under Hugh Moreville, in Cuningham (*o*). From him, Warnebald obtained the manor of Cuningham, which comprehended the church, and much of the parish of Kilmaurs; and from his manor, Warnebald assumed the surname of Cuningham (*p*). Warnebald was succeeded by his son, Robert, in the manor of Kilmaurs, and Cuningham. He married, as we have seen, Richenda, the daughter of Humphry de Berkeley, with whom he obtained several lands, in the Merns, which they granted to the monks of Arbroth, as we know, from the chartulary of that opulent house. As Robert was the vassal of Richard Moreville, he was a witness to some of his charters (*q*). Robert granted the church of Kilmaurs, “in villa
“*mea de Cuningham,*” to the monks of Kelso, with a carucate of land, be-

in Scotland, in the twelfth century. Henry de Heriz witnessed a charter of William de Somerville to Ingelram, the bishop of Glasgow, between 1164 and 1174. Chart. Glasgow, 51. Ivon de Heriz, and Roger de Heriz, witnessed a charter of Walter de Berkley the chamberlain, between 1189 and 1196. Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. 77.

(*t*) Chart. Newbotle, No. 130: Douglas mistakenly calls this forester, Henricus de Heriz.

(*l*) Robertson's Index to the Records.

(*m*) Peerage, 289.

(*n*) Camden, 1607, p. 695.

(*o*) Crawford's Peerage, 167.

(*p*) There was here, of old, a hamlet, and manor-place, named Cuningham: there is still, in the neighbourhood of Kilmaurs, the mansion of Cuningham-head, where there was an old castle, when Pont surveyed this country. Blaeu's Atlas Scotiæ. From this manor-place, the whole district took its name. We are told, indeed, that the district took its name from being the residence, or *ham*, of some king, in some age: it was not recollected, that such a king never existed, and that *Cuning* signifies a rabbit, while *Cyning* means a king: *Cuning*, in the British, signifies a rabbit; the word was adopted into the Anglo-Saxon, and Scoto-Saxon; and this word appears in the names of places, where rabbits abounded; as *Cunin-garth*, in Northumberland, *Cunin-garth*, in Lanerkshire, *Cuning-hills*, in Lothian, *Cuning-haugh*, in Bellie parish, Banffshire, *Cuning-park*, in Ayrshire: so, *Cuning-ham* means rabbit-ham; or the place, where rabbits abound: there is another place, which was called *Cuningham*, probably, from the same circumstance, in the parish of Wigton.

(*q*) Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. lxxv; Macfarlane's Col. &c. He also witnessed some charters of William, the lion. Chart. Glasgow, 25—35.

longing

longing to the church (*r*). This grant was confirmed by Richard de Moreville, his superior (*s*). Robert, the son of Warnebald, died some time before the year 1189; and was succeeded by his son, Robert, who confirmed his father's grants to the monks of Kelso; and his confirmation was confirmed by his superior lord, Richard de Moreville, who died in 1189 (*t*). This family of Cuningham is frequently mentioned, in the chartulary of Paisley. Their descendants became lords of Kilmaurs; and, in 1488, Earl of Glencairn (*u*). And from them were descended several very respectable families of the name of Cuningham, in North-Britain (*x*).

The progenitors of the Lockharts were Stephen Lockard, and Simon Lockard, who settled in Lanerkshire, and in Ayrshire, during the twelfth century. Stephen appears, as a witness, with other vassals, to a charter of Richard de Moreville. Simon Lockard, who appears as early as the reign of Malcolm IV, is supposed, by the genealogists, to have been a son of Stephen (*y*). But, this is doubtful; as they seem to have been contemporaries (*z*). Simon certainly settled in Upper Clydesdale, at a place, which was named from him *Simons-town*, and which gave its appellation to the parish (*a*). The parish kirk was then called *Wudekirch*. Simon Lockard confirmed to the monks of Kelso the church, named *Wudekirch*, with the lands appertaining to it (*b*). This confirmation was confirmed by Joceline, the bishop of Glasgow, whose charter mentions, that the parish of *Wudekirch* comprehended the manors of *Simontown*, and *Tankards-town* (*c*). Simon Lockard was succeeded by his son, Malcolm, who held his

(*r*) Chart. Kelso, No. 282: The consideration of this grant was very usual, in that age, an easy reception into the fraternity of the house: he gave the same monks two parts of such goods, as should belong to him, at his death. Id. John, the abbot of Kelso, from 1160 to 1180, granted to Robert, the son of Warnebald, the village of Little Draffan, for the yearly payment of half a mark. Ib. 104.

(*s*) Ib. No. 284.

(*t*) Ib. 283-4.

(*u*) Crawford's Peer. 168.

(*x*) Id. Doug. Bar.; Index to the Diplom. Scotiæ; Nisbet's Heral. v. i. p. 195; and Ap. 43, and 297.

(*y*) Dougl. Bar. 323.

(*z*) Simon Lockard is a witness to a charter with Herbert the bishop of Glasgow, in 1164. Chart. Kelso, No. 334. Simon was a witness, with Richard Moreville, to a grant of William, the lion, at Rutherglen. Chart. Glasgow, 339.

(*a*) He had also some lands, in Kyle, which was from him named *Simons-town*, whence the present name of the parish of *Symontown*. Chart. Paisley, No. 7.

(*b*) Chart. Kelso, No. 336.

(*c*) Id. 411. Tankardton forms now a part of Covington parish.

lands in Kyle, under the family of Stewart (*d*). Simon Lockard was the undoubted progenitor of the Lockharts of Lee, the stock, whence sprung the whole Lockharts of North-Britain (*e*).

The origin of the Scottish family of the Hays, as transformed into legend, by the genealogists, is entirely fabulous. The Hays of Scotland are certainly a branch of the Anglo-Norman Hays, who themselves probably came into this country, with William, the Norman (*f*). The first person of this name, who appears in Scottish record, is William de Hay, who settled, in Lothian, at the middle of the twelfth century (*g*). He acted as *Pincerna*, during the reign of Malcolm IV (*h*): he was also *Pincerna*, in the beginning of the reign of William (*i*). The first William de Hay died about the year 1170. And, he was succeeded by his son, William, whom he had by a sister of Ranulph de Sules, the Lord of Lidisdale. This son inherited his lands, but not his office, which passed into the family of Soules, with whom it seems to have become hereditary. The first William de Hay left another son, Robert, who was the progenitor of the Hays of Locherwart, the Lords of Yester, and Earls, and Marquises of Tweeddale. During those times, there were other Hays, in Scotland (*k*). The second William de Hay, as he was the frequent attendant on William, the lion, witnessed many of his charters (*l*). He had the honour to be one of the hostages, for William, when he was liberated, in 1174 (*m*). The earliest possessions of the Hays were in Lothian: King William granted to the second William de Hay the

(*d*) He granted to the monastery of Paisley, which owed its foundation to the first Stewart, six acres of land "in *Villa Symonis de Kyil*;" in *Simonton* in Kyle, in pure alms, "pro salute animæ *Walteri filii Alani*," &c. Chart. Paisley, No. 67. From this notice, it appears that, *Symontown*, in Kyle, derived also its appellation from the name of his father, as well as *Symon-town*, in Clydesdale.

(*e*) William, the son of Simon, flourished under Alexander II. Chart. Newbotle, No. 232. Simon *del Ley* lived in 1339. Ib. 234. Alan Lockhart de Lee lived in 1467. Ib. 290-1. For other notices about those respectable families, see Douglas Bar. 323; Sir Ja. Dalrymple's Col. 415; Chart. Paisley, and Kelso: and Robertson's Index.

(*f*) Dug. Baron. v. i. 597; Dougl. Peer. 477.

(*g*) William de Hay was a witness to several charters of Malcolm IV. Chart. Scone; Chart. St. Andrews; Chart. Glasgow, 27; Dougl. Peer. 247.

(*h*) Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. 24.

(*i*) Chart. Cuper, No. 3; Chart. Glasgow, 27.

(*k*) David de Hay flourished with Roger, the bishop of St. Andrews, from 1198, when he was consecrated, to 1202, when he died. Chart. Cuper, No. 62; Chart. of Arbroth, No. 122.

(*l*) Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. 26, 28; Chart. Glasg. 218—339; Chart. Newbotle; Chart. Kelso; Chart. Dunfermlin.

(*m*) 1 Rym. Fœd. 40.

extensive

extensive manor of Errol, in the Carse of Gowrie, with the pertinents (*n*). William de Hay immediately granted, in subinfeudation, several parcels of this manor to his followers (*o*). He granted, in the same manner, to the monks of Cupar, the lands of Ederpolls (*p*). The peerage writers have married this William de Hay, who thus lived under King William, and died, at the end of the twelfth century, to Eva, a daughter of Alan, the Doorward, who flourished under Alexander III, and died in 1275 (*q*). William de Hay certainly had six sons, the eldest of whom, David, succeeded him, in his estates. In the thirteenth century, the Hays became thus numerous, in the Carse of Gowrie, and in the adjoining countries of Perth, Forfar, and Fife (*r*). In the fourteenth century, they became still more numerous, and spread into Aberdeenshire, and into other parts of the North: yet, it must be always remembered, that it was William de Hay, the first, and William de Hay, his son, who were the real progenitors of the Hays of Errol, that obtained, from Robert Bruce, the office of constable, and from James II. the Earldom of Errol, in 1462 (*s*). From the first William de Hay, by his son Robert, as we have seen, sprung Hay of Locherwart, in Lothian, whose descendants, by various transmissions, became Earl, and Marquis of Tweeddale, in the seventeenth century (*t*). Robert de Hay does not appear to have enjoyed much property, or consequence. He left a son William, who was the father of John, before mentioned, who married Margaret, the co-heiress of Robert de Lyne, with whom he obtained the manor

(*n*) Charter in the family archives; Dougl. Peer. 248. This grant must have been made, in the period from 1178 to 1198: Crawford says, mistakingly, during the reign of Malcolm IV. Peer. p. 137.

(*o*) Chart. Cupar, No. 41—45. He granted lands to his younger sons. Ib. 42.

(*p*) Ib. 39. This place, as the Gaelic name implies, lay between the two *polls*, or rivulets, which were called the *Pol*, or *Pow* of Errol, and *Pol-gavie*; the name of Ederpolls has been, long since, forgotten.

(*q*) Dougl. Peer. 248. The wife of William de Hay was certainly named *Eva*, but not the daughter of Alan, who was born half a century afterwards. He obtained, by his wife, the lands of Pitenalin, which Eva, and he, granted to the priory of St. Andrews: and this grant was confirmed by their son David, and by K. William, who died, in 1214. Chart. St. Andrews; Crawford's MS. Notes.

(*r*) They may be all traced, in the chartularies: see Chart. Cupar, from No. 40 to 55.

(*s*) From this noble stock, are sprung the Hays, Earls of Kinnoul. Crawford. Peer. 248; Dougl. Peer. 384. Hay, Lord Bewlie, and Earl of Carlisle. Dougl. Peer. 73. Hay of Leys; Hay of Pitfour; Hay of Renfield; Hay of Ranes, of Inchoch, and many others. Id.

(*t*) The peerage writers again err, in deriving this respectable family, through the *second* William de Hay, instead of Robert de Hay. Dougl. Peerage, 678. Crawford, indeed, calls the brother of William, who was the true founder of this family, John de Hay. Peerage, 484.

of Locherwart, in Mid-Lothian (*u*). From this branch of the Hays, sprung the respectable families of the Hays, in the south of Scotland (*x*).

The progenitor of the *Ruthvens* was Thor, a person of Saxon or Danish blood, who came from the north of England, and settled in Scotland, under David I. (*a*). This Thor was a different person, from Thor-longus, whom we have seen under Edgar, in a prior age, and from other Thors, who appeared, in different aspects, nearly, in the same period. The progenitor of the *Ruthvens* seems to have attached himself to Earl Henry, from whom he obtained probably a grant of lands: For Swan, the son of Thor, gratefully commemorates Earl Henry, in his charters to the monks of Scone. Swan, the son, and successor of Thor, lived long under William, the Lion; and enjoyed the manors of Ruthven, Tubermore, and other lands, in Perthshire. Swan also possessed, as superior lord, the territory of Crawford, in Upper Clydesdale, which the progenitors of the *Lindsays* held as vassals under him (*b*). Swan, as he was opulent, practised the virtue of munificence, according to the practice of the times; and he made several donations to the monks, who were the objects of his liberality (*c*). It was Walter, the son of Alan, before-mentioned, who first assumed the surname of *Ruthven*; and who acquired the

(*u*) David, the son of Robert de Lyne, possessed Locherwart, this ancient seat of the family of Tweeddale, under King William, while Joceline was bishop of Glasgow, from 1175 to 1199. Chart. Newbotle, No. 23. David was succeeded by his son, Robert de Lyne. Ib. No. 24. And this Robert was the father of Margaret, who, by marrying John de Hay, transferred this large estate of her father's to the family of Hay. See a charter of confirmation of William de Hay, the son of this marriage. Ib. No. 26; and see a convention between the abbot of Inchcolm with William de Hay de Locherwart, Knight, and son of John de Hay, 1263. Chart. Inchcolm, 24.

(*x*) The genealogists name the Hays of Linplume, the Hays of Barra, the Hays of Belton, the Hays of Smithfield, the Hays of Hayston, the Hays of Spot.

(*a*) During the 12th century, *Swan*, and *Thor*, were common names, in the north of England. Dug. Monasticon. Adam, the son of Swan, flourished, in Yorkshire. 1 Dug. Bar. 663. Adæ, the son of Swan, and H. the son of Swan, were witnesses to a grant of David I., to the monks of St. Bega. Chart. Antiq. Bibl. Harl.; Chart. Melros, No. 54.

(*b*) Chart. Newbotle, No. 144, 145, 146, under William, the Lion.

(*c*) Swan, the son of Thor, granted to the monks of Scone Achanapobel, by the same limits, as Robert, the chaplain, had held them; and that toft, in Tubermore, which *Aurifaber* held, and also the meadow on Loch Methin, [Methven, in Perthshire] with common of pasture. Chart. Scone, No. 24. This grant was confirmed by King William. Ib. 20. Walter, the son of Alan, the son of Swan, the son of Thor, confirmed the grants of his grandfather, Swan: And upon this, Alexander II. granted a charter of confirmation. Ib. No. 62. Swan, the son of Thor, also gave to the monks of Inchcolm a toft, in Tubermore, which was confirmed, by his grandson Walter, the son of Alan; and by his descendant, William de Ruthven, in 1362. Chart. Inchcolm, No. 12.

lands

lands of Cowgask, in Perthshire, by marrying Cecily, the daughter of Gilbert, the Earl of Strathern, in the reign of Alexander II. (*d*). Such, then, were the progenitors of the Ruthvens, who obtained the earldom of Gowrie, in 1581, who were created Barons of Ruthven, in 1651; and branched out into other families of less consideration (*e*).

Ramsay, in England, is a local name. From it, however, is derived the same name in Scotland. The progenitor of the Ramsays, in the north, was Simon de Ramsay, who settled, in the Lothians, under David I. He first appeared as a witness, in a charter of Thurstan, the son of Livingus, to the monks of Holyrood, at the end of David's reign. And he again appeared, as a witness, to a grant of William Moreville, the Constable (*f*). He left a son, William de Ramsay, who witnessed some of the charters of William, the Lion, during the twelfth century (*g*). Such were the obscure progenitors of Sir Alexander Ramsay, one of the bravest, and most virtuous warriors of the afflictive reign of David II.; and such the progenitors of the Earl of Dalhousie (*h*). From this family sprung Ramsay Viscount, and Earl of Holderness, who merited his peerage, by his intrepid loyalty (*i*). And from the Ramsays, who settled in Lothian, sprung the several respectable families of the same name, in every district of North Britain.

The Falconers of Halkerton derive their origin from Walter, who obtained from David I. the lands of Lonkyir, [Lungair], in the Merns. His son Ranulph was appointed *Falconer* by William, the Lion, who gave him Luthra, Balbegno, and other lands; calling him, at the same time, *Falconarius noster*. From this circumstance, the descendants of Ranulph were designed *le Falconer*, which became the surname of the family, which, in 1647, acquired the peerage of Halkerton (*k*).

The Rollos derive their origins from Richard de Rollo, an Anglo-Norman, who settled, in Scotland, during the reign of David I. (*l*). From this prince,

(*d*) Crawford's Peer. 165. Alan left a son Walter, who obtained a confirmation from the Earl of Strathern of the lands, which Gilbert his father had given to Walter, the son of Alan, with Cecily his daughter. Id.

(*e*) Crawford's Peerage; Doug. Peerage, 304—601.

(*f*) Chart. Glasg. 165.

(*g*) Chart. Coldingham. He was a witness to a convention of Richard, the Bishop of Moray, with Duncan, the Earl of Fife. Chart. Moray, 152.

(*h*) Doug. Peer. 107.

(*i*) Ib. 317; Dugdale's Baron. v. ii. 444.

(*k*) Crawford's Peer. 183—4. Nisbet's Heraldry, v. i. 353: The armorial bearings of this family refer to their ancient office. Peter le Faukener, a younger son of Ranulph, or a grandson by his son, Walter, was *Clericus Regis*, under Alexander II. Chart. Kelso, No. 157.

(*l*) Richard de Rollo witnessed some charters of David I. before the year 1141.

he obtained some lands, in Perthshire, where he planted this ancient race. In 1380, they acquired the lands of Duncrub, with other possessions (*m*); and in 1651, obtained the peerage of Rollo. From this lineage branched out many respectable families of Rollos, in various parts of North-Britain (*n*).

Radulph, who was called Rufus, obtained from William, the Lion, before the year 1184, the lands of Kinnaird, in the carse of Gowrie (*o*). From this local circumstance, this family assumed, like other feudal chiefs, their surname of *Kinaird*. This ancient race did not acquire the peerage, till the recent period of 1682 (*p*).

The progenitor of the Abernethys was Orm, the son of Hugh, who flourished under Malcolm IV., whose charters he witnessed (*q*). Orm, the son of Hugh, possessed, during his reign, the lands of Dunloppie in Forfar, and of Balbrennie, [Balbirnie] in Fife (*r*). From William, the successor of Malcolm, Orm, the son of Hugh, acquired the manor of Abernethy, in Strathern (*s*). It was from this manor, that Orm, his son Laurence, and their posterity, assumed the surname of Abernethy. Orm, the son of Hugh, exchanged his lands of Balbirnie, with Duncan the Earl of Fife, for the lands of Glenduachy, in Fife, and Balmadethy, in Forfar (*t*). Orm was succeeded by his son Laurence, who acquired importance, as he obtained additional territory (*u*). After

(*m*) Charter in the family archives. (*n*) Crawford's Peerage, 422; Dougl. Peer. 571.

(*o*) A charter in the family archives; Martin's MS. collections.

(*p*) Crawford's Peer. 247; Dougl. Peer. 381.

(*q*) There were various persons of the name of Orm, in the northern parts of England, during the twelfth, and eleventh centuries: From them, several places were named, *Orms-by*, *Orms-ton*, *Orms-kirk*, and others. During the twelfth century, some persons of the same name went from England into Scotland: One of them gave his name to *Orms-ton*, in Roxburghshire, while another imposed his name on *Orms-ton*, in Lothian. Orm, the son of Eilav, is a witness to the charters of David I., of Earl Henry, and of Malcolm IV. Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. xiv.—xxiv. He settled in the territory of Crailing, at the place called from him *Ormston*. MS. Monast. Scotiæ; Chart. in Sir Lewis Stewart's Collections.

(*r*) Laurence, the son of Orm, obtained from Alexander II., a confirmation of Malcolm's charters for the lands of Dunloppie. Douglas Peer. p. 10.

(*s*) Laurence, the son of Orm, also obtained from Alexander II. a confirmation of William's grant of Abernethy. Id.

(*t*) This exchange was confirmed by a charter of William, before the year 1185. The charter quoted by Douglas Peer. p. 9. *Glenduachie* is *Glenduckie*, in Flisk parish; and *Balmadethy* is now Balmadity in Fern parish.

(*u*) See the Chart. of Arbroth. No. 63—4, and the general charter of K. William to that monastery, for notices of Laurence de Abernethy. He resigned to the monks of Balmerinach the lands of Cultran, of Balnedan, of Balnedard, of Corteby, and Balmurenach, in consideration of 200 marks received from the executors of Queen Ermingard, the foundress of that monastery. Chart. Balmerinach, No. 7. See the Chartulary of Cuper for several descendants of Orm, and Laurence.

various

various descents, Alexander, Lord Abernethy, who died in the reign of Robert I., without male issue, left three daughters, who carried his estate, and blood, into the families of Stewart, of Lindsay, and of Lesley *(v)*. From Laurence, and Orm, the son of Hugh, are descended the family of Abernethy, Lord Salton, and other families of the same surname, in Scotland *(w)*.

A younger son of Gray, of Chillingham, a Norman family, who settled in Northumberland, obtained a settlement in Scotland, under William, the Lion. He is the progenitor of the family of Gray, Lord Gray, and other families of the same surname, in North-Britain *(x)*.

The Kers derive their descent from an Anglo-Norman family of Ker, or Car, a branch whereof settled, in Scotland, during the thirteenth century. From that branch sprung the Duke of Roxburgh's family, the Marquis of Lothian's family, Lord Jedburgh's family, and other respectable families, of the same surname, in North-Britain *(y)*.

The families of Colville, in Scotland, sprung from the race of the Colvilles, in England *(z)*. Their progenitor was Philip de Colville, who settled in North-Britain, during the twelfth century. He appears, as a witness to some charters of Malcolm IV. *(a)*; to several of William, his successor *(b)*: And he thus flourished, at the demise of the one king, in 1165, and at the accession of the other. He had the honour to be one of the hostages, who contributed to the freedom of William, the Lion, in 1174 *(c)*. The first possessions, which Philip de Colville obtained, in Scotland, were the manors of Heton, and Oxnam, in Roxburghshire *(d)*. His grandson, and great grandson, acquired the manors of Kinaird, in Stirlingshire, and the lands of Ochiltree, in Ayrshire. They afterwards obtained the barony of Easter Wemyss, by exchange for Ochiltree: Ada de Colville, widow, granted to the monks of Newbotle, the lands of Kinaird; paying, yearly, for the same, ten pounds of silver, for the salvation

(v) Crawford's Peerage, 40.

(w) Id. 435; Doug. Peer. 603.

(x) Crawf. Peer. 178; Douglas Peer. 308.

(y) Douglas Peerage, 591, 416, 355.

(z) 1 Dug. Bar. 626.

(a) Chart. Antiq. Bibl. Harl. Chart. St. Andrews.

(b) Chart. Arbroth. No. 79; Chart. Glasg. 27.

(c) 1 Rym. Fœd. p. 40.

(d) Chart. Dryburgh, No. 167; Chart. Kelso. Thomas de Colville was a witness to several charters of K. William, between the year 1189 and 1199. Chart. Soltre, No. 6; Chart. Arbroth, No. 51. Thomas de Colville had property in Berwickshire. He was succeeded by William de Colville, his son, who granted to the monks of Newbotle the lands which belonged to his father "super le Ness." Chart. Newbotle, No. 210. William de Colville settled at Morham, in East Lothian, under William, the Lion. Ib. No. 106. Robert Colville was the laird of Oxenham, during the reign of Robert I. Chart. Kelso, No. 511.

of Alexander II., his queen, and their son Alexander III. (*e*). She assigned this annuity to William Locard, the son of Malcolm Locard, and his heirs (*f*). Thus Philip de Colville was the progenitor of Colville, Lord Colville of Culross (*g*). From this stem branched off Colville, Lord Colville of Ochiltree; and of several other persons of the same name (*h*).

The progenitor of the Gordons came, from England, into North-Britain, soon after the commencement of the twelfth century: He obtained the lands of *Gordon*, in Berwickshire, where he settled, with his followers; and whence, like other Chiefs, in that age, he assumed the surname of *Gordon*. He was succeeded, by his son, Richard de Gordon, who enjoyed his estates (*i*). Richard was succeeded by his son Thomas (*k*); and he, by his son, Thomas. The second Thomas was succeeded, in his estates, by his daughter Alicia, who married Adam de Gordon, her cousin (*l*). The Gordons, we now see, had extended themselves, like other great families, beyond their original territories (*m*). Adam de Gordon, who flourished, at the end of the thirteenth century, the grandson of Alicia de Gordon, was the common progenitor of the Gordons of the North, and of the Gordons of Galloway. The Gordons seem not to have mingled in the party struggles, during the minorities of Alexander II. and of Alexander III.; Sir Adam de Gordon first appeared, like a gallant knight, in support of the valorous Wallace, during his efforts, for his country; and he afterwards contributed his exertions to the final success of

(*e*) Chart. Newbotle, No. 231.

(*f*) Ib. 232. This grant to the monks was confirmed by her daughter, Ada de Morham: Ib. 233. Ada de Morham appears to have been the daughter of Ada, by Adam de Morham of Stanhus. Ib. 236-7.

(*g*) Crawford's Peer. 80.

(*h*) Dougl. Peer 142.

(*i*) Richard granted to the monks of Kelso the church of Gordon, with a right of pasturage, in his manor of Gordon, with an acre of land in Todlaw, and an acre of meadow in Hundleistrother. Chart. Kelso, No. 117.

(*k*) Thomas, the son of Richard, confirmed the grant of his father Richard to the monks of Kelso. Ib. 125. Thomas was succeeded by his son Thomas, who confirmed the charter of his father. Ib. 126. There are other charters of Thomas de Gordon, the father, and of Thomas, the son. Ib. No. 120-21-22. Adam, the son of Adæ de Gordon, granted to the same monks pasture, within the same manor, for thirty cows, "in marisco meo qui dicitur *West-Strother*." Ib. 118.

(*l*) Alicia, the daughter, and heiress of Thomas de Gordon, confirmed the grants to those monks of her father Thomas, of her grandfather Thomas, and of her great grandfather Richard. Ib. 119.

(*m*) There is a grant, to the monks of Dryburgh, of Adam de Gordon, Knight, the husband of Alicia, of a *petaria*, in his territory of Fawnis. Chart. Dryburgh, No. 140.

Robert

Robert Bruce (*n*). At the end of the thirteenth century, Sir Adam acquired the Glenkens, in Galloway, which he granted, with the lands of Stichel, in Roxburghshire, to his second son, William, who was the progenitor of the Viscounts of Kenmure, and of other Gordons, in Galloway. On the forfeiture of David de Strathbogie, the faithless Earl of Athol, Robert I. granted to Sir Adam the lordship of Strathbogie, with its appurtenances, in Aberdeenshire, and in Banff. In consequence of this munificent grant, the Gordons went from Berwickshire into the North, where many a vassal settled with them (*o*). Sir Adam fell, fighting for his country, in the battle of Halydon-hill, 1333. His eldest son, Alexander, succeeded him; and was designed *de Huntly*; and he became the progenitor of the principal branch, who rose to be Earls, and Marquises of Huntly, and Dukes of Gordon (*p*).

The Scottish genealogists have been so injudicious as to introduce legend into the biography of the Grahams (*q*). The first person of this celebrated name, who appears in record, was William de Graham, who settled in Scotland, under David I. (*r*). He obtained, from that generous prince, the lands of Abercorn, and Dalkeith, in the Lothians, where he sat down, with his followers. When William de Graham died, he left two sons, Peter; and John; the first of whom inherited his father's lands, in the Lothians (*s*). From this accidental

(*n*) In 1300, Sir Adam Gordon was Warden of the Marches. Rymer ii. 870. In 1305, he was fined three years rent, by Edward I. for his resistance to the arms of that king, in Scotland. Ib. 969. In the same year, he was chosen, by the Scots, one of the Commissioners, for settling the government of Scotland. Ryley's Placita, 503. When this settlement took place, in September 1305, he was appointed one of the Justiciaries of Lothian. Ib. 504.

(*o*) William de Gordon of Coldenknows, a branch of the chief, Gordon of Gordon, in Berwickshire, settled in the north, with his relation Adam de Gordon; and became the progenitor of the Earls of Aberdeen, and of other respectable families of Gordon, in that district. Crawford's Peer. 3; Dougl. Peer. 6.

(*p*) The ancient appellation was *Hundeley*, as we see it, in charters of the 12th century; and when the name of this place, in Berwickshire, was transferred to Strathbogie, in the north, it became *Huntly*, which was long the principal title of this distinguished race. For the Gordons, Earls of Aboyne, and other knightly families of the Gordons, who are all derived from a common stock, see the Peerages, and Baronages.

(*q*) Crawford's Peerage, 336.

(*r*) William de Graham was a witness to the charter of David I., to the monks of Holyrood-house, in 1228. Maitland's Edin. 144; Sir J. Dalrymple's Col. 397. William de Graham, with others, perambulated the lands, which David I. gave to the church of Haddington. Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. xvi.

(*s*) If *Graham* be considered as the proper spelling of this distinguished surname, (and this is the orthography of the charter of Holyrood-house) the word may be supposed to be a compound

accidental circumstance, the first descent from the genuine stock of this family, actually produced two branches. (I.) Peter de Graham, who may be considered, as the founder of the Dalkeith family, flourished partly under Malcolm IV., but more under William, his successor. Peter granted to the monks of Newbotle, for the soul of William, his lord, the lands of Balnebuth, on the Esk, in his manor of Dalkeith (*t*). Peter had two sons, Henry, and William (*u*): But, Henry, as his heir, confirmed to the monks of Newbotle, his father's grant (*x*). Henry was succeeded, by his son Henry, who confirmed the charter of his grandfather Peter, and of his father Henry, to the monks of Newbotle (*y*). This second Henry was succeeded by his son Henry, who is unnoticed by the peerage writers; and who was, however, one of the *magnates Scotiae*, in 1284 (*z*). In addition to the manors of Dalkeith, and Abercorn, in Lothian; the third Henry acquired, by marrying the daughter of Roger Avenel, who died, in 1243, the great estates of the Avenels, in Eskdale. Henry must have been well stricken in years, when he thus appeared, in 1284: And he was succeeded by his son, Nicholas de Graham, Knight, who sat in the Parliament, at Brigham, in 1290; and was one of the nominees of Bruce, in 1291 (*a*). Nicholas de Graham, Knight, married Maria, one of the daughters, and heirs of Margery de Muschet, the Countess of Strathern (*b*). He died before his wife, in the reign of Robert I., and was succeeded by his son, Sir John de Graham, who lived under Robert I., and David II., and whose daughter, Margaret, carried his estates of Abercorn, Dalkeith, and the property of the Avenels, in Eskdale, to William Douglas of Lugton, in Lothian, the predecessor of the Douglasses, who became Earls of Morton. Here ended, under David II. the male heirs of

of *Gray-ham*, the dwelling of Gray, which was the name of some considerable families, in England. Dug. Baron. v. i. p. 709 to 723. But, if the just spelling were *Grame*, or *Grame*, we might regard the name as a genuine Saxon word, signifying angry, fierce; *Grim*, austere, savage: There appeared, in England, several persons called *Gram*, and *Grim*; and hence, the names of places, *Grams-ton*, *Grims-by*, *Grims-thorp*, and *Grims-ton*; one of the Orkney isles is named *Grames-ey*.

(*t*) Chart. Newbotle, No. 7.

(*u*) Henry de Graham, and William de Graham, the sons of Peter, witnessed a charter of the mother of K. William, the Countess Ada, who died in 1178. Id. Henry de Graham witnessed some of the charters of K. William. Chart. Glasg. 37.

(*x*) Chart. Newbotle, No. 18.

(*y*) Ib. 19: This charter clears the descent thus far: (1) Peter; (2) Henry; (3) Henry, the grandson of Peter.

(*z*) Rymer's Fœd. ii. 266.

(*a*) Rymer's Fœd. v. ii. 471, 553.

(*b*) Robertson's Index, p. 11, in contradiction to Sir Ja. Dalrymple, Col. 397, who mistakingly marries him to the daughter of Avenel, who was, in fact, his mother.

Peter

Peter de Graham, who so long enjoyed the estates of Abercorn, Dalkeith, and of Eskdale, with other lands, in various districts: Yet, were they the progenitors of other families of Graham, who are called, in the public records, the *consanguinei, et cognati* of the Grahams of Abercorn (*c*). (II.) John, the second son of the first William de Graham, appears in several charters of the reign of William, the Lion (*d*). John de Graham was succeeded by his son, William de Graham, who obtained from his cousin Henry, the son of Peter de Graham, the lands of Clifton, and Clifton-hall, in Mid-Lothian: The same David obtained from William, the Lion, towards the end of his long reign, the lands of Charleton, and Barrowfield, near *Montrose*, and the manor of Kinaber, at the mouth of the North-Esk, in Forfarshire (*e*). We here see, in the charter of King William, the origin of *the Grahams of Montrose*, who ere long acquired considerable estates, in Stirlingshire, and other districts. The first David of this family was succeeded by his son, David, during the reign of Alexander II.: The second David appears to have acquired the lands of Dundaff, and Strathcarron, of Mugdock, and Strathblane (*f*). By Agnes, his wife, he left, as his successor, soon after 1244, David, his son, who flourished under Alexander III. He acted a conspicuous part, with the Cumyns, under the minority of Alexander. In 1255, he was by Henry III. removed from the Councils of Alexander, as one of the Scottish party, in opposition to the English faction (*g*). He married Annabella, the sister of Malise, the Earl of Stratherne, from whom he obtained, with his wife, the lands of Kincardine, in Perthshire: And by her, he left two sons, Sir Patrick Graham, who fell on the fatal field of Dunbar, fighting for his country; and Sir John Graham, who also fell, in supporting Wallace, at the battle of Falkirk (*h*). Sir Patrick was

one

(*c*) Doug. Peer. 480, which quotes the charters. Douglas's Account of the Grahams, which begins with legend, is a vast mass of confusion, contradiction, and error.

(*d*) Chart. Arbroth. No. 135; Chart. Newbotle, No. 24: In 1200, John de Graham was present in K. William's court, at Alyth, when William Cumyn resigned his pretensions to certain lands to the church of Glasgow. Chart. Glasg. 47.

(*e*) For this grant, Douglas quotes the family archives, which seem to be well preserved. Peerage, 480.

(*f*) Doug. Peerage. 480, which quotes the family archives. He seems to have been a frequent witness in the charters of Alexander II. from 1230 to 1240. Id. He had the honour to be one of the guarantees of a treaty with the captious Henry III. in 1244. Rymer's Fœd. i. 428.

(*g*) Ib. 566.

(*h*) This is the gallant Sir John, the Graham, who is celebrated in Scottish song. He was designed of *Dundaff*, in Stirlingshire. Lord Hailes was misled by Sympson, in calling him of *Abercorn*. Annals, v. i. 256. Sir John Graham, of *Dundaff*, reared the national standard, with

one of the *Magnates Scotiæ*, who engaged, in 1284, to submit to Margaret, as the heir of Alexander III. (*i*). He appeared, in 1290, among the barons, at the parliament of Brigham (*k*). In 1291, he acted as one of Baliol's nominees (*l*). He swore fealty to Edward I. at Norham, on the 13th of June, 1291 (*m*). And, in 1296, he died, on the bloody field of Dunbar, "a goodly knight all dressed in harness meet (*n*)."¹ The genealogists left it somewhat uncertain, whether that illustrious man was succeeded by his brother, or his son (*o*). But, we have just seen, that Sir Patrick was succeeded by his son, David, who was not unworthy of him: For, after many dangers, and struggles, David de Graham was one of the *Magnates Scotiæ*, who, in maintaining the independence of their country, magnanimously asserted to the Pope, that, while one of them remained, they would not submit to Edward (*p*). He died soon after the demise of his great sovereign, Robert Bruce (*q*). From this gallant race, proceeded the Grahams, Earls of Monteith, Graham Viscount of Preston, Graham Viscount of Dundee, the Grahams of Balgowan, and other considerable families of this ennobled appellation (*r*).

The principal Sinclairs of North Britain are descended from the Anglo-Norman family of Saint-Clair, who came over with the *Conqueror*. Two families of Sinclair settled, in Scotland, during the twelfth century: The Sinclairs of Roslin; and the Sinclairs of Herdmanston. The progenitor of the first was William de Saint Clair, who obtained the manor of Roslin, in Lo-

Wallace, in June, 1298; and he fell in the battle of Falkirk, on the 22d July, 1298. He must not be confounded with John de Graham, of Perthshire, who died some years before; and whose widow, Margery, submitted to Edward I., in 1296, and got from that king a restoration of her lands. Rymer's *Fœd.* ii. 727.

(*i*) *Ib.* 266. He is said to have been Sheriff of Stirling. Crawford's *Hist. Renfrew*, 29.

(*k*) *Rym. Fœd.* ii. 471. (*l*) *Ib.* 553. (*m*) *Ib.* 558. *Prynne*, v. iii. p. 508.

(*n*) His seal is engraved in *Astle's Scots Seals*, pl. 111. No. 18. The legend is, *Sigillum Patricii de Graham*.

(*o*) David de Graham, Miles, swore fealty to Edward I. at Berwick, on the 1st of August 1291. David, the brother of Patrick, and David, the son of Patrick, were both taken prisoners, in 1296; and they were liberated, in 1297. *Rym. Fœd.* ii. 776. David de Graham, knight, the brother of Patrick, acquired, by whatever means, the lands of Loveth, in Inverness-shire; and he made a composition with Archibald, the Bishop of Moray, who died, in 1298, about some fishings in the river Farar, or Beaulie. *Chart. Moray*, fo. 44.

(*p*) David de Graham was one of the persons, who was excepted out of the general capitulation, on the 9th February, 1304: It was provided, that David de Graham, and Alexander de Lindsay, should be banished out of Scotland, for six months. *Ryley's Placita*, 369-70.

(*q*) *Dougl. Peer.* 481.

(*r*) *Crawford's Peer.* 336-349. *Dougl. Peer.* 474-560-213; *Nisbet's Heraldry*, App. 26; *Index Diplom. Scotiæ*.

thian,

thian, where he settled, during the reign of David I. (s). William de Sinclair is said to have married a daughter of the Earl of March, by whom he had a son, William, his successor. Such were the progenitors of the Sinclairs of Roslin, who became Earls of Orkney: And from the same stock sprung Sinclair Earl of Cathness, Sinclair Lord Sinclair, Sinclair of Longformacus, Sinclair of Stevenson and Murkle, Sinclair of Mey, Sinclair of Barrock, and others (t). (II.) The Sinclairs of Herdmanston derived their more recent origin, from Henry de Sinclair, who was *Vicecomes* to Richard de Moreville, the Constable of Scotland, who died, in 1189 (u). This Henry was probably a son of the first William de Sinclair, and a younger brother of the second William de Sinclair; as Henry is a common name in the family of Roslin. Richard de Moreville gave Henry de Sinclair, his Sheriff, the lands of Herdmanstown (x). Richard de Moreville also gave to Henry de Sinclair two bondmen, with their families, in consideration of three marks, which Henry paid to Richard de Moreville, on condition, however, that the bondmen, and their issue, should not be removed from the lands, which he held, under the grantor (y). Henry de Sinclair was succeeded by his son, Alan, who often appears as a witness, with his father, to the charters of the Constables, Richard de Moreville, and William, his successor (z). Alan, the son of Henry, obtained, from William de Moreville, the lands of Carfrae, and other estates, in Upper Lauderdale, in marriage with *Matilda de Windesore*, his wife; and this

(s) The account of this family, which is given, in Nisbet's *Heraldry*, App. 172; and which Douglas has followed, *Peerage*, 529, carries back the settlement of William de St. Clair to the obscure reign of Malcolm Ceanmore, without the least evidence. William, the first settler, in Scotland, was the father of William, who obtained a charter of confirmation from William, the Lion: And this circumstance, by placing a century between the settlement of the father, and the confirmation of the son, shows clearly the common fiction of carrying every origin into the dark period of Malcolm, before the dawn of record. This absurdity, Douglas lengthens, by forging a link to the chain of descent, a dishonest means, which he often employs, when he meets with difficulties, arising from discordant facts. William de St. Clair, Miles, obtained the lands of Balormin from the monks of Newbotle, for the yearly payment of one mark, *bonorum Sterlingorum*. Chart. Newbotle, No. 202.

(t) Dougl. *Peerage*, 112; Ib. 621; Dougl. *Baron*. 249; Ib. 89; Ib. 250; Ib. 254; Ib. 253.

(u) He was also *Vicecomes* to William de Moreville, the Constable, who succeeded his father Richard, in 1289, and died in 1296; and he is a common witness to the charters of both. Chart. Glasg. 163, 165. He is also a witness to a charter of Roland of Galloway, who became Constable, on the death of William de Moreville, in 1196. Chart. Kelso, No. 253.

(x) *Diplom. Scotiæ*, pl. 75.

(y) *Id.*

(z) Chart. Glasg. 163. Chart. Antiq. Bibl. Harl. *Diplom. Scotiæ*, p. 75.

grant

grant was confirmed by Roland, the Constable, who died, in 1200 (*a*). In this manner, did the race of the Sinclairs branch out from the Anglo-Norman stem, throughout every district of North-Britain, as we have seen.

The families of Ros, in the north of England, and in the south of Scotland, are the same; having taken their common designation, from the lordship of Ros, in Yorkshire (*b*). The first settlers, in Scotland, of this name, appear, as vassals of Richard de Moreville (*c*). Godfrey de Ros obtained from Richard Moreville the lands of Stewartown, in Cuningham; wherein he was succeeded, by his son, James de Ros, who granted some lands, in this manor, to the monks of Paisley (*d*). Such were the progenitors of the Rosses of Hawkhill, of Ros, Lord Ros, of Ros of Tarbet, in Cuningham, of Ros of Sanquhar, in Nithsdale, and of other families, having the same name, in the south of Scotland; and of Rose of Kilravock, Rose of Geddes, of Rose of Home, and of others, in the North. There are other families, in that part of the kingdom, of the same name, who derive their descent, and designation, from the younger sons of the Earl of Ross. Robert de Ros, who was sent to Scotland by King John, and was the common progenitor of the Rosses of Hamlek, and Werk, married Isabel, the natural daughter of K. William, in 1191, with whom he obtained a manor in Scotland (*e*). By her, he had two sons, William, and Robert: To William he left the castle, and manor of Hamlek, with the patronage of several monasteries; and to Robert, he gave the manor and castle of Werk, with his manor in Scotland, which he had with

(*a*) *Diplom. Scotiæ*, pl. lxxxi. The Sinclairs built a chapel upon their lands of Herdmanston, in Salton parish; and another upon their lands of Carfrae, in Childenkirk [Channelkirk] parish: And John de Sinclair, the successor of Alan, found it necessary to grant an indemnity to the principal churches, for those chapels, and for two acres of land, in the territory of Herdmanston. *Chart. Dryburgh*, No. 143.

(*b*) *Dugdale's Baron*. v. i. 545-554-5.

(*c*) They appear in many of his charters, as witnesses: Godfrey de Ros was the first; and James, Reginald, and Peter, as his sons. *Diplom. Scotiæ*, pl. 75, 81; *Chart. Glasgow*, 163-165; *Chart. Antiq. Bib. Harl.*; *Doug. Peer.* 580.

(*d*) This grant was confirmed by his descendant, Sir Godfrey de Ros. *Chart. Paisley*, No. 65. Dominus Godfrey de Ros witnessed a charter of Walter Cumyn of Rowallan, in Cuningham, at the beginning of the 14th century. *Diplom. Scotiæ*, pl. 79.

(*e*) "An. 1191. Will. rex Scot. dedit filiam suam Isabel, quæfuit uxor Rob. de Brus, Roberto de Ros apud Hadintun." *Chron. Melros*, 179.

his

his wife (*f*). William de Ros, a descendant of this marriage, was, in 1291, one of the illegitimate competitors for the Scottish crown (*g*).

The progenitor of the family of Loudun was James, the son of Lambin, who obtained, from Richard de Moreville, the manor of Loudun, in Cuningham (*b*). Here he settled, as the vassal of Moreville; and assumed the designation *de Loudun*, according to the practice of the age (*i*). James de Loudun obtained from William de Moreville a confirmation of his father's grant (*k*). James de Loudun left an only child, Margaret, who, marrying the Sheriff of Ayr, Reginald de Crawford, carried the blood, and estate, of the first purchaser into an ancient family of Lanerkshire (*l*). Four descents conveyed all those estates to Sir Reginald Crawford, the Sheriff of Ayr, who lost his life, in the troublous year, 1303: Leaving Susannah, his only child, who married Sir Duncan Campbell; and thereby transferred the estates, and office of this family, to a new race, who continued, worthily, to represent the Campbells, the Crawfords, and the Lambins (*m*).

During the reign of David I., the manor of Langton, which now forms the parish, in Berwickshire, of the same name, belonged to Earl Henry. On it, he settled several vassals, from England. Of these, the chief was William de Vetereponte (*n*); on whom he conferred the greatest part of Langton, while he

(*f*) 1 Dug. Baron. 546.

(*g*) Rymer's Fœd. ii. p. 576. This competitor married Maud, one of the coheirs of John de Vaux, and died, in 1317; and was buried, in the Priory of Kirkham. His seal was engraved among the other seals of the competitors, by Astle, at the expence of the Antiquary Society of London, pl. iii. No. 12.

(*b*) Lambin, the father of James, had previously settled, in Upper Clydesdale, under David I. from whom he acquired a manor, which, from him, was denominated *Lambin-town*, and by corruption was called Lambington, which is now softened to Lamington, the name of a parish. Robertson's Index, 36.

(*i*) Sir Ja. Dalrymple's Col. Pref. lxv. James de Loudun appears, as a frequent witness to the grants of Richard de Moreville. Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. 75.

(*k*) Chart. Antiq. Bibl. Harl.

(*l*) Crawford, and his descendants, continued to hold Loudun, and other lands, in Cuningham, of the Constables of Scotland. Hugh, the son of Reginald Crawford, obtained, in 1226, from Alan of Galloway, the heir of the Morevilles, the lands of Crosseley, Monach, and the third part of Steventun. Sir Ja. Dalrymple's Col. Pref. lxv. As the descendants of those, who represented the Galloway family, and held the high office of Constable, became forfeited, during the succession war, the family of Loudun were freed, from their vassalage to Overlords; and by a charter from Robert Bruce, became vassals of the crown.

(*m*) Crawford's Peerage, p. 282; Dougl. Peer. 422.

(*n*) William de Vetereponte witnessed a charter of Malcolm IV. to the monks of Paisley. Chart. Paisley, No. 8. He also witnessed several charters of William, the Lion. Ib. 32; Chart. Glasgow,

he gave a large portion to Roger de Ow, who was of an Anglo-Norman family, who had settled in Northumberland (*o*). Both those persons confirmed to the monks of Kelso the church of Langton, with the appurtenants (*p*). William de Vetereponte was succeeded by William, his eldest son, by his first wife, Emma de St. Hilary. William, the son, confirmed the grant of his father to the monks of Kelso (*q*). This William de Vetereponte acquired, under King William, the manors of Boulton, in East Lothian, and Careden, in West Lothian, which his sovereign confirmed to him (*r*). To his descendant, William de Vetereponte, Robert I. and his son, David Bruce, confirmed those several manors (*s*). A branch of the family of Vetereponte settled on the lands of Swanstoun, which were enjoyed by Nicolas de Vetereponte, and his spouse, Anabella, in the reign of Alexander III. (*t*). Another part of this family settled in West Galloway, as the vassals of the descendants of Fergus (*u*). The Veterepontes, while they thus extended themselves far, and wide, seem never to have risen to any great eminence, in North-Britain.

The true origin of the ancient race of the Frasers is darkened by peculiar fables. Beyond the period of record, few of the families, in Scotland, or indeed in any country, can trace their pedigrees, with any certainty. The Frasers are said to have first appeared, as the vassals of the Earls of Dunbar (*a*). Symon Fraser

Glasgow, 23, 25, 27; Chart. Kelso, 385. For various notices of the Anglo-Norman family of Vetereponte, in England, see Rym. Fœd. v. i; Dugdale's Monast. Angl. Dug. Baron. i. 347. The name often appears, in the form of *Vipont*.

(*o*) Chart. Kelso, No. 137; Bromton, 992. The de Ow's assumed their local surname from Ow, in Normandy. Ib. 1006.

(*p*) Chart. Kelso, No. 137; Ib. 458.

(*q*) Ib. No. 138. This charter of confirmation is witnessed, among others, by William de Vetereponte, junior, the son of Matilda de St. Andrew, the first William's second wife. This younger son witnessed some of K. William's charters. Chart. Cupre, No. 3. William, the eldest son, granted other lands in a different territory, with appropriate privileges, to the same house. Ib. 139, 140, 141. All those charters were confirmed by K. William; Ib. 143. In 1203, William, the younger, settled some disputes, which he had with the same monks. Ib. 142.

(*r*) The second William de Vetereponte had a son, William de Vetereponte, who, in 1213, was a hostage, in England, for the Scottish king. Rymer's Fœd. v. i p 175. He succeeded his father, and flourished, during the reign of Alexander II. He was one of the *Magnates Scotiæ*, who guaranteed the peace, with England, in 1244. Ib. 428-9.

(*s*) Robertson's Index, 79.

(*t*) Chart. Soltre, No. 13.

(*u*) Alan de Vetereponte, and Ivo de Vetereponte, obtained, from the lords of Galloway, the manors of Great Sorby, and Little Sorby, which they held, during the reign of William, the Lion: Robert, the son of Alan de Vetereponte, also held a part of those manors. Chart. Dryburgh, No. 50-58.

(*a*) The first Fraser, who is supposed to be found in charters, is Gilbert de Fraser, who is said

Fraser undoubtedly enjoyed the lands of Keth, in East-Lothian, even as early, perhaps, as the reign of David I. Under Malcolm IV, Symon certainly granted to the monks of Kelso, the church of Keth, with some lands, and the right of pasturage, with other easements (*b*). Symon Fraser had an only daughter, Eda, who married Hugh Lorens; and who, with her husband, confirmed the grant of her father to the monks of Kelso (*c*). By Eda Fraser, Hugh Lorens had a daughter Eda, who married Hervey, the son of Philip, the King's mareschal; and by her, Hervey obtained the land of Keth-Symon, which was thus named from Symon Fraser, and enabled Hervey to form a considerable addition to his own estate of Keth-Hervey. The old grants of Symon Fraser to the monks of Kelso were now confirmed by Hervey, the son of Philip, and by John de Keth, the son of Hervey (*d*). In this manner, then, was the blood of Symon Fraser merged in the blood of the Lorenses, and Keiths, by the marriages of his daughter, and grand-daughter. (II.) Another family of the Frasers settled, on the lands of North Hales, in East-Lothian, as vassals of the Earls of March (*e*). Bernard Fraser appears, as the chief of this family, throughout the reign of Alexander II. (*f*). His mother was a daughter of Ness, who held the lands of Fortun, in East-Lothian. His grand-father was probably Gilbert, who flourished under Malcolm IV. Bernard Fraser raised himself, by his talents, from being a vassal of a subject superior, to be a tenant in chief of the king. He was a frequent witness to the charters of Alexander II, as we see, in the chartularies. He was made sheriff of Stirling, though not of Peeblis, in 1234 (*g*). In 1237, he swore to the performance of the treaty of York (*h*). He was certainly alive, in November 1247 (*i*). And he is said to have died,

to be one of the witnesses to a charter of Cospatrick to the monks of Coldstream, during the reign of Alexander I. Dougl. Peer. 427, which quotes the chartulary of Coldstream. Yet, as I do not see any Fraser a witness to the very early grants of the Earls of March to the monks of Durham, in Smith's Bede, App. No. xx, I doubt Douglas's quotation.

(*b*) Chart. Kelso, No. 84; and see this charter in Crawford's Officers of State, 471. This grant was confirmed by Malcolm IV, and William. Chart. Kelso, [90-93.

(*c*) Ib. 85. Douglas pretends to find Sir Simon Fraser in a charter to the monks of Coldingham, 1184. Peer. 427.

(*d*) Chart. Kelso, 86-7: and both these charters were confirmed by Alexander II. Ib. 92.

(*e*) See the Chart. Newbottle, 101-2, 120-1: Bernard granted some lands, in North Hales, to the monks of Newbottle. Id: and see Crawford's Officers of State, 269.

(*f*) Ib. 101: In this charter, his brother Ness appears, as a witness.

(*g*) Chart. of Newbottle, No. 186.

(*h*) Rymer's Fœd. i. 376: and was the only Fraser, who is mentioned in this tome of the Fœdera.

(*i*) He then witnessed a charter of Alexander II. Robertson's Index, 76.

about the year 1250, an aged, and a respectable person (*k*). This eminent man seems to have been succeeded by his relative, Gilbert Fraser, who was the sheriff of Traquair, during the reign of Alexander II, and his successor (*l*). This eminent sheriff was the parent of several sons, who distinguished themselves, during the subsequent age: Symon, the eldest; Andrew, who was sheriff of Stirling, in 1291, and 1293; and William, who rose to be chancellor, and bishop of St. Andrews, 1279, during an eventful age (*m*). Symon, on the death of his father, became sheriff of Peeblis, from 1263 to 1266 (*n*). He possessed the lands of Oliver-Castle, Needpath, and others, in Tweeddale. In 1284, Symon was one of the *Magnates Scotiæ*, who engaged to support the daughter of Alexander III. on the throne of Scotland (*o*). In 1290, as a Baron, he sat in the numerous parliament, at Brigham (*p*). In 1291, he was a nominee of Baliol, for illustrating his claim to the crown (*q*). And, on the 12th of June 1291, he swore fealty to Edward I, as superior lord of Scotland, at Northam (*r*). Symon Fraser, *the father*, died soon after; leaving a son, Symon, the heir of his property, and power, one of the most distinguished statesmen, and gallant soldiers, during a struggle, when it required all the wisdom, and all the valour of Scotland, to maintain her independence against such a prince as Edward I. (*s*). (III.) It is now time, to advert to a very ancient race of Frasers, who were certainly the relations, if not the progenitors, of this branch of a respectable family. Kylvert, or rather Gilbert Fraser, possessed the lands of Hales, in East-Lothian, under the Earls of Dunbar, during the reigns of Mal-

(*k*) Douglas Peer. 428: Bernard Fraser does not appear in the conflict of parties, which ensued, soon after the accession of Alexander III, in 1249. Rymer's Fœd. i. 566.

(*l*) Chart. Newbotle, No. 130. Gilbert was also sheriff of Traquair, while William was bishop of Glasgow, from 1233 to 1258. Chart. Glasgow, 275-9. He continued sheriff of Traquair, in the reign of Alexander III, as low as 1258. Ib. 445.

(*m*) Keith's Bishops, 13. The bishop's seal is engraved, by Astle, pl. 3. No. 13, which shows, by the six *frais*, his relationship with the Frasers of Tweeddale.

(*n*) Chart. Soltre, No. 8; Chart. Kelso, 189.

(*o*) Rymer's Fœd. ii. 266.

(*p*) Ib. 471.

(*q*) Ib. 553.

(*r*) Ib. 567. In the documents of that age, Symon Fraser was denominated *Pater*: having two sons, who began to appear upon the stage; Symon, and Sir Alexander Fraser, who became chamberlain of Scotland, under Robert Bruce. Douglas Peer. 428; Crawford's Peer. 270; Crawford's Officers of State, 272-4.

(*s*) As the sword of Symon Fraser had been felt, the axe was employed to avenge that sensation. Crawford's Officers of State, 272. He left no son to retaliate his wrongs on the son of Edward I. His two daughters carried his blood, and property, into the families of the Marquis of Tweeddale, and of the Earl of Wigton. Dougl. Peer. 428.

colm

colm IV, and William, as we know from the chartularies (*t*). He left several children: Oliver, his eldest son, flourished with Joceline, the bishop of Glasgow, from 1175 to 1199 (*u*): it was he, no doubt, who built Oliver-Castle, in Tweeddale, which became famous, in after-times, as the seat of the Frasers (*x*): but, as he died, without issue, his nephew, Adam, enjoyed his estates. The second son of Gilbert was Udard Fraser, whose posterity became illustrious, in Peeblis-shire. Gilbert left a son, that was the father of Bernard, who, as we have seen, was the first of the Frasers, that rose to eminence, under Alexander II. Gilbert left also a daughter, Maria, who marrying Ness, had for her portion, that part of North-Hales, which was claimed, by Bernard Fraser, as his heritage, and acknowledged, by her, during her widowhood, in the court of their superior lord, the Earl of Dunbar, to be Bernard's right (*y*). Adam, the son of Udard, inherited, as well the property of his father, as the estates of Oliver (*z*). Laurence, the son of Adam, enjoyed his father's lands; and confirmed not only his charters, but the grants of Bernard Fraser (*a*). He left a son Laurence, who lived, during the succession war; and when he died, left a daughter, who carried his estate of Drummelier into the family of Tweedie, who long enjoyed it, in a state of rude splendour. Thus, have we seen the blood, the estates, and names of the distinguished Frasers, both of Oliver-Castle, and of Drummelier, in Tweeddale, merged, about the same time, in several families, who rose upon their extinction. Yet, Fraser of Fruid, in Tweedsmuir parish, still remained, in that southern district (*b*). (IV.) Hitherto the Frasers were confined

(*t*) Douglas Peer. 427: This is the same Kylvert, or Gilbert, whom Douglas carried back to the age of Alexander I.: but, the charters, which state the pedigrees of his issue, evince that, he must have lived under Malcolm IV, and after his demise, in 1165. Chart. Glasgow, p. 53. He seems to have possessed considerable estates, in Tweeddale, as well as in Lothian: and hence, Tweeddale became the great seat of the Frasers, during the twelfth, and thirteenth centuries.

(*u*) Chart. Newbotle, No. 81.

(*x*) The earliest notice of *Oliver-Castle* is in Chart. of Glasgow, p. 186.

(*y*) Chart. Newbotle, No. 101-2.

(*z*) Ib. No. 82-4-5.

(*a*) Ib. 86. Laurence flourished, at the middle of the thirteenth century; and was designed Lord of Drummelier. Crawf. Officers of State, 270-1.

(*b*) On the 14th of June 1297, Simon Fraser swore fealty to Edward I. Rym. Fœd. ii. 567. On the 8th of July 1291, Richard Fraser swore fealty to Edward, in the chapel of the Castle of Edinburgh. Ib. 569. On the 23d of July 1291, Simon Fraser swore fealty to Edward, in the monastery of Lindores. Ib. 570. On the 7th of July 1296, swore fealty to Edward, at Fernel, in Forfarshire, William Fraser, the son of the late Alexander Fraser. 3 Prynn, 651. On the 28th of August 1296, at Berwick, swore fealty Alexander Fraser, Knight. Ib. 653. It was he, who probably married Mary Bruce, after the death of Sir Nigel Cambel. Alexander Fraser of the county of Peeblis followed their example. Ib. 654. Bernard Fraser, and William Fraser, of the

confined to the south: but, during the reign of Robert I, they spread, northward, into the Merns, into Aberdeenshire, and also into Invernes-shire; having Sir Alexander Fraser, the chamberlain, for their chief (*c*). From this stock branched off Fraser, Lord Salton, Fraser, Lord Fraser, and Fraser, Lord Lovat (*d*).

Fiction, in the form of a peerage writer, is continually darkening the clear, without clearing the dark. This truth is abundantly illustrated, by the absurd accounts, which have been left us, of the powerful family of the *Cumyns*, who came, from Northumberland, into Scotland, during the reign of David I. (I.) William Cumyn, a younger son of this family, who had been bred as a clerk, by Gaufrid, the bishop of Durham, and chancellor to Henry I, was appointed chancellor to David I, in 1133; and continued, in this office, till 1142, when he was nominated bishop of Durham (*i*). (II.) The chancellor's nephew, Richard Cumyn, the son of his elder brother, who inherited the family estate, in Northumberland, obtained from Earl Henry, the son of David I, the manor of Linton Roderick, in Roxburghshire, which was the first possession of the Cumyns, in North-Britain. The church of this manor, with half a carucate of land, he gave to the monks of Kelso (*k*). Richard Cumyn, as he witnessed several charters of Malcolm IV, who demised, in 1165, and William, who succeeded him, not only flourished at that epoch, but throughout many years of William's reign. Richard Cumyn, who died about the year 1190, married the Countess Hexild, who appears to have survived him. Richard Cumyn, who was the principal minister of William, the lion, was taken prisoner with his

county of Edinburgh, also swore fealty. *Ib.* 656. Andrew Fraser of Fife swore fealty. *Ib.* 662. Sir Richard Fraser of the county of Dumfries swore fealty. *Ib.* 662. And Sir Richard Fraser of the county of Stirling swore fealty. *Ib.* 663. This specification evinces, that the sword, and the axe, had spread to Scotland, a numerous race of the Frasers.

(*c*) *Crawf. Off. of State*, 272-5. *Robertson's Index*, p. 116.

(*d*) *Dougl. Peerage*, p. 606 273; 47.

(*i*) *Officers of State*, 7; *Anglia Sacra*, v. i. p. 709-10: William Cumyn was not the worse chancellor of Scotland, that he had been bred a clerk, by the chancellor of Henry I. of England. The chancellor of Scotland had a nephew William, a young knight, *juvenis miles*, who actively engaged in his uncle's contest, for the see of Durham; and who died, in 1144. On the settlement of this contest, it was agreed, that Richard, the other nephew of William Cumyn, should hold the whole honour of North Allerton of the adverse bishop. *Hagustald*, 273-4; *Anglia Sacra*, i. p. 712; *Hutchinson's Hist. of Durham*, i. p. 160-62-63.

(*k*) *Chart. Kelso*, No. 273: This grant was made for the usual considerations of that age, for the soul of his Lord, *Earl Henry*, who died, in 1152; for the soul of his own son, John, who had been buried among them; and the witnesses of his bounty were Hexilda his wife, and Od, his son. *Id.*

his master, at Alnwick, in 1174 (*e*). In the subsequent year, he was one of the great men, who became securities, that William would fulfil the terms of his liberation (*f*). As Richard enjoyed the estates of his fathers, in Northumberland, he was bound to attend the judges itinerant there; and to perform other services: in 1176, for not attending those judges, he was fined a hundred pounds (*g*). Richard Cumyn appears to have acted as justiciary of proper Scotland, from 1178 to 1189 (*h*). Richard Cumyn died after an active, and important life, about the year 1189; leaving considerable estates; and, by the Countess Hexild, William, their son, who acted a still greater part, on a more conspicuous stage. William Cumyn, if he died, in 1233, at the age of seventy, must have been born, in 1163 (*i*). From his father Richard, he inherited not only his estates, in Scotland, but also his lands, in Tindale, within Northumberland (*k*). William Cumyn appears as a witness to the charters of William, the lion, during the last five-and-twenty years of his reign (*l*). But, he first distinctly

Id. This grant was confirmed by Malcolm IV, in 1159. Richard gave a carucate and a half of land, in Staincroft, to the monks of Rieval, which Hexilda, the Countess of Ethelhetela, his relict, confirmed. *Eccles. Hist. Yorkshire*, 363: see her charter in *Dug. Monast. i.* p. 733. John Cumyn, the competitor for the crown, stated his pedigree, and pretensions, as in *Rymer's Fœd. ii.* 577, thus:

- (1.) Bethock, the daughter of K. Donal-bane, who died 1097.
- |
- (2.) Hexild, her daughter, married Richard Cumyn.
- |
- (3.) Wm. Cumyn, their son.
- |
- (4.) Richard Cumyn, their son's son.
- |
- (5.) John, their son's son's son.
- |
- (6.) William (1):—John (2), who claimed as heir of William, his elder brother.
- |
- John Cumyn, who was slain, by Robert Bruce, 10th February 1306.

(*e*) Hoveden, 539.

(*f*) *Ib.* 545; *Rymer's Fœd. i.* 39, 40.

(*g*) *Dug. Baron. i.* p. 685, which quotes the Pipe Roll of the 22 Hen. II: from the amount of this fine, we may suppose, that the attachment of Richard Cumyn to K. William, was recollected, by the English judges.

(*h*) *Diplom. Scotiæ*, pl. 26; and *Chart. Antiq. Bibl. Harl.*

(*i*) If he died, at the age of 65, he must have been born, in 1168.

(*k*) *Astle's MS. Diplom. Scotiæ*, 24; *Ryley's Placita*, p. 353.

(*l*) See *Chart. Melros*, No. 4; *Chart. Arbroth*, No. 48, 51, 63, 105, 107, 122, 125; *Chart. Glasgow*,

distinctly appeared, at the age of thirty-seven, in 1200, as one of the envoys, whom William, the lion, sent to King John, who had just ascended the throne of the gallant Richard (*m*). Before this time, William Cumyn married a lady, whose parentage, and name, have wholly escaped the genealogists, though circumstances, and charters, attest the fact (*n*). He acquired from William, the lion, whom he served, the manor of Lennach [Lenzie] in Dunbartonshire, as well as the lands of Kirkintulach, though perhaps by a different title (*o*). He appears to have been sheriff of Forfar, in the beginning of the thirteenth century (*p*). In 1209, when he had become justiciary of proper Scotland, he was sent with the bishop of St. Andrews, and others, on an embassy to England (*q*). About this time, died Fergus, the ancient Earl of Buchan, whose only child, Margery, William Cumyn was destined to marry. After the decease of Fergus, Margery continued to act as Countess of Buchan (*r*). William Cumyn, by marrying Margery, about the year 1210, became Earl of Buchan (*s*). In 1212, Guthred, having as a partizan of MacWilliam, raised a rebellion in Moray, was brought to condign punishment, by William Cumyn,

Glasgow, 37, 45, 213; Chart. Cupre, No. 6, 14; Chart. Moray, 69, 72, 74; Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. 28; Astle's MS. Diplom. Scotiæ, No. 4.

(*m*) If William Cumyn were born in 1168, he was only thirty-two, when he was sent on this embassy.

(*n*) Not long after he became Earl of Buchan, by marrying the Countess, his second wife, William Cumyn granted to the church of Glasgow a stone of wax yearly; and his charter was witnessed by Richard Cumyn, his son, Chart. Glasgow, 387. This Richard, who was now a man, must have been the son of William, by a prior marriage, as Wyntown intimates. This notice corresponds with the record of the pedigree in Rymer, when John Cumyn claimed the crown through Richard, Earl William's *eldest son*. This charter must have been granted only a few years, after his marriage with the Countess of Buchan: for, one of the witnesses to it is Adam, a brother of her father Fergus, the Earl. Thus, Wyntown, Book viii. ch. vi, is supported, in his intimations, by charter testimony.

(*o*) Crawford's MS. Col. This grant was confirmed to him, by Alexander II. Id.

(*p*) Charter by William to the monks of Aberbrothock. 2 Dug. Monast. 1053.

(*q*) Fordun, lib. viii. cap. 70. When a peace was afterwards made with England, William Cumyn the justiciary swore, on the part of the king of Scots, for the observance of it. Ib. 71.

(*r*) Margery, the Countess of Buchan, granted to the monks of Arbroth the patronage of the churches of Turfred, [Turref] of Inverugie, of Strathechin, and of Rathen, in Buchan: and this donation was confirmed by King William, between 1211, and 1214. Chart. Arbroth. To the monks of St. Andrews, she granted half a mark of silver, yearly, from her firm of Inverure. Chart. St. Andrews, 379.

(*s*) As Earl of Buchan, William Cumyn witnessed a charter of William, the lion, at Elgin, on the 17th of August 1211. Chart. Arbroth. No. 98.

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the justiciary of the north (*t*). In 1218, he exercised his munificence, by founding, in Buchan, the abbey of Deer (*u*). He, and the Countess Margery, in imitation of their father, Fergus, made some splendid donations to the monks of Arbroth (*x*). In 1220, he witnessed, with other Scottish nobles, the marriage-contract of Joan, the princess of England, with Alexander II. (*y*). William died, after an illustrious life, in 1233 (*z*). (III.) It is now proper to trace the several sons of this great Earl, according to their seniority. He had, by his first wife, Richard, and Walter; and by his second, Alexander Cumyn, who became Earl of Buchan, with two younger sons, Fergus, and William (*a*). Richard, who is the second Richard of the competitor's pedigree, flourished, whatever peerage writers may say, during the reign of Alexander II.; and enjoyed his father's lands, except what descended from the Earl of Buchan (*b*). In 1244, he appeared conspicuous, with his relation, Walter, the Earl of Menteith, and Alexander, the Earl of Buchan, and other Scottish statesmen, as guaranties of the treaty with England (*c*). Richard does not again appear so pro-

(*t*) Lord Haile's An. i. 139: William Cumyn, as justiciary, crushed another rebellion of the same clan, in 1229. Ib. 150.

(*u*) Chron. Melros; Chart. Morav.

(*x*) In addition to what the Countess had given to this monastery, before her marriage, she, and her husband, granted to it the patronage of the church of Buthelny, with all its pertinents; and a toft, in the village of Buthelny, with common of pasture, and other easements. Chart. Arbroth, No. 163-4. To the monks of Dryburgh, William Cumyn, the Earl of Buchan, with consent of his Countess, Margery, confirmed the grant of the church of Kilrenny in Fife, which had been made by the Countess of Ada, the mother of Malcolm IV, and William, the lion. Chart. Dryburgh, 9, 11. To the monks of St. Andrews, he confirmed, with consent of his Countess, the grant of their vassal Merleswan, the son of Colban, of the lands of Kenmuck in Kennauchy parish, Fife. Chart. St. Andrews, 378.

(*y*) Rymer's Fœd. i. 241, 252: In this last record, he is called Willielmus Cumin Com. de Buch. justic. Scotiæ, while Walter Olifard, in the same record, is called justiciarius Laodoniæ.

(*z*) An. 1233. ob. Will. Cumin comes de Buchan, abbatia de Der fundator. Chron. Melros, 201.

(*a*) Chart. Aberdeen, 589; Chart. St. Andrews.

(*b*) Richard Cumyn appears as a witness to several charters of Alexander II, with William, the Earl of Buchan, his father, and with William de Bosco, the chancellor, who resigned in 1226. Chart. Arbroth, No. 143, 148. In one of these, Walter Cumyn, who became Earl of Menteith, is also a witness; and appears after Richard, as his younger brother. Richard again appears as a witness to a charter of Alexander II, in 1240; and with him is a witness Alexander Cumyn, his half-brother, who had not then succeeded, as Earl of Buchan; as his mother, the Countess, was then alive. Chart. Kelso, No. 181.

(*c*) Rymer's Fœd. i. 428: In this state paper, Walter, and Alexander, his younger brothers, are named before him, as Earls, while he ranks only with the *Magnates*.

minent:

minent: and he probably died, in 1249, at the demise of Alexander II. He was succeeded by his son, John Cumyn, who immediately entered into the faction of the Cumyns, during the minority of Alexander III. (*d*). The Earl of Menteith, the Earl of Buchan, and John Cumyn, their nephew, were all removed, in 1255, from the councils of the infant Alexander, by the influence of Henry III. of England (*e*). In 1257, they overpowered their opponents; obtained possession of the king and queen; and governed Scotland, by the weight of their talents, and the influence of their family (*f*). They created a new office, for John Cumyn, who was made justiciary of Galloway (*g*). He, however, continued an active member of this powerful faction. John Cumyn, with his uncle Alexander, the Earl of Buchan, were two of those Scottish statesmen, to whom the English king gave his oath, that he would restore his daughter, the Scottish queen, with her child (*h*). John Cumyn was present with Alexander III, when he held his court at Jedburgh, in 1261 (*i*). In 1264, John Cumyn, John Baliol, and Robert Bruce, led a body of Scots to the aid of king Henry III, against his Barons (*k*). In 1268, some of his retainers were slain, by the citizens of York: to pacify John Cumyn, the two kings, Henry III, and his son-in-law, Alexander III, interposed, when the citizens paid him three hundred pounds, and agreed to maintain two priests, who should pray for the souls of the deceased upon *Ouse-brigg*, where this bloodshed probably happened (*l*). In 1273, he engaged to protect his eldest son, William, who had

(*d*) The peerage writers, as they knew nothing of Richard Cumyn, brought forward his son John, during the reign of Alexander II; and gave him the title of Badenach, long before he possessed it: they confounded him with John Cumyn, who married the Countess of Angus; and died in France, during 1242; leaving a son, who died an infant, in the subsequent year. Chron. Melross.

(*e*) Rymer's Fœd. i. 566.

(*f*) Ib. 619; Chron. Melros, 221; Mat. Paris, 644.

(*g*) Rymer's Fœd. i. 653: This was the first time, in 1258, that we hear of a justiciary of Galloway, though it was not the last. He had property, in Nithsdale: in 1250, John Cumyn, knight, as proprietor of Dalswinton, : Duncol, granted to the monks of Melros, a right of passage through those lands. Chart. Melros, No. 108. After the slaughter of John Cumyn, the younger, by Robert Bruce, at Dunsinane, in 1306, Dalswinton was given by Bruce to Walter Stewart, and Duncol to Robert Boyd. Robertson's Index.

(*h*) Rymer's Fœd. i. 715.

(*i*) Chart. Glasgow, fol. 59.

(*k*) Dug. Baron. i. 685.

(*l*) Id.: It is this John Cumyn, who is characterized by Fordun, as "vir ad rapinam et temeritatem expeditus." Lib. x. c. x. This transaction, at Yorke, seems to justify this character: he was popularly called *Red* John Cumyn; his son, *Black* John Cumyn; and his grandson, who was slain by Bruce, *Red* John Cumyn. In 1268. John, the son of John Cumyn, was knighted, at Berwick, by Alexander III: "Johannes, filius Johannes Comyn, ab ipso rege Alexandro baltheo præcingitur militari." Ford. Lib. x. c. xxiv.

married

married a daughter of the Countess of Menteith; and who was involved in an unavailing struggle, for the Earldom of Menteith. John Cumyn died soon after; leaving several sons. His eldest son was William Cumyn, who, besides the one half of the lands of Menteith, enjoyed, with other estates, the manor of Kirkintulach, which had come down from Earl William, through his eldest son, Richard, to his son John, and from him to his eldest son, William, who was distinguished, from his manor of Kirkintulach (*m*). He appeared in the numerous parliament, at Brigham, in March 1290, as *Seygnur* de Kirkintulach (*n*). William died, before the 3d of June 1291, when his next brother John, who was distinguished, by the title of Badenach, claimed the crown, through William, who had died, without issue (*o*). John Cumyn of Badenach now became one of the most potent men, in that age. He was present, in 1281, at the convention of Roxburgh, when the marriage of Margaret, the daughter of Alexander, was agreed on (*p*). In 1284, he was one of the *Magnates Scotiae*, who engaged to maintain the title of the daughter of Margaret, on her grandfather's demise (*q*). In 1286, he was chosen one of the six guardians, after that sad event took place (*r*). He was one of those, who treated with Edward I, about the marriage of the infant queen, in 1289 (*s*). He appeared, as guardian, in the parliament of Brigham, in 1290 (*t*). In August of this year, he went, with other envoys, to England, to negotiate with Edward, the marriage of the Scottish queen (*u*). In 1291, John Cumyn, who was now distinguished, as *senior*, Lord of Badenach, acknowledged the superiority of the English king (*x*): and he, soon after, gave in his claim to the crown, as heir of Donald-bane, whose family had been out of possession, since 1097 (*y*). He supported the claims, and government, of

(*m*) In 1290, William Comyn of Kirkintulach granted a release to Hugh Dalryel, the sheriff of Lanerk, for twenty marks. Chart. Antiq. Bibl. Harl. Astle has engraved the seal, which is appendant to this release, pl. 3, No. 4: he has the appropriate device of the Cumyns, the three garbs, with an additional difference of five crosses, which may be the quartering of the lady, whom he married.

(*n*) Rymer's Fœd. ii. 471.

(*o*) Ib. 552—577. After William's death, Kirkintulach came, by descent, to John of Badenach; and from him to his son John, who was slain by Bruce. After this event, and the subsequent forfeiture, Robert Bruce granted the manor of Kirkintulach to Malcolm Fleming, one of his strenuous supporters. Robertson's Index, p. 8. William, and John, had two younger brothers; Alexander Cumyn, who was taken prisoner, at the battle of Dunbar; and Robert, who was taken with him. Ib. 776—728.

(*p*) Ib. ii. 1082.

(*q*) Ib. ii. 266.

(*r*) Fordun, lib. xi. cap. i.

(*s*) Rymer's Fœd. ii. 431.

(*t*) Ib. 471.

(*u*) Ib. 488-9.

(*x*) Ib. 552.

(*y*) Ib. 577-8: He withdrew his pretensions, as unattainable. Ib. 583.

Baliol, as Wyntown intimates, and record attests (z). In 1294, John Cumyn was summoned by Edward I. as superior Lord of Scotland, to attend him into Gascony (a). In 1297, John Cumyn, senior of Badenach, became security for his son John Cumyn, and for his brothers Alexander, and Robert, and others, who were released by Edward, on condition of their serving him, in France (b). He was still alive, though less active, in November 1299 (c). He seems, soon after, to have found repose, however, from the turmoils of ambitious life, at his castle of Lochindorb, says Wyntown. He had married *Margery*, the sister of king John Baliol (d); by whom he now left a son, John, who had long acted a conspicuous part (e). In 1298, he was chosen, with general consent, one of the guardians of Scotland, in the name of Baliol (f). In February 1303, John Cumyn, the guardian, with the aid of Simon Fraser, defeated, successively, three divisions of the English army, on the same day, near Roslin (g). In 1303, he assembled his forces, for the protection of Stirling-Castle; but, he was obliged to retire, before the superiority of the English king. On the 9th of February 1304, he entered into a capitulation with Edward I, by which he saved his own followers, but sacrificed the most strenuous defenders of his country (h). In 1305, he was fined three years rent of his estate; and ordered to retire from the kingdom,

(z) Chart. Glasgow, 407.

(a) Rymer's Fœd. ii. 643.

(b) Alexander Cumyn, and Robert Cumyn, the younger brothers of John Cumyn of Badenach, with John Cumyn his son, were taken prisoners, at Dunbar, in April 1296. They were all three liberated on the 30th July 1297, on condition of serving the English king, in France. Rymer's Fœd. ii. 776. While they were prisoners, Edward I. issued a precept on the 4th September 1296, to his Lieutenant, in Scotland, to assign 30 marks of land of legal extent to Eva, the wife of Alexander Cumyn of Badenach. Ib. 728. The Cumyns of Altyre, and other families of this name, in Moray, derive their descent from Robert Cumyn, the younger, brother of John Cumyn of Badenach.

(c) Rymer's Fœd. ii. 859; wherein his son is called John Cumyn, *filius*.

(d) Crawford's Peerage, 30; Ruddiman's Dissertation, 115; which quotes the chartulary of Arbroth, and Fordun, the oldest, and best historian, of Scotland, in ancient times.

(e) In March 1296, John Cumyn, the younger of Badenach, was one of the leaders of the Scottish army, which entered Cumberland. Mat. Westm. 427; Walt. Hemingford, t. i. p. 87. He was taken prisoner, at Dunbar, in April 1296. W. Hemingford, c. i. 97. While he was a prisoner, Edward I. ordered 200 marks of land, in Scotland, to be assigned to Johanna, his wife. Ayloffie's Calendar, 114. He was released, in July 1297, with his two uncles, as we have seen, on condition of serving the English king, in France; and upon this occasion, he engaged to give his son John, as a hostage. Rymer's Fœd. ii. 776. He now obtained from Edward a writ, for the release of his lands of Badenach. Ayloffie's Calendar, 116. In June 1298, he joined Wallace; and he deserted him soon after, on the field of Falkirk. W. Hemingf. t. i. 166; Trivet, 314.

(f) Fordun, lib. xi. cap. xxxiv; Rymer, ii. 859.

(g) Fordun, lib. xii. cap. ii.

(h) Ryley's Placita, 369-70.

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though this last condition of his pardon was released (*i*). And, on the 10th of February 1306, he was slain at Dumfries, by Robert Bruce (*k*). He left by Joan, one of the sisters, and co-heirs of the Earl of Pembroke, a son, and two daughters, who found refuge, in England: his son, John, died, without issue, in 1325; and his daughters, Joan, and Elizabeth, carried his blood, and his wrongs, into other families (*l*). Thus, by the fatal stroke of Bruce, was blasted the elder branch of the Cumyns! (III.) We are now to trace, briefly, Walter, the second son of William Cumyn, the Earl of Buchan, by his first wife (*m*). As Walter died aged, in 1258, he must have been born, about the year 1190. He first appeared, conspicuously, with his father, and other nobles, at the marriage of Joan, the princess of England, with Alexander II, at York, in 1220 (*n*). He now witnessed many transactions of Alexander II. (*o*). By his own conduct, and his father's influence, he acquired, from the grant of Alexander II, before the year 1230, the vast country of Badenach, which was then in the crown (*p*). He acquired it, about the time that Gillespoc's rebellion, in Moray, was crushed by William Cumyn, the Earl of Buchan, in 1229. It is highly probable, that Gillespoc forfeited Badenach, upon that occasion; and that the influence of the Earl of Buchan obtained it, for his younger son, of his first marriage. Nor, can there be the least doubt, whether he were the same Walter Cumyn, who became Earl of Menteith, by marrying the Countess, in her own right (*q*). He thus became Earl of Menteith, before the 3d of February

(*i*) Rymer, ii. 969.

(*k*) Fordun, lib. xii. cap. vii.

(*l*) Dug. Baron. ii. 686: yet, Douglas says, in the face of record, that he died, without issue. Peerage, 59.

(*m*) *Walter, the son of William Cumyn*, granted, a stone of wax, or four shillings, to the monks of Scone, to be received, yearly, at Michaelmas, "de Camera mea:" Chart. Scone, No. 85. As this grant was made, during the reign of Alexander II, under such circumstances, it fixes his filiation with sufficient certainty, when coupled with other notices.

(*n*) Rymer's Fœd. i. 241.

(*o*) On the 26th of December 1223, he witnessed a charter of Alexander II, with the Earl of Buchan. Chart. Arbroth, No. 141-2; and the same chartulary throughout.

(*p*) See Chart. Moray, p. 50-1, a *compositio*, which was made, before 1230, between Walter Cumyn, and Andrew, the bishop of Moray, about the manorial rights of the lordship of Badenach. Yet, the historians, and peerage writers of Scotland, know nothing of this important fact, though it be thus witnessed, by record. They constantly consider John Cumyn, who was the son of John, and the grand nephew of Walter; and who was also the competitor for the crown; as the first lord of Badenach. Dougl. Peerage, 58; and even Lord Hailes retails this fiction, in his annals.

(*q*) In the same chartulary, p. 84-5, there is another *compositio*, between the same parties, respecting the same country, which is dated in 1234; and which designates the lord of Badenach, as "Walterum Cumyn comitem de Myneteth." Thus is the *identity* ascertained!

1231 (*r*). As Earl of Menteith, he witnessed many charters of Alexander II; as we know, from the chartularies (*s*). Walter, the Earl of Menteith, with other Scottish nobles, swore to maintain the agreement, between the Scottish and English kings, which they entered into, at York, in September 1237 (*t*). After the death of his father, William, the Earl of Buchan, Walter, the Earl of Menteith, soon rose to be the most influential man, in Scotland; owing as much to the strength of his talents, as the support of his family, and the number of his followers, the vassals of Menteith, and of Badenach. He displayed his wisdom, and authority, at the coronation of Alexander III, in 1249. Objections were raised to the performance of that ceremony: but, Walter, the Earl of Menteith, seeing the danger of civil commotion, insisted, with decisive influence, that the bishop of St. Andrews should knight, and crown the infant son of his benefactor. The Earl of Menteith was now regarded, as the chief of the Cumyn faction, who had to defend the rights of Scotland against the insidious arts of Henry III. (*u*). During the struggles of that minority, Menteith, and his party, were several times displaced, and restored, till they finally prevailed, in 1257 (*x*). In the subsequent year, this powerful faction lost its head, by the death of the Earl of Menteith (*y*). It was said, in England, that this great person died, by a fall from his horse: it was reported, in Scotland, that he had been poisoned, by his wife: from the intimations of both those stories, we may suppose, that he died suddenly, and, perhaps, without any settlement of his affairs. He certainly died, without male issue; and probably without any issue, though Douglas assigns him two daughters (*z*). The lordship of Badenach, and his other lands, descended to John, the son of Richard Cumyn, the Earl of Menteith's eldest brother, who was then dead; and from John, those estates descended to his eldest son William, and through him to his second son, John Cumyn, the competitor for the crown, and the guardian of Scotland, who was long remembered, as *black* John Cumyn, the lord of Badenach (*a*). Earl Walter's widow, who, indeed, was Countess, in her own right, and who must have been well

(*r*) He on that day, as Earl of Menteth, witnessed a charter of Alexander II, to the monks of Balmerinach. Chart. Balmerinach, No. 1; Dug. Monast. ii. 1056.

(*s*) Chart. Scone, No. 50; Chart. Cupar, No. 19; Chart. Arbroth, 140; Chart. Moray, throughout.

(*t*) Rymer's Fæd. i. 376.

(*u*) Chron. Meilros; Rymer's Fæd. i. 566.

(*x*) M. Paris, 644-660; Chron. Melros; Rymer's Fæd. i. 670.

(*y*) An. 1258, obiit Dom. Walterus Cumin comes de Meneteth. Chron. Meilros. Fordun, in stating the same event, calls him, "comes *veteranus* de Meneteth." Lib. x. cap. ii.

(*z*) Dougl. Peerage, 473.

(*a*) His son, who was slain by Bruce, in 1306, was popularly called *Red* John Cumyn.

stricken in years, married, in 1259, John Russel, an English knight, and entailed on her family, by this misconduct, a litigation, which endured a quarter of a century. Such was the grievous end of Walter Cumyn, the illustrious Earl of Menteith! (IV.) We are now to advert to the male issue of William, the Earl of Buchan, by Margery the Countess of Buchan, who survived her husband, for some time; and confirmed the grants of her father to the monks of Arbroth (*b*). William, the Earl of Buchan, was succeeded, in the peerage, after the decease of his widow, by his son Alexander (*c*). The son of Margery the Countess, confirmed to the monks of Arbroth the donations of his grandfather Earl Fergus, which had been confirmed by his mother (*d*). Alexander, the Earl of Buchan, acted a conspicuous part on the troubled stage of his country, during the busy reigns of Alexander II, and his successor, Alexander III. He was one of the guarantees of the peace with England, in 1244 (*e*). He was appointed justiciary of Scotland in 1251: but, as one of the Scottish party, who were obnoxious to Henry III, he was removed from that high trust, in 1255 (*f*). He was restored, however, in 1257, to the office of justiciary, which he held till his death, in 1289. In the midst of those contests, for power, Alexander, the Earl of Buchan, married Elizabeth, the second daughter of Roger de Quinci, the Earl of Winchester, and constable of Scotland (*g*). Alexander, the Earl of Buchan, was one of the *Magnates Scotiæ*, who entered into a treaty with the Welsh, in 1258 (*h*). On the death of the Earl of Win-

(*b*) Chart Arbroth She also confirmed the grants of her vassals to the monastery of St. Andrews. Chart. St. Andrews, 380-1. She was certainly alive, on the 3d August 1236, three years after the decease of her husband. Chart. Arbroth, No. 1. She was probably alive on the 18th July 1240, when her eldest son is called simply *Alexander Cumyn*, in a charter of Alexander II, which he witnessed at Lanerc. Chart. Kelso, 181. She was probably dead, in 1244, when her eldest son, and heir, appears as one of the guarantees of the peace with England; and is designed, *Alexander Earl of Buchan*. Rymer's Fœd. i. 428. Fordun elongates her life till 1267.

(*c*) Douglas, whose account of the Earls of Buchan is full of ignorance, falshood, and presumption, interpolates William, in the place of Alexander, as the heir of the earldom, after the death of the Countess Margery, in opposition to the whole chartulary of Arbroth. Not so, Crawford; who writes, soberly, on this subject. Peerage, 46. William, the Earl of Buchan, left, indeed, two younger sons, William, who is seen in the chartulary of St. Andrews, and Fergus, who appears in the chartulary of Aberdeen, 221, 589; with some daughters, if we may believe a peerage writer. Douglas Peerage, 92. He appears to have left a daughter, who was married to the Earl of Mar; and died in 1268. Fordun, lib. x. c. xxv.

(*d*) Chart. Arbroth.

(*e*) Rymer's Fœd. i. 428.

(*f*) Ib. 566.

(*g*) On the decease of Alexander, the Earl of Buchan, in 1289, his son, John, was proved to be thirty years of age and more, Escheat Rolls, 18 Edw. I. Dug. Bar. v. i. p. 685.

(*h*) Rymer's Fœd. i. 653-670.

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chester, in 1264, without male issue, the Earl of Buchan obtained, in right of his wife, a full share of her father's estates, in Galloway, and in other countries; and, in 1270, he acquired from the good will of Margaret, the Countess of Derby, his wife's eldest sister, the office of constable of Scotland, which she held, after her husband's decease (*i*); and now resigned into the King's hands, for the purpose of conferring it on her brother-in-law, the Earl of Buchan (*t*). He thus enjoyed the two great offices of justiciary, and constable, for near twenty years, before his death. The Earl of Buchan was one of the *Magnates Scotia*, who engaged to maintain the succession of the princess Margaret to the crown, on the demise of her grandfather (*k*). In 1286, he was appointed one of the six guardians of Scotland, during the interregnum, which followed the sad demise of Alexander III. In the midst of the subsequent intrigues, for the succession, Alexander the Earl of Buchan, died, in 1289; leaving his son, John, his pre-eminence, his offices, and his struggles (*l*). John sat in the Parliament, at Brigham, in 1290, as Earl of Buchan (*m*). In the subsequent year, he was appointed by Baliol, one of his nominees: and owing partly to his relationship, perhaps as much as to his principles, he adhered steadily to Baliol, and Edward, till he was obliged to flee before the fortune of Bruce (*n*). Thus fell, after many a crash, the house of Cumyn, the most eminent, in Scotland, during the active reigns of Alexander II, and Alexander III, involving several smaller families of Cumyn, in its fall (*o*)!

Connected

(*i*) William de Ferrers, Earl of Derby, died in 1254. Dug. Bar. v. i. p. 262. Roger de Quinci died, in 1264. She had a son, at the time of her resignation of that high office, which was probably demanded, by the Scottish king, who may not have wished, that such an office should have been held, either by a widow, or an infant, who resided in England.

(*t*) Ayloffe's Calendar, 336.

(*k*) Rymer's Fœd. ii. 266.

(*l*) The seal of John Cumyn, the son of Alexander, Earl of Buchan, is engraved by Astle, pl. 3, No. 15: it bears the armorial device of the *three garbs*, the appropriate insignia of the Cumyns.

(*m*) Rymer's Fœd. ii. 471.

(*n*) He measured his sword with Bruce's, at the battle of Inverurie, in 1308, when he was defeated; and compelled to seek shelter, in England. His great offices, and vast estates, were now forfeited. He lost his son, John, in 1313. And, whatever right he possessed, when he died, in 1329, went with female heirs into other families, who had to fight, for their pretensions.

(*o*) Lord Hailes repeats from Fordun, under the year 1255, that there were then, in Scotland, no fewer than thirty-two knights of the name of Cumyn: but, perhaps, they were both imposed upon by the doubtful meaning of the term *miles*, which signified an armed retainer, as well as a *knight*. There can, however, be no doubt, that the stock of the Cumyns had branched out into many scions, even during the reign of William, the lion. They were certainly more numerous, during the sad period of the succession war. In June 1291. swore fealty to Edward I, at Norham, John Cumyn, Earl of Buchan, John Cumyn of Badenach, William Cumyn. Rymer's Fœd. ii. p. 567.

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Connected with those eminent persons was another great family of Norman origin, the Baliols of Bernard-Castle, in Durham, who obtained some lands, in Scotland, from David I. (*a*). (I.) Bernard de Baliol being thus possessed of the manor of Wudehorn, in Berwickshire, granted to the monks of Kelso, a fishing on the Tweed, called Wudehorn-stell (*b*). This grant was witnessed by David I., *his lord*, and by Guido, his son (*c*): And it was confirmed by David I.; and also by Hugh de Baliol (*d*). Bernard de Baliol, as the courtier of David I., was a witness to many of his charters, the evidences of the extent of his bounty, and of the numbers of his followers, from the south (*e*). Yet, had Bernard de Baliol the manliness to advise David against his war with England, and the spirit to meet his benefactor, in the battle of the standard. During that period, the Baliols seem to have settled, in Scotland. They became still more conspicuous under William, the Lion, and his son Alexander II. Ingelram de Baliol married, during the first reign, the heiress of Walter de Berkeley, the Chamberlain of Scotland, as we have seen; and thereby acquired a splendid establishment, in Forfarshire (*f*). Ingelram was, successively, Sheriff of Berwick, and Sheriff of Fife, under Alexander II. (*g*). Henry de Baliol was Chamberlain of Scotland, under Alexander II. (*h*). (II.) In 1233, John Baliol of Bernard-Castle married Dervorgil, the youngest daughter of Alan, the lord of Galloway, by his second wife, Margaret, the daughter of David, the Earl of Huntingdon. By this marriage, he obtained, on the death of Alan, in 1234, vast opulence; and on the demise of Alexander III., his family was involved, in lasting misery. By that illustrious woman, who lived till 1289, he left four sons, and a daughter (*i*). John Baliol, who shared the estates of
Alan,

In July 1296, at Munros, John Cumyn, Earl of Buchan, Sir John Cumyn of Badenach, senior, John Cumyn of Scraesburgh, William Cumyn, prepositus of St. Andrews; at Elgin, Sir Alexander Cumyn, Audomer Cumyn. Prynn, iii. p. 651; at Berwick, in August 1296, John Cumyn, Earl of Buchan, John Cumyn of Badenach, Sir Alexander Cumyn, John Cumyn of Skeresburgh, Margery Cumyn, dame de Gordon, in Berwickshire, Walter Cumyn of Peebleshire, Eymor Cumyn of Banffshire. Ib. 653-5-6-661. In Astle's pl. 3, there are three seals of this most potent family, wherein the names are differently spelled: No. 15. is the seal of John *Comyn*, the son of the Earl of Buchan; No. 8. is the secret seal of *John Cumin* of Badenach; and No. 4. is the seal of William *Comin* of Kirkintulach, his elder brother; yet, they had but one armorial bearing.

(*a*) Dug. Baron. i. 523. Hutchinson's Durham, iii. p. 233. Chart. Kelso, No. 51.

(*b*) Chart. Kelso, No. 51.

(*c*) Id.

(*d*) Ib. 24-32-50-52.

(*e*) Chart. Glasgow, p. 57; Chart. Kelso, No. 266.

(*f*) Chart. Arbroth. 87.

(*g*) Chart. Moray, fol. 38; Chart. Arbroth. No. 155.

(*h*) In this character, he is often a witness to the grants of Alexander II. See the chartularies of Glasgow, Kelso, and others, throughout.

(*i*) 1. Hugh, who died, in 1272, without issue; 2. Alan, who died, before his brother Hugh; 3. Alexander died, in 1279, without issue; 4. John, who succeeded to all the estates of his brothers,

Alan, and through him of the Morevilles, enjoyed lands in Galloway, in Ayrshire, in Lothian, and in Lauderdale: And in those territories, he granted possessions to his relations, and in those several countries, he settled his English vassals (*k*). John Baliol, the husband of Dervorgil, dying in 1269, after a splendid life, as one of the *magnates Scotiæ*, and as one of the Cumyn party, left John, the heir of his fortune, and his claims (*l*). Among the *magnates Scotiæ*, who engaged, in 1284, to maintain the right of the Princess Margaret, were John de Baliol, the youngest son of Dervorgil, Alexander de Baliol of Cavers, and Ingelram de Baliol of Redcastle, in Forfarshire (*m*). And, at the Parliament of Brigham, in 1290, again appeared Alexander de Baliol, and Ingelram de Baliol, among the *magnates*, who had a right to sit in that assembly (*n*). In 1291, John Baliol, at the age of forty-one, claimed the crown, through his mother, his grandmother, and great grandfather (*o*). His claim was allowed (*p*). When he could no longer hold the crown, with the independence of those Scottish kings, whom he represented, he resigned his uneasy diadem (*q*). A long, and bloody struggle, immediately, ensued. John Baliol died, in France, in April 1314 (*r*); leaving by a daughter of Earl Warren, Edward, the heir of his misfortunes, and Henry, who fell, in supporting the rights of his family (*s*): Edward Baliol died, without issue, in 1363, near Doncaster (*t*). The smaller families of the Baliols, in Scotland, seem to have acted, throughout the succession war, with spirit, and to have fallen, with honour. Thus perished the Baliols, who were highly respectable, for their birth, and connections, for their vast possessions, and their extensive liberalities.

brothers, and of his mother; and who claimed the crown, in 1291, in her right, who was the daughter of Margaret, the second daughter of Earl David, the brother of William, the Lion. The daughter of John Baliol, and Dervorgill, who was named Margery, married John Cumyn, the competitor for the crown.

(*k*) He granted lands, in Lauderdale, to Alexander Baliol of Cavers, and to his brother Guido de Baliol. Chart. Dryburgh, No. 100-1-2; Chart. Soltre, No. 8.

(*l*) John, the husband of Dervorgill, was called by Mat. Paris, 907-9, "dives et potens:" He founded Baliol College, at Oxford, which was patronized by Dervorgill, long after his death; and she outlived her husband twenty years. Her instructive seal is engraved by Astle, pl. iii. No. 4.

(*m*) Rymer's Fœd. ii. 266.

(*n*) Ib. 471.

(*o*) Ib. 548, 578.

(*p*) Ib. 589.

(*q*) Ib. 840, 846-7-8 9.

(*r*) Rymer's Fœd. iii. 506; Innes's MS. Chron; L'Art de verifier les dates. t. i. p. 844.

(*s*) He was killed, at Annan, in defending an attack upon his brother Edward, on the 16th of December, 1332.

(*t*) Knyghton, p. 2627.

Connected

Connected with the Baliols, in family, and pretensions, were the Bruces of Annandale. Robert de Bruis was an opulent baron, in Yorkshire, at the early epoch of Domesday Book (*u*). (I.) His son, Robert, appeared in the court of Henry I., with Earl David, being nearly of the same age: And soon after the accession of King David, in 1124, he obtained from his bounty a grant of Annandale (*x*). As the charter of David established a *tenure*, by the *sword*, we may easily suppose, that he brought with him into Annandale knights, and yeomen, from Yorkshire; as indeed might be shewn, by tracing to this source, some respectable families, in Dumfries-shire (*y*). Yet, that great baron seems to have clung to Gyseburn, where he was born; and where he was buried. When he died, an old, and opulent man, in 1141, his son Adam inherited his English estates, and became the progenitor of the Bruces of Skelton: (II.) His youngest son Robert enjoyed Annandale, from the gift of his father; and laid the foundation of the house of Bruce, in North-Britain (*z*). This Robert Brus, *le Mefchin*, entered into a composition with the bishop of Glasgow, concerning several churches in Annandale; as the privileges of the baron clashed with the rights of the bishop (*a*). This progenitor of the Scottish Bruces flourished under David I., Malcolm IV., and William, the Lion (*b*): Yet, have the genealogists confounded this great baron, the protector of the monks of Holmcultram, with his father, Robert, and his son, Robert; and indeed seem to have been unconscious, that he ever existed, though he appears, very distinctly, in the instructive pages of record (*c*). (III.) This liberal baron was

(*u*) Kelham's Domesday.

(*x*) Chart. Antiq. Bibl. Harl. Yet, are the peerage writers so absurd, as to talk in the face of this charter, that this great baron of Yorkshire obtained Annandale, by marrying the heiress of Annan. I have obtained from the British Museum, a copy of this curious charter.

(*y*) The Jardines of Applegarth settled there, as vassals of the Bruces, in the twelfth century. Chart. Arbroth. No. 66. The progenitor of the Johnstons settled, in Annandale, in the twelfth century. Doug. Peer. 25. The progenitor of the Carlyles obtained the manor of Torthorwald from William Bruce. Ib. 128. Heralds remark how many of the gentlemen of Dumfries-shire quarter the arms of the Bruces of Annandale. Sir Geo. Mackenzie's Science of Heraldry, p. 5.

(*z*) Dug. Baron. v. i. 448; Dug. Monast. v. ii. p. 148.

(*a*) Chart. Glasgow, p. 43. The grantor's son, Robert, confirmed this composition, when he witnessed the deed, with William de Brus.

(*b*) K. William confirmed the grant of David I. of Annandale, to Robert Brus: This charter is printed in Ayloffe's Cal. 348, with a mistake of *villa*, for *valle*, which changes the amount of the grant, from a country, to a town. This Robert paid, in 1171, a hundred shillings for escuage into the English Exchequer. Mad. Hist. i. 629.

(*c*) Crawford's Peer. 76; Sir Ja. Dalrymple's Col. 357; and the Record in Dug. Monast. v. 286. Robert, and his wife Euphemia, gave to the monks of Holm Cultram the fishing of Torduff

was succeeded by his son Robert, who married Isabel, the natural daughter of William, the Lion, in 1183 (*d*): This Robert copied the liberalities of his father, by giving several churches, in Annandale, to the monks of Gyseburn: But, he did not live long: In 1191, William gave Isabel, the widow of Robert Bruce, to Robert de Ros (*e*). (IV.) Robert Bruce was succeeded by his son, William, who died, in 1215 (*f*). (V.) He was succeeded by his son, Robert Bruce, who married Isabel, the second daughter of David, the Earl of Huntingdon: It was in consequence of this marriage, that their son Robert entered into competition for the crown, and that their great grandson ascended the throne. He copied the liberalities of his father to the monks, by confirming their grants (*g*). He flourished under Alexander II.: He died, in 1245; his widow survived him till 1251: And they were buried in the abbey of Saltre, near Stilton, which the second Simon de St. Liz, the Earl of Northampton, and Huntingdon, had built (*h*). They were succeeded by their son Robert, who had married, in 1244, Christian, the daughter of Gilbert, Earl of Gloucester, and as an able, and strenuous baron, acted a great part, under Alexander III. In 1255, he was appointed one of the fifteen Regents of Scotland: And, he supported the English faction against the Cumyn party, who opposed Henry III. In 1264, with John Cumyn, and John Baliol, he led the Scottish auxiliaries to the aid of Henry III. of England. In 1284, he concurred with the other *magnates Scotiae*, in promising to accept the Princess Margaret, as their sovereign, on the demise of Alexander III. (*i*). In 1286, after that sad event, he entered into an association, with several powerful barons, to adhere to the person, who should obtain the crown, in right of blood, from Alexander III. (*k*). In the Parliament at Brigham, in March 1290, he sat as

on the Solway: This grant was confirmed by Robert Brus, his son, a circumstance, which evinces the true filiation, and by William Brus. *Id.* It is a very curious circumstance, in the genealogy of this family that, there were nine persons, in the direct descent of the Annandale Bruces, from Robert Brus of Domesday-book to Robert Brus, the restorer of the Scottish monarchy, inclusive; and that there were eight of them named Robert, and one of them called William: It is not, then, surprising, that the peerage writers should have lost one of the links, in this genealogical chain.

(*d*) Chron. Meilros, 175: The chronicle says, that William *honorifice* dedit Isabella to Robert de Bruis.

(*e*) *Ib.* 179.

(*f*) Dug. Baron. i. 450; Dug. Monast. i. p. 151, wherein is a charter of confirmation by William, the Lion, who mentions William Brus, as the son of Robert Brus.

(*g*) Dugdale's Monast. v. ii. 151.

(*h*) Stukeley's Itinerary, 77: When the antiquary saw the ruins of this church, among which lay the bones of Robert Brus, and his wife, Isabel, who were the progenitors of kings, he uttered many a groan.

(*i*) Rymer, ii. 266.

(*k*) Symson's Hist. Stewarts, 78.

Lord

Lord of Annandale, with his son Robert, the Earl of Carrick (*l*). In 1291, he entered into an unsuccessful competition, with Baliol, for the crown. He now resigned his pretensions to his son, the Earl of Carrick: And, he died at Lochmaban-Castle, on Good-Friday of the year 1295, at the patriarchal age of eighty-five (*m*). (VI.) He was succeeded by Robert, his son, who having accompanied Edward I. to Palestine, in 1269, was ever after greatly regarded by that gallant prince. But, the great distinction of his life was his marriage with Margaret, the Countess of Carrick, in 1271, at his age of twenty-seven; and he became thereby Earl of Carrick, according to the curtesy of Scotland, in that age. The Earl of Carrick acted, during those eventful times, a very splendid part, though he was perhaps of inferior talents to both his son, and to his father. He had the honour, in 1278, to do homage for Alexander III. to the English king, for his English lands. He engaged, in 1284, with the other *magnates* of Scotland, to acknowledge the Princess Margaret, as successor of Alexander III. (*n*). He sat in the Parliament at Brigham, in 1290: with his father, though on a higher form, as Earl of Carrick (*o*). He seems to have lost his wife, the Countess, in 1292, who had brought him twelve children (*p*): And, he thereupon resigned to his eldest son, who was still under age, the earldom of Carrick, with every pretension which he held by curtesy, in right of his wife, as Earl (*q*). The late Earl of Carrick, and his heir, swore fealty to Edward I., in August 1296. Robert Bruce, the father, died in 1304, when Robert, the Earl of Carrick, obtained livery of his lands, in England (*r*). After several submissions, and reiterated renunciations, the Earl of Carrick was chosen one of the guardians of Scotland, for Baliol, in 1299, with the Bishop of St. Andrew's, and John Cumyn, the younger, whom

(*l*) Rymer's Fœd. ii. 571.

(*m*) The seal of the competitor is engraved by Astle, pl. iii. No. 5. His appropriate motto was: *Esto ferox ut leo*: The caparisons of his horse are adorned, and distinguished by the *Salier*, the ancient arms of Brus.

(*n*) Rymer, ii. 266.

(*o*) Ib. 471. In 1291 (13 June) he swore fealty to Edward I. Ib. 558. He did not appear in Baliol's first parliament, though summoned for that purpose. Ib. 605. He went to Norway, in 1293. Ib. 612-13.

(*p*) His issue, by the Countess of Carrick, were: 1. Robert, who was born in 1274; who became Earl of Carrick, in 1292; King of Scots, in 1306; and died in 1329. 2. Edward, who was killed near Dundalk, on the 5th of October, 1318! 3, 4. Thomas, and Alexander, who were taken prisoners, in Galloway, 9th February 1307; and put to death, at Carlisle, by Edward I. 5. Nigel, or Niel, who was taken at Kildrummie, and put to death, at Berwick, 1306; and seven daughters. Dougl. Peer. 130.

(*q*) Rym. Fœd. ii. 614: This resignation is dated the 27th October, 1292.

(*r*) Dugdale's Bar. i. 450.

he slew, at Dumfries, on the 10th of February, 1306 (s). And, after various actions, which evince, that they were dictated by the occasion, while his eyes were fixed steadily on the crown, Robert Bruce, the Earl of Carrick, at the age of thirty-three, became King of Scots, on the 27th of March, 1306 (t).

From those investigations, with regard to *the Bruces*, we are naturally conducted to researches, concerning the *Stewart* family, whose true origin has hitherto defied the most curious researches (u). Lord Hailes has succeeded, in proving that, those various histories are nothing more than *fabulous genealogies*, without being able to determine, *when*, and *what was the commencement of the family of the Stewarts* (x). Yet, his lordship acknowledges, that Walter, who flourished, under David I., and his successor, Malcolm IV. was *indeed*, the Stewart of Scotland. But, the difficult question still remains unanswered, of what family was this real personage? He uniformly speaks of himself, and is spoken of by others, as Walter, *the son of Alan*: Yet, who this Alan was, is a very embarrassing inquiry, which no one has hitherto pretended to answer, if we except the fablers, who pretend to give a regular succession of various Walters, and Alans, from *Eth*, the King of Scots, who reigned, during the eighth century.

I propose to show, from the most satisfactory evidence, that Walter, the son of Alan, came from Shropshire, in England; that he was the son of Alan, the son of Flaald, and the younger brother of William, the son of Alan, who was the progenitor of the famous house of Fitz-Alan, the Earls of Arundel. The great exploit of Walter, the son of Alan, was the founding of the monastery of Paisley, during the reign of Malcolm IV., by transplanting a colony of Cluniac

(s) Rym. Fœd. ii. 859. It ought, on this occasion, to be remembered, that Cumyn, the Earl of Buchan, obtained from Baliol, in 1296, a grant of Annandale; and took possession of Bruce's Castle, of Lochmaban. Lord Hailes An. i. 240.

(t) We have seen how many of the Bruces, during the succession war, fell under the sword, and the axe. From the principal stock, however, branched out the following scions: Bruce of Clackmanan. Dougl. Baron. 238. Bruce the Earl of Elgin. Doug. Peer. 233. Bruce, the Earl of Elgin, and Kincardine. Ib. 238-380. Bruce of Stenhouse. Dougl. Baron. 240. Bruce of Kennet. Ib. 241. Bruce of Blair-hall. Ib. 243. Bruce of Kinross. Ib. 245. Bruce of Earls-hall. Ib. 510. Some of those Bruces have adopted, as their appropriate motto: *Fuimus*.

(u) See the several histories of the illustrious family of Stewart, particularly, Symson's Historical Account, which all trace this family to a Thane of Lochaber, who is feigned to have flourished in the ninth century.

(x) See his App. No. viii., Annals, vol. i., A Dissertation on the Origin of the House of Stewart. The late Andrew Stuart, the able writer of *The Genealogical History of the Stewarts*, concurs with the opinion of Lord Hailes, without being able to advance one step, in the road of discovery, towards the true origin. Gen. Hist. Stewarts, p. 2.

monks from the monastery of Wenlock, in Shropshire (*y*). Such, then, was the connection of Walter, the first Stewart, with Shropshire, with Wenlock, with Isabel de Say, who married William, the brother of Walter. Alan, the son of Flaald, married the daughter of Warine, the famous Sheriff of Shropshire, soon after the Norman conquest; and of this marriage William was the eldest son of Alan, and the undoubted heir both of Alan, and of Warine (*z*). Alan, the son of Flaald, a Norman, acquired the manor of Oswestrie, in Shropshire, soon after the conquest (*a*). Alan was undoubtedly a person of great consequence, at the accession of Henry I.: He was a frequent witness to the king's charters, with other eminent personages, of that splendid court (*b*). I will now prove the fraternal connection, between William, the son of Alan, and Walter, the son of Alan, by a transaction, which is as new to history, as it is singular in itself. Oswestrie, in Shropshire, as we have seen, was the original seat of Alan, on the Welch border. Clune, in Shropshire, was added to his family, by the marriage of his son, William, who built Clune-castle: And

(*y*) See the foundation charter, in the Chartulary of Paisley, which evinces his intimate connection with the monks of Wenlock: And see the same chartulary, No. 1, 7, 9, 137, 142. In 1169, Humbald, the Prior of Wenloc, held a convention at Paisley, for the purpose, no doubt, of giving a constitution, and settlement, to the monastery of Paisley. Chron. Mailros, p. 170; Chart. Paisley, No. 2. The greatest benefactor to the monks of Wenloc was Isabel de Say, lady of Clune, the opulent, and liberal, wife of William, the elder brother of Walter, the son of Alan. Dugdale's Monast. v. i. p. 613. This monastery of Wenlock was founded by Roger de Montgomery, the great Earl of Shrewsbury. Id. and Dug. Baron. i. p. 27. And we shall find, that a younger son of this Roger followed Walter into Scotland, and obtained from him, a grant of the manor of Eglesham, which, as the most ancient possession, is still enjoyed by the Earl of Eglinton. That William, the son of Alan, married the heiress of Clune, Isabel de Say, we know from Dug. Baron. i. 454. Clune descended to the Fitz-Alans, Earls of Arundel, as appears from the Escheat Rolls of the third of Henry V.

(*z*) Dug. Monast. i. 378 a 382. William, the son of Alan, confirmed his father's charters. Dug. Monast. ii. 144. In 1172, the 19th Henry II. the honour of William, the son of Alan, was in the custody of the Sheriff of Shropshire; William being then dead. Madox Excheq. i. 297.

(*a*) Dug. Baronage, i. 314; Lel. Col. i. p. 231; Hol. Camden, 589; Gib. Camd. 1695. p. 542.

(*b*) He was a witness to a charter of Henry I., with Matilda, his queen, the daughter of Malcolm Ceanmore, and other personages of the highest rank, dated the 18th September 1101; which charter was engraved from the autograph, in the possession of Mathew Howard, the lord of the manor of Thorp, near Norwich, 1728. Alan subscribed this charter thus: Ego Alanus Flaaldi fili⁹ S. Alan, the son of Flathald, witnessed another charter of Henry I., at Canterbury. Dug. Monast. v. i. 353. The same Alan witnessed a charter of William Peverel to the church of St. Peter, in Shrewsbury. Ib. 382. It is thus apparent, that Alan, the son of Flaald, lived under, and with Henry I.

John

John Fitz-Alan, lord of Clune, and Oswestrie, by marrying Isabel, the second sister of William de Albany, the third Earl of Arundel, who died, in 1196, became Earl of Arundel, and changed his residence, from Shropshire to Sussex (*c*). Now; Richard Fitz-Alan, the Earl of Arundel, being with Edward III., in Scotland, during the year 1335; and claiming *to be Stewart of Scotland, by hereditary right*, sold his title, and claim to Edward III., for a thousand marks (*d*). But, Richard Fitz-Alan had not any right to the Stewartship of Scotland: Walter, who was the *first purchasor* of this hereditary office, was the *younger brother* of William, the son of Alan, the progenitor of Richard Fitz-Alan, the claimant; and till all the descendants of the first purchasor had failed, the claim could not ascend to the common father of the two families (*e*): But, Robert, the Stewart, who was born of Margery Bruce, on the 2d of March, 1315-16, and became King of Scots, on the 22d of February, 1370-1, under the entail of the crown, was then in possession of the hereditary office of Stewart, by lineal descent (*f*).

Walter, the son of Alan, undoubtedly obtained from David I., and from his successor, Malcolm IV., great possessions, a high office, and extensive patronage (*g*). And, it may be, reasonably, asked, by what influence he could acquire, from two kings, so much opulence, and such an office? David I. was a strenuous supporter of the claims of his niece, the Empress Maud, in her severe contest with Stephen. William, the brother of Walter, influenced by

(*c*) See Yorke's Union of Honour, p. 59; Dugdale's Bar. i. 314-15. Camden, 1695, p. 545; Escheat Rolls, 3 Hen. V.

(*d*) Dugd. Bar. i. 316^b, which quotes the Clause Roll 13 Edw. III. p. 1. m. 49. Not trusting to Dugdale, for such a transaction, I sent to the Tower, for a copy of the Record, which attests the fact; and adds a curious circumstance, which Dugdale overlooked, that Edward had obtained the confirmation of this purchase, from Edward Baliol; so anxious was the ambition of Edward III. to obtain this pretended title to the *Stewartship* of Scotland!!

(*e*) The Escheat Rolls of the 3d Hen. V. evince that, Thomas, Earl of Arundel, who died, without issue, possessed, among other vast estates, *Oswestrie*, the original seat of Alan, the son of Flaald, and of Clune-castle, the demesne of William, the son of Alan: So that there cannot be a doubt, since he died seized of those estates, whether the Fitz-Alans, the Earls of Arundel, were descended from Alan, the common progenitor of the Stewarts of Scotland, who were lineally descended from Walter, the son of Alan.

(*f*) See And. Stuart's General History of the Stewarts, p. 23. Crawford's Hist. Stewarts, p. 15. In 1334, Edward Baliol conferred on David Hastings of Strathbogie, the Earl of Athol, *the whole estates of the young Stewart of Scotland*. And. Stuart's Gen. Hist. of the Stewarts, 31. In 1340, as we have seen, Edward Baliol confirmed to Edward III. *the office of the young Stewart*, who seems to have had nothing remaining, but his fortitude, his enterprize, and his valour, which saved his country, at the disastrous epoch of the battle of Halidon hill.

(*g*) Chart. of Paisley; Crawford's Hist. Stewarts; Lord Hailes's An. i. p. 362.

the Earl of Gloucester, the bastard son of Henry I., and the powerful partizan of his sister, the Empress, seized Shrewsbury, in September 1139, and held it, for her interest (*b*). He attended her, with King David, at the siege of Winchester, in 1141, where they were overpowered, by the Londoners, and obliged to flee (*i*). Such, then, were the bonds of connection, between David I. and the sons of Alan, who were also patronized, by the Earl of Gloucester. It was, probably, on that occasion, that Walter accompanied David into Scotland. William, the son of Alan, adhered steadily to the Empress, and was rewarded by Henry II., for his attachments (*k*). Thus, Walter the son of Alan, could not have had more powerful protectors, than the Earl of Gloucester, with David I., and Henry II., with Malcolm IV. When Walter, by those influences, obtained grants of Renfrew, with other lands, and founded the monastery of Paisley, for Cluniac monks, from Wenloc, he was followed, by several persons, from Shropshire, whom he enriched, and by whom he was supported. Walter married Eschina of Moll, in Roxburghshire, by whom he had a son, Alan, who succeeded him, in his estates, and office, when he died, in 1177 (*l*). Six descents carried this family, by lineal transmission, to Robert the Stewart, whose office was purchased by Edward III.; and became King of Scots, in 1371 (*m*). Walter, the son of Alan, was followed by his brother Simon, who was the progenitor of the family of Boyd, if we may believe the genealogists (*n*). Walter was also followed by other persons, from Shropshire, who appear more distinctly on the pages of history. A younger son of Montgomery, the great Earl of Shrewsbury, obtained a settlement from Walter, the son of Alan, in Renfrewshire (*o*). The aggrandizement of the Montgomeries was

(*b*) Oldericus Vitalis, p. 917; William Fitz-Alan is mentioned, by Hume, as a forward partizan of the Empress Maud, without knowing that, he was the brother of Walter, the son of Alan. Hist. Eng. i. 359; Dug. Bar. i. 314.

(*i*) Dugdale's Baron. i. 314.

(*k*) Id. William, the son of Alan, died, in 1170, seven years before the decease of his brother Walter. Id.

(*l*) Chron. Melros, 174; Crawf. Hist. Stewarts, 5.

(*m*) See the gen. tree, in And. Stuart's Gen. Hist. Crawf. Hist. of the Stewarts, 5—15.

(*n*) Walter's charter, founding the monastery at Paisley, is witnessed by his brother Simon. Chart. Paisley, No. 1. Simon is said to have had a son, Robert, who is called the nephew of Walter, the son of Alan, in a charter to the monks of Paisley. Symson's Hist. Gen. of the Stewarts, 26: And from this Robert, the Boyds derive their descent. Id.; Douglas Peer. 373. The Boyds have, indeed, the same armorial bearing, as the Stewarts. Nisbet's Herald. i. 54; Stewart's Hist. of the Stewarts, 46.

(*o*) Robert de Mundegumbri witnessed some of Walter's charters to the monks of Paisley. Chart. Paisley, No. 7, &c. This Robert de Mundegumbri obtained from Walter a grant of the manor

was owing to the marriage of Sir John Montgomery to the heiress of Sir Hugh Eglintoun, who died under Robert II. Robert Croc obtained from Walter, the son of Alan, a grant of lands, which were called *Crocs-toun*, after the proprietor. He founded some chapels, and a hospital; and he witnessed many charters of Walter, his chief (*p*). His blood, and estates, were carried, by a female heir, into the family of Steuart, Earl of Lenox (*q*). Several other families of English descent settled, in Renfrew, as vassals of the Stewarts (*r*). Walter, the son of Alan, also enjoyed, from the munificent grant of the Scottish king, the territory of Inverwick, in East Lothian. And, there the first Stewart, and his son Alan, settled several vassals of English lineage (*s*). And the Stewarts,

manor of Eglesham, in Renfrew: And this was the chief possession of the family for a century and a half. The head of this family, who swore fealty to Edw. I., in 1296, is designed de Eglisham. 3 Prynne. Robert, and Alan, Montgomeries, both appear as witnesses in the charters to the monks of Paisley, during the reigns of Malcolm IV., and William, the Lion, as we know from the chartulary.

(*p*) See the Chartulary of Paisley throughout.

(*q*) Crawf. Hist. Renfrew, 29.

(*r*) Grimketel obtained a carucate of land in Inchinan. Chart. Paisley, No. 7. Roland acquired some part of the manor of *Merns*, from which he assumed the surname of *Merns*. Ib. No. 19. Fulbert obtained some of the lands of Pollock; and was succeeded by his sons Peter, Robert, and Helias. Helias acquiring some part of the *Merns*, in Renfrew, assumed the surname of *Merns*. Ib. 54-5-7-8-9-60-64. Henry de St. Martin got two carucates of land on the Gryfe, which he held under Walter, and his son Alan. Id. 22-3-4-39. Henry de Nes acquired some lands under Walter, the son of Alan, out of which he gave a donation to the monks of Paisley, and got leave to build a private oratory. Id. 44, 46. Roger de Nes was also a follower of Walter, the son of Alan, and witnessed some of his charters. Id. 7. And Adam de Nes held lands of the second Walter. Ib. 68-9-70-1. William de Hertford got some part of the lands of Neilstoun. Ib. 81. Some of the Maxwell family settled under the Stewarts, in Renfrewshire. Herbert de Maxwell, Miles, held a part of the lands of *Merns*. Ib. 61-2-3. And John de Maxwell held the lands of Lower Pollock. Ib. 62. The progenitor of the Flemings of Barochan settled in Renfrew, as a vassal of the Stewarts, and the connection subsisted long between the two families. Chart. Newbotle, 194. Antony, a Lombard physician, obtained a grant of the lands of Fulton, from Alan the son of Walter. Chart. Paisley, 27. And his posterity, who held these lands under the Stewarts, were surnamed *Lombard*. Antony had also his subvassals on these lands. Ib. 26. 28. His descendant, Sir Antony Lombard, renounced the lands of Fulton to the monastery of Paisley. Ib. 25. Adam de *Kent* held a part of the lands of Inglishtoun, under the second Walter, the Stewart, for his service, and thirty bolls of meal, yearly. Ib. 48. Adam, the Carpenter, held Auld Inglishtoun of the same Walter. Ib. 49, 50-1.

(*s*) Radulph de *Kent* obtained some lands in Inverwick, from Walter, with a mark of silver, yearly, from the mill of Inverwick. Chart. Paisley, 7-9-19. Nicolas de Costentin acquired some lands, in the same district, from the Stewart, and granted one *cultura* of the same lands to the monks of Paisley. Ib. 19. Robert de Costentin, Galfrid de Costentin, Walter de Costentin, and Nigel de Costentin, also settled in Inverwick, under Walter, the Stewart, and they witnessed several

Stewarts, who possessed Kyle-Stewart, from the royal grant, planted there several colonists of foreign lineage, during the reigns of William, and of Alexander II. (*t*).

The Stewarts had the honour to patronize the progenitors of the illustrious WALLACE. The original country of this great man's family is idly supposed to be Wales: but, his progenitors, under the form of *Walense*, or *Waleys*, were undoubtedly an Anglo-Norman family, who settled under the Stewarts, in Ayrshire, and Renfrew (*a*). Richard *Walense*, who appears, as a witness, to the charters of Walter, the son of Alan, the first of *the Stewarts*, acquired lands in Kyle, where he settled; and named the place *Ricard-tun*, which is now the name of a village, and a parish, in Ayrshire (*b*). And this territory was held, by Richard *Walense*, and his posterity, under the *Stewarts*, till this family came to the throne, when the Wallaces of Ricardton became tenants in chief (*c*). Richard *Walense*, the first settler, was succeeded by his son Richard, who lived contemporary with Alan, the son of Walter, the Stewart. And the se-

several of his charters, and some of those of his son Alan. *Ib.* 1, 7, 22, 19, 39, 94. Robert Hunaud, the nephew of Nicolas de Costentin, held some lands, in the same district, as the vassal of Walter, the son of Alan. *Chart. Kelso*, No. 248. Roland of Inverwick was also a vassal under the same Stewart. *Ib.* 249. Vincent, the son of Robert Avenel, held a part of Inverwick, as the vassal of the second Walter. *Ib.* 251. Robert de *Kent* held a part of Inverwick, under the same Stewart. His possessions were shared by his three daughters; Ada de *Kent*, who married William de Hawkerston; Emma, who married Richard de Hawkerston; and Helena, who married John de Mundegumrie. *Ib.* 250.

(*t*) See the *Chartulary of Paisley*, throughout. I shall dive deeper down into the history of *the Stewarts*, whose blood ran in a thousand channels, in my account of Renfrewshire.

(*a*) The name of *Walense* was softened into *Waleys* in England, as well as in Scotland. *Rym. Fœd.* vol. i. p. 621, 709, 861; and *Dugdale's Monasticon*, throughout. The Scottish antiquaries suppose, that the families of *Walense*, and *Valoines*, who both came, from England, into Scotland, to have been the same: but, that these two families were altogether different, is apparent from *Dugdale's Baron.* i. p. 441, 774.

(*b*) *Chart. Paisley*. The territory, which Richard *Walense* acquired, comprehended the lands of Barmore, and Godenoth. *Chart. Melros*. He witnessed a charter of Walter, the son of Alan, some time before the year 1174. *Chart. Paisley*, 7. Among the *Walenses*, in England, we may see *Ricard Walense*, a witness to a charter of Simon, the Earl of Northampton, to the monks of Saltre. *Dug. Monast.* i. 851. This was Simon the second Earl, who was contemporary with Malcolm IV. *Dug. Baron.* i. 59. Sir James Dalrymple, indeed, supposes, that Eimar *Gallcius*, who witnessed the charter of Earl David to the monks of Selkirk, was the progenitor of the *Walenses* of Ayrshire. *Coll.* 413. But, of this, there is no evidence: whereas record attests that, Richard *Walense* was the first settler, in Ayrshire.

(*c*) When the second Walter, the Stewart, confirmed to the monks of Melros the lands, which his grandfather had granted to them, in Kyle, he also confirmed to them the grant, that Richard *Walense* had made to them of the lands of Barmore, and Godenoth. *Chart. Melros*, 127.

cond Richard Walense was succeeded by his son Richard, who lived at the same time with the second Walter, the Stewart, and with his son, Alexander, some of whose charters he witnessed (*d*). At the accession of Robert II, Wallace of Ricard-ton acquired the neighbouring estate of *Craigie*, by marrying the heiress of Lyndsay of Craigie (*e*). (II.) Another branch of the family of Walense took root, in Renfrewshire, under the kindly influences of the Stewarts. Henry Walense, who was probably a younger son of the first Richard Walense, held some lands, in Renfrewshire, under Walter, the Stewart, in the early part of the thirteenth century (*f*). Henry Walense was probably the father of Adam, who, in the reign of Alexander II, was connected with Walter, the Stewart (*g*). And this Adam was probably the father of Malcolm Waleys, who was the father of Sir William Waleys of Ellerslie, the celebrated Champion of his country's independence (*h*). In this character he came out upon the stage, in May 1297, to contend with Edward I, for the liberty of Scotland. He was successful, in many a conflict. His successes raised him to be the guardian of the kingdom, and the leader of her armies (*i*). He freed his country. But, he was enfeebled by envy; and in the end, was subdued by perfidy. On the 23d of

(*d*) Chart. Paisley, 51; Chart. Ant. Bibl. Harl. 45; Chart. Melros. The surname was, in those charters, written *Walense*, and *Waleys*. Besides the original estate of Ricard-ton, and other lands in Kyle, the third Richard Waleys held the estate of Achencrue on the river Ayr. Chart. Kelso; Dalrymple's Coll. 413.

(*e*) Crawford's Hist. of Renfrewshire, 61. For more notices of this family, see the Chartulary of Paisley, and Robertson's Index to the Records. Hugh Wallace of Craigie enjoyed those estates, in 1403. Chart. Paisley, 203-4.

(*f*) Chart. Paisley.

(*g*) A charter of the second Walter, the Stewart, to the monks of Balmerinach, is witnessed by Dominus John Cumyn, Dominus Adam Walense, et Richard Crispin, *militibus nostris*; Willielmo et Adamo Capellanis nostris, Malcolme de Cloni, et Waltero clericis nostris, &c. Chart. Balmer. 23. We here see a curious intimation of the domestic economy of the Stewarts.

(*h*) Crawford states, that the Wallaces of Ellerslie were scions of the ancient stock of Richard-ton; and he supposes, that Sir Malcolm was the first sprout. Hist. Renfrew, 61. But, the Chartulary of Paisley evinces, that this branch came off much more early; and that Henry Walense flourished, in Renfrew, under Walter the Stewart, during the reign of Alexander II. Henry was probably the grandfather of Sir Malcolm, and the great-grandfather of the renowned Sir William. The wife of Sir Malcolm was the daughter of Sir Reginald Crawford, the sheriff of Ayr. Crawford's Hist. of Renfrew, 61; and Rudiman's Index to the Diplom. Scotiæ, 121. Yet, the specification of Blind Harry would lead us to believe that, the mother of Wallace was a daughter of the laird of Kilspindie, in Perthshire. Both Wyntown, and Harry, concur, in speaking of the great Wallace, as the second son of Sir Malcolm.

(*i*) In his charter, the great Wallace calls himself "*Willelmus Walays, Miles, custos regni Scocie et ductor exercitum ejusdem.*" Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. 44.

August

August 1305, this magnanimous man fell under the axe of Edward I, whose sword could never subdue him. He left no legitimate issue: but, he had a natural daughter, who married Sir William Baillie of Hoprig, the progenitor of the Baillies of Lamington (*k*).

The origin of the numerous family of Douglas, which long after contended with the Stewarts, for pre-eminence, is equally obscured by fables, and is as much contaminated by falsehood (*l*). Their historian cries out: “We do not know them, in the fountain, but in the stream; not in the root, but in the stemme; for we know not, who was the *first mean man*, that did raise himself above the vulgar (*m*).” This outcry is ill timed. If he had opened his eyes, he might have seen the *first mean man* of this family. I will now produce the object of his inquiry, whom the historian might have found, in record, if he had been more ambitious of research, than studious of declamation. This *mean man* does not appear either in chartularies, or in history, before the year 1150 (*n*). (*l*.) It was Arnald, the abbot of Kelso, from 1147 to 1160, who granted some lands on the *Duglas-Water*, in Lanerkshire, “*Theobaldo Flama-tico*,” to Theobald, the Fleming, and his heirs (*o*). As this grant of Arnald to Theobald, is the first link of the chain of title-deeds to Duglasdale, this family must relinquish their original domain, or acknowledge their Flemish descent (*p*). Yet, it does not appear, that Theobald, the *first mean man*, whom Godscroft sought in vain, ever assumed the name of Duglas: that assumption was made, by his first son, during an age, when it was the practice of land-owners to designate themselves, from the names of their lands. (*II*.) But, his son, William, who inherited his estate, called himself, and was named by others, according to the custom of the age, “*de Duvglas* (*q*).” William, the son of Theobald,

(*k*) Crawford’s Hist. Renfrew, 61; Ruddiman’s Index Dipl. Scotiæ, 121. The estate of Ellerslie went to the Wallaces of Ricardton, as his nearest male heirs: this estate long continued in the family of Wallace; as we know from the records. Robertson’s Index; Chart. Paisley.

(*l*) See Hume of Godscroft’s History of the Douglasses, throughout.

(*m*) Ib. Pref. A. 2.

(*n*) The visionary tales, which are told of the original descent of this family, by Godscroft, and by Douglas, the peerage writer, are gross fictions.

(*o*) Chart. Kelso, No. 106, and 115. Some other lands were afterwards granted, by another abbot of Kelso, to this family, on the same stream, which gave its distinguished name to the immediate descendants of Theobald, the Fleming.

(*p*) I sent to the Advocates Library, at Edinburgh, for a copy of Arnald’s grant to Theobald, from the Chartulary of Kelso, that I might be sure of my position.

(*q*) William was a witness to several charters, between the years 1170 and 1190: William de Duvglas witnessed a grant of Joceline, the bishop of Glasgow [1175—1199] to the monks of

Theobald, married a sister of Freskin of Kerdal, in Moray (r). She brought him at least six sons. Archenbald de Duglas, was the eldest. Bricius, who was prior of Lesmahago, in Duglas-dale, a cell of Kelso, and dean of Moray; and who became the bishop of Moray, on the death of Richard, in 1203 (s); he had four brothers; Alexander, Henry, Hugh, and Freskin; who, as they were all without provision, followed the worthy bishop into Moray, where they settled under his protection (t): and such were the fathers of the Duglases of Moray, who, as they sprung, thus early, from the original stock, are older families, than the Duglases of the south; if we except the principal house. (III.) The habitual partiality of the peerage writers convert Archenbald, the eldest son of William de Duglas, into the fourth Lord Duglas, who possessed a vast estate, with great talents, and great favour, from Alexander II. (u). He was undoubtedly the third *laird* of Duglas; but, there was not a *peerage*, in his family, for a century and a quarter, after his decease (x). He inherited merely the lands of Duglas, which were too narrow, to supply a provision, for the younger children of his father. His brother, Brice, who chose the church for his profession, was the man of talents, who rose to eminence, and who was more able to provide for his younger brothers. As the three first races of the Duglases were not among the *Magnates Scotiæ*, they appear not, as witnesses to the charters of David I, or his grandsons, Malcolm IV, and William, or of his son Alexander II,

Kelso. Chart. Kelso, No. 451. William de Duglas witnessed, with Walter de Lyndsay, a grant to the monks of Arbroth, by Thomas the son of Tankard, a Fleming, who settled in Clydesdale. Chart. Arbroth, No. 135. Yet, the historian of the Douglasses, and the peerage writers, have carried back this William de Duglas to the reign of David I, who died, in 1153: they were induced, by their propensities, to quote a charter of David II, who began to reign in 1329, wherein William de Douglas, Miles, is a witness, as a deed of David I, in whose charters no Douglas appears.

(r) Douglas's Peerage, 181; Chart. of Moray.

(s) In 1203; obiit Ricardus episcopus de Moravia; cui succedit dom. Bricius prior de Lesmahagu. Chron. Melros. Bricius was a witness to many grants; as we may see in the chartularies of Moray, and Kelso: he owed his first preferment to the abbot of Kelso; and when he became bishop, he showed his gratitude, by granting the abbot of Kelso the church of Birnie, in Moray, with the pertinents, and lands. Chart. Kelso, No. 368.

(t) See the Chart. of Moray; wherein they may all be traced very minutely.

(u) Douglas's Peerage, 182.

(x) "And this remembers me, saith Sir George Mackenzie, of a custom, in Scotland, which "is but lately gone into dissuetude, and that is, that such as did hold their lands of the king, "were called *Lairds*; but such, as held their lands of a subject, though they were large, and "their superiors were noble, were only called *good men*." Science of Heraldry, p. 13. From this author of multifarious learning, we thus perceive that, those early Duglasses ought to have been called "the *good men* of Duglasdale."

whatever

whatever the peerage writers may say, mistakingly (*y*). Archenbald is said to have married Margaret, the daughter, and co-heiress of John Crawford, knight, with whom he obtained considerable possessions (*z*). It thus appears, from record, that he had some family connection with the Crawfords: and, the younger brothers of this family emigrated to Moray, where they formed the settlements, which they sought, under the protection of bishop Brice (*i*). Archenbald is said to have been alive, in 1238 (*k*): and, he certainly died before the 18th of July 1240 (*l*). Partly by the means of marriage, and partly by retaining what he obtained, Archenbald died seized of a much larger estate, than any of his progenitors had possessed. And he left two sons, who transmitted his blood to several families: William, his heir; and Andrew, who became the stem of the Douglasses of Dalkeith, that rose to be Earls of Morton. (IV.) William, who succeeded to the estate of Douglas, somewhat earlier than 1240, was a person of more consequence, than any of his forefathers. With the enlargement of the estate, the rank of the family increased. They were now tenants in chief; and they at length began to be ranked among the *Magnates Scotiæ*. William de Douglas was inlisted, in 1255, by Henry III, into the English faction, when it was scarcely able to maintain its ground, though supported by the King of England, against the Scottish party, which was composed, by the Cumyns, and their friends (*a*). William de Douglas certainly witnessed a charter of Alexander II. at Lanerk, in 1240 (*b*): and, he witnessed a charter, at Kinloss, in 1249, which proves, that he preserved his connection with his relations, in Moray (*c*). William de Douglas is said to have married Martha, the

(*y*) This Archenbald appears, however, as a witness to many grants of private subjects; as we may see in the chartularies.

(*z*) Dougl. Peerage, 182: William de Douglas, the eldest son of this marriage, when he contracted with the Abernethy family, in 1259, for marrying his son Hugh to Margery de Abernethy, referred to some lands, “*quæ sunt in calumnia inter me et Johannis de Crawford.*” Godscroft’s Hist. p. 13. Sir John Crawford is said to have died, in 1248, leaving two daughters; Margaret, who married Hugh de Douglas; the other married David de Lyndsay. Crawford’s Hist. Renfrew, 87, who quotes Crawford’s MS. Hist. of the Crawfords: but, the name of *Hugh* is obviously mistaken for *Archenbald*.

(*i*) See the Chart. of Moray, for several Crawfords, who settled in that country, while Brice was bishop.

(*k*) Dougl. Peerage, 182.

(*l*) Chart. Kelso, No. 181.

(*a*) Rymer’s Fœd. i. p. 566: yet, when a formal protection was deemed necessary by this party, William de Douglas was passed over, in silence, as a less significant character, than the chiefs. Ib. 567.

(*b*) Chart. Kelso, No. 181.

(*c*) Chart. Soltre, No. 55.

daughter

daughter of Alexander, the Earl of Carrick (*d*): but, of the very existence of such personages, there is not the least proof. Even Douglas, the genealogist, seems to discredit, on this occasion, the historian of the house of Douglas (*e*). Whoever she were, she was obliged, by the unnatural conduct, of her youngest son, who refused her dower, to appeal to the feeble justice of her country (*f*). In 1270, William de Douglas obtained, in consideration of his counsel, aid, and patronage, a considerable body of lands, along the rivulet Pollenel, and adjacent to his demesne of Douglas, from Henry, the abbot of Kelso (*g*). William de Douglas is said to have died, in 1276, leaving two sons; Hugh; and William, who was distinguished, by an epithet of *hardy-hood* (*b*). (V.) Hugh de Douglas succeeded, in 1276, to the augmented estates of his father. He married Margery, the sister of Hugh de Abernethy, in 1259 (*i*). Hugh had the honour, while he was yet young, to contribute to the defeat of the Danes, at the battle of Largs, in 1263. And, he died, before the year 1288, without issue; a circumstance, which led to the succession of his brother (*k*). (VI.) William de Douglas, who was called *the hardy*, by the voice of flattery, succeeded, as the heir of his brother. He lived, during times, when hardyhood was necessary. None of the Douglasses appeared among the great men of Scotland, who acknowledged Margaret of Norway, as the heir of Alexander III, in 1284 (*l*). None of them was among the associators, at Turnberry, in 1286, for maintaining the pretensions of Bruce (*t*). Yet, in March 1290, William, as a tenant in chief, was present in the Parliament at Brigham, by the name of *Guillame de Douglas*, when the heiress of Scotland was betrothed

(*d*) Godscroft, 14.

(*e*) Dougl. Peer. 126.

(*f*) Rymer's Fœd. ii. p. 613: If she had been a daughter of the house of Carrick, connected, as she would have been, with Robert Bruce, the competitor, Robert Bruce, his son, and Robert Bruce, who, before he obtained the crown, carried off as prisoners the wife and children of William de Douglas, she would have sought other protectors, than the law, which itself required support.

(*g*) Chart. Kelso, No. 201. This shows, that the old connection of the Douglasses with the abbots of Kelso was still preserved.

(*b*) Douglas's Peerage, 182.

(*i*) That remarkable marriage contract is recited by Godscroft's Hist. of the Douglasses, p. 12—15. Hugh obtained, with his wife, twenty carucates of land in *Glencors*, the Glencross of Mid-Lothian, probably; and his father gave him twenty carucates of land, in Douglas-dale. Id.

(*k*) In 1288, William de Douglas gave an acknowledgement to the abbot of Kelso, that he had received from him all his charters, which were in the abbot's custody. Chart. Kelso, No. 200. This is an additional evidence of the connection of the Douglasses with the abbots of Kelso; and of the practice of the times, which induced the barons to send their title-deeds to monasteries, as the safest repositories.

(*l*) Rymer's Fœd. ii. 266.

(*t*) Symson's Hist. Stewarts, 78.

to the heir of Edward I. (*m*). He partook, as we have seen, of the turbulence, and misfortunes, of subsequent times. As governor of Berwick, in 1295, he was obliged to surrender the castle, after the storm of the town, with circumstances, which do no honour to his hardyhood (*n*). After swearing fealty to Edward, Sir William Douglas joined Wallace, whom he tried to imitate, and to support: but, young Bruce, who had also sworn fealty to Edward, at Carlisle, invaded Douglasdale, and carried into captivity Douglas's wife and children. The times did not admit of consistency of conduct. Douglas deserted Wallace, and submitted to the English power: yet, finding that, he could not perform what he had stipulated, Douglas, with his coadjutor, the bishop of Glasgow, as they had attended Bruce, and Wallace, surrendered themselves to the English troops (*o*). And, in England, Sir William Douglas died, about the year 1302 (*p*). He is said to have married, successively, three wives: (1.) Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Alexander, the Stewart of Scotland (*q*); (2.) the daughter of William de Keith; and, (3.) a lady of England, who was named Ferrars. Sir William Douglas certainly left two sons, James, and Hugh, by the sister of Robert de Keth, who acted a similar part, in that difficult scene (*r*).

Such, then, was the true origin of the Duglases: and such they were, during the *six* first descents. It does not appear, that they had yet obtained one grant

(*m*) Rymer's *Fœd.* ii. 472. He was not a nominee, either for Bruce, or Baliol, in 1291, when their pretensions to the crown were to be decided. *Ib.* 553. Yet, he swore fealty to Edward I, in the chapel of the manor of Thurston, in East-Lothian, where the English king then lay, on the 5th of July 1291. *Ib.* 562; Prynne, iii. 509. In 1293, he was prosecuted, for imprisoning the king's bailiffs; for casting into prison three men, and for beheading one of them. *Rym. Fœd.* ii. 613.

(*n*) Godscroft, 16-17; Lord Hailes *An.* i. 236. In the subsequent year, 1296, he swore fealty to Edward I, at Edinburgh. Prynne, iii. 649. Yet, says Douglas's *Peerage*, 182, Sir William Douglas was the only person of rank, who never could be prevailed on to submit to the English king. When thus compared, by injudicious folly, with Wallace, the pretensions of Douglas to valour, disinterestedness, or perseverance, sink into nothing.

(*o*) Lord Hailes *An.* i. 246-7-8-9-50.

(*p*) Godscroft, 19, 20.

(*q*) Douglas *Peer.* 182; and even the accurate Andrew Stuart concurs, in this fiction. *Gen. Hist.* 14. It was, plainly, William de Douglas, dominus de Lugton, in the vicinity of Dalkeith, the progenitor of the Earls of Morton, who married Elizabeth Stewart, and not Sir William Douglas of Douglasdale, who had no connection with the Stewarts. Douglas of Lugton obtained lands in Lanerkshire, from James, the Stewart, who succeeded his father in 1283. *Chart.* in my Coll.

(*r*) Godscroft, p. 16: It is said, by Nisbet, *Heraldry*, Ap. p. 3, that when William de Douglas was carried a prisoner into England, his son James was sent to France, by his uncle Robert de Keth, on his own charges. The infant James, who became so justly celebrated, in Scottish history, as the *good Sir James*, returned from France, in 1303, upon hearing of his father's death. Godscroft, p. 20.

from

from the crown: it appears not, that they ever parted with one acre of land, which they had chiefly acquired by marriage (*s*). A sort of new dynasty began, with *good Sir James*, who performed great services to Robert Bruce; and, in return, was abundantly rewarded, by that munificent prince (*t*). It does not suit my present purpose of tracing the Saxon colonization of Scotland, to follow the progress of this family any further. We have seen how early they migrated into the north. Under Robert Bruce, they overspread the southern shires. Under David Bruce, they overran the west. Fiction created William, the first Lord Douglas, at the Parliament of Forfar, which never existed (*u*). The first real peerage was acquired, by this family, almost three centuries, after that spurious creation (*x*). The Duglases originally obtained Galloway, in 1368 (*y*). After a long contest with the crown, that had enriched them, the Duglases were forfeited, in 1455 (*z*). When the old stock was thus cut down, a new stem sprung up, which formed the house of Angus. This new race of Duglases, imitating the old, were also forfeited, under James V. They were afterwards restored: and during ages of less turbulence, and more refinement, there were left, in Scotland, many a Douglas of great respectability, and true worth.

The younger sons of the English family of Manners settled in Scotland, at the end of the twelfth century (*a*). The first of this family, who appears in record, was Anketil de Meyners, who witnessed a charter of William de Vetrepoint to the monks of Holyrood, at the beginning of the thirteenth century (*b*). He was probably the father of Robert de Meyners, who flourished under Alexander II. (*c*). He was appointed chamberlain of Scotland, on the accession of Alexander III, in 1249 (*d*). Meyners was probably displaced by the Cumyns,

(*s*) It is singular to remark, that though the Duglases owed their first fortune to the abbots of Kelso, it does not appear that, till this time, they granted one foot of land, or one shilling of money, to any religious establishment.

(*t*) See the grants of Robert I. all over the south of Scotland to Sir James Douglas, in Robertson's Index to the Records.

(*u*) Godscroft, p. 10.

(*x*) David II, on the 4th of February 1357, created William de Douglas, the Earl of Douglas. Robertson's Index, 31.

(*y*) By the grant of David II. to Sir Archibald Douglas. Ib. 88.

(*z*) The act of forfeiture is dated the 9th of June 1455.

(*a*) Dug. Baron. ii. 296: Manners, Meyners, Meners, Maneris, which afterwards, by vulgar transformation, became Menzies, were originally the same. The armorial bearings of all these were the same. Nisbet's Herald. App. 245.

(*b*) Ib.

(*c*) Robert de Meyners witnessed a charter of Alexander II, in 1231. Officers of State, 262.

(*d*) He held this office till 1253, when he was succeeded by Sir David Lyndsay. Id; and Fordun, lib. x. c. ix, which proves that Sir David was chamberlain, in 1253.

as he was one of the English faction, who, in 1255, supplanted the Scottish party, in the King's councils (*e*). He was one of those Scotsmen, to whom the English King granted his protection, as they supported his interests (*f*). In 1258, when another change of parties took place, and the Cumyns regained their influence, Robert de Meyners, and others, coalesced with them; and he was nominated one of the ten regents (*g*). He was present, at Perth, in July 1266, when a treaty was made with Magnus, the king of Norway, for the cession of the Western Isles (*h*). Robert de Meyners died, in 1267; leaving a considerable estate, in Perthshire (*i*). Robert was succeeded by his son, Alexander de Meyners, who sat in the Parliament, at Brigham, in 1290 (*k*). But, he appears not to have been a nominee, either for Bruce, or Baliol; nor does he seem to have sworn fealty to Edward I, in 1291. Fighting stoutly at the battle of Dunbar, in April 1296, he was taken prisoner: and Edward I. soon after directed an assignment of fifty merks of land, according to the legal extent, to his wife, Agnes, among other Scottish ladies, whose husbands were also prisoners, in England (*l*). In the subsequent year, Alexander Meyners was liberated, on condition of serving Edward, with other Scottish barons, in his French wars (*m*). Sir Alexander de Meyners obtained from John de Strathbolgie, the Earl of Athol, the lands of Weem, and Aberfeldie (*n*). He acquired, from Robert Bruce, the barony of Glendochar, in Perthshire (*o*). He died, in this reign, leaving, by Egidia Stewart, two sons, Robert; and Thomas; who obtained large estates; and became the progenitors of the several families, who assumed the name of Menzies (*p*).

The Hamiltons of Scotland derive their descent, from an Anglo-Norman stock. Roger, and William, two younger sons of Robert, the third Earl of Leicester, and the grandson of Robert, the first Earl, who came over with the Conqueror, went to Scotland, in the reign of William, the lion, to whom they

(*e*) Rym. Fœd. i. 566.(*f*) Ib. 567.(*g*) Ib. 670.(*h*) Robertson's Index, 101.(*i*) Fordun, lib. x. c. 21. He granted the lands of Culdares, in the parish of Fortingal, to Mathew de Moncrief. App. Nisbet's Heraldry, 245. Among other witnesses to this grant, were David de Meyners, and Thomas de Meyners. Id. This last Meyners witnessed a charter of Gregory de Maleville to the monks of Dunfermlin, in 1251. Chart. Dunfermlin.(*k*) Rym. Fœd. ii. 471.(*l*) Ib. 728.(*m*) Ib. 790.(*n*) A charter quoted by Nisbet. Heraldry, App. 245.(*o*) Robertson's Index, p. 19. Robert Bruce also granted to Sir Alexander de Meyners, and his wife, Egidia Stewart, a daughter of James, the Stewart of Scotland, the lands of Durisdeer, in Nithsdale. Id.(*p*) See Robertson's Index.

were related, by his mother, the Countess Ada. Roger, who preceded his brother, was made chancellor of Scotland, in 1178, bishop of St. Andrews, in 1189, and died, in 1202 (*q*). He was followed to Scotland, by his younger brother, William, who was surnamed *de Hambleton*, from the manor, where he was born, in Buckinghamshire. William *de Hambleton*, who obtained lands, in Scotland, married Mary, the daughter of Gilbert, the Earl of Strathern, from whom he acquired a large estate; and from this union, sprung the Hamiltons, who became Dukes of Hamilton, and other families of this distinguished name, in North-Britain (*r*).

There were, as may be easily supposed, various other families, though of much less note, who came, from England, into Scotland, during those early times of the Scoto-Saxon period. During the splendid reign of David I, there settled in North Britain, several persons, from the south, whose descendants long flourished, and are still known. Edmund, who settled in Mid-Lothian, was the progenitor of the Edmundstons (*s*). Robert Burnard settled on the Teviot, as early as 1128; and his descendants removing, northward, became the progenitors of the Burnets (*t*). A branch of the English family of Vaus, or Vallibus, settled, in the south of Scotland, during the twelfth century; and became the progenitor of several respectable families of that name (*u*). The Boswells,

(*q*) Chron. Melros; Crawford's Off. of State, p. 10; Keith's Bishops, 9, 10.

(*r*) Douglas Peer. 327. The most considerable families, which branched from this stock, are Hamilton Earl of Haddington; Ib. 318: Hamilton Lord Bargeny; Hamilton Lord Belhaven; Ib. 69-71; Hamilton Earl of Orkney; Ib. 533; and many others. See Douglas Baronage.

(*s*) Edmund witnessed the charters of David; and from him obtained the lands, which were named from him *Edmunds-tun*; whence originated the surname of Edmonston. Nisbet's Heraldry, 163. App.

(*t*) Chart. Melros, 48-50-2-3: Douglas's Baron. 41.

(*u*) Dug. Baron. i. 628; App. to Nisbet's Herald. 250. William de Vallibus, who appears, as a witness, to some of the charters of K. William, held under him the manors of Golyn, and Dirleton, with other lands, in East-Lothian. Chart. Kelso, 381; Chart. Dryburgh, 15, 22, 26, 70; Chart. Coldingham, 19; Chart. Arbroth, 151. William de Vallibus left two sons, John, and William: John, who inherited his father's lands in East-Lothian, appears as a witness to some of the charters of K. William, and in a number of his successor's, Alexander II. Chart. Cupar, 7; Chart. Dryburgh, 18; Chart. Arbroth, 161, &c. He was sheriff of Edinburgh, under Alexander II. Chart. Newbotle, 130. He confirmed his father's grants to various monasteries, and gave himself, additional donations. Chart. Arbroth, 152-3; Chart. Dryburgh, 23-4-5, 71; Chart. Glasgow, 413, 417. Several Englishmen settled in East-Lothian, as the sub-vassals of this family. The progenitor of the Nobles was William Noble, who held, under William de Vallibus, that part of the lands of Garmylton, which was afterwards called *Garmylton-Noble*. Chart. Newbotle, 123-4. William Noble was succeeded, by his son, Radulph Noble, who confirmed his father's grants. Ib. 125.

both of the north, and west, derive their descent, and name, from a branch of the English family of Bosville, who settled, in North-Britain, under David I. (*x*). Charteris of Amisfield, and other families of the same name, owe their descent to a branch of the Anglo-Norman house of Charteris, who migrated, northward, during David's reign (*y*). Robert Ferrars, a branch of the English race of Ferrars, obtained from David I, for his service, some lands in Mid-Lothian, before the year 1140 (*z*). David gave the manor of Simprine, which now forms the parish of Simprin, in Berwickshire, to a foreigner, who was called *Hye*; and who settled here; and assumed, from the place, the surname of *Simprine* (*a*). The lands of Romanach, in Tweeddale, were given by David to an Anglo-Norman of the name of Vermel, who transmitted them to his son, and grandson (*b*). Barnard, an Englishman, obtained from David the lands of Cathrine, in the Merns, which he transmitted to his posterity (*c*). Richard Germyn of the English family of Germyn, settled in Teviotdale, under David I. (*d*). Robert de Monteacute settled in Scotland, under David I, several of whose charters he witnessed (*e*). Robert de Burneville, who witnessed the charters of David, both before, and after he ascended the throne, settled in the south of Scotland, where his grandson, Robert de Burneville, held the lands of Brocsmouth, in East-Lothian, under William, the lion (*f*). Reginald de Muscamp

(*x*) Dougl. Baron. 307—458. Robert de Bosville lived under William, the lion, and witnessed some of his charters. Chart. Arbroth, No. 38, 40; Chart. Glasgow, 25.

(*y*) Dougl. Bar. 150: Robert de Chartres witnessed a charter of William, before the year 1175. Chart. Kelso, 384.

(*z*) Chart. Newbotle, No. 12. Robert granted some lands in Mid-Lothian to the monks of Newbotle; and this grant was confirmed by King William. Ib. 176.

(*a*) Hye de Simprine granted to the monks of Kelso the church of Simprine, with 18 acres of land, for the salvation of his late Lord, King David, and for that of Malcolm IV. Chart. Kelso, 272.

(*b*) His son Philip de Vermel lived under K. William; and granted a portion of the lands of Romanach to the monks of Newbotle, between 1179 and 1189. Chart. Newbotle, 134. Philip was succeeded by his son, Philip, and he, by his son, Radulph, who was succeeded by his son, Philip de Vermel, "in feodo de Romanach." Ib. 139, 140-1.

(*c*) Chart. Arbroth, No. 96-7-8, 157-8, 160.

(*d*) Dug. Baron. ii. 469. Richard Germyn is a witness to a charter of David to the monks of Melros, that was dated at Ercildon. Astle's MS. Diplom. Scotiz, No. 1. He granted to the hospital of Soltra the church of Lempetlaw, without reserve. Chart. Soltra, No. 4. He granted to the same hospital a toft, and other lands, a part of what Simon, the son of Gilbert, held of him, with a vileyn, named Alan, the son of Tock, with his issue. Ib. 51.

(*e*) Chart. Holyroodhouse; Sir J. Dalrymple's Coll. 418.

(*f*) Dalrymple's Coll. 405, 410; Chart. Kelso, 4, 321. Robert de Burneville was one of the hostages, for the performance of the treaty, by which K. William was liberated in 1174. Rym. Fœd. i. 40.

settled in Roxburghshire, under David, whose charters he witnessed, both before, and after he became king (*f*).

During the short reign of Malcolm IV, David's successor, several English families settled, in Scotland. Henry de St. Martin sat down in Renfrewshire; and gave a part of his possessions to the monks of Paisley (*g*). Alexander de St. Martin, who was probably his son, rose to be a judge under William; and obtained lands in Lothian (*h*). Under Malcolm, Radulf de Clere obtained the lands of East-Calder, where he settled as an opulent Baron; and communicated his name of Clere to this district, which was henceforth called *Calder-Clere*, in contradistinction to *Calder-Comitis* (*i*).

During the long reign of William, the lion, many foreigners settled in North-Britain. Helias, the son of Hutred, obtained from Waldeve, the son of Gospatric, the lands of *Dundas*, in West-Lothian (*k*). From the Gaelic appellation of his lands, Helias assumed, like other land owners, the surname of *Dundas* (*l*). And, Helias had the honour to become the progenitor, not only of *Dundas* of *Dundas*, but of the other distinguished families of *Dundas*, in Scotland (*m*). The Malherbs settled, in North-Britain, during the twelfth century:

(*f*) Dalrymple's Coll. 405; Chart. Kelso. His grandson, Thomas de Muscamp, lived under William, the lion, and witnessed several of his charters. Chart. Cuper, 5; Chart. Balmerinach, 2. And his great-grandson, Robert de Muscamp, flourished under Alexander II, and died in 1250, when he was buried at the monastery of Melros, to which he and his fathers had been benefactors. Chron. Melros; Chart. Melros, 3.

(*g*) Chart. Paisley; Douglas Peerage, 227.

(*h*) Chart. Dryburgh, 74; Astle's MS. Diplom. Scotiæ, No. 4. He held the lands of Crumbestrotter, in East-Lothian, under K. William. Chart. Newbottle, 108. He acquired the lands of Langlaw, from the Countess Ada, the mother of Malcolm IV, and William. Chart. Dryburgh, 66-7-8. By his wife, Basil, he left a daughter, Ela, who confirmed her father's grants. Chart. Newbottle, 109, 111.

(*i*) He granted the advowson of the church of Caledour, with the tenths of his mill of Caledour, to the monks of Kelso, who, in return, allowed him to have a private chapel in his court. Chart. Kelso, 345-6, 13, 450. He was succeeded by his son, Radulph de Clere, who also acquired the manor of Cambusnethan, in Clydesdale, and was equally bountiful to the monks of Kelso. To them he granted the church of Cambusnethan, with the tenth of the multure of his mills of Cambusnethan; and they, in return, allowed him to have a private chapel, in his court, there. Roger de Clere was one of the witnesses of this grant. Id. 271.

(*k*) Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. lxxii. The chronicle of Melros, by showing that, Waldeve succeeded his father, in 1166, and died, in 1182, incidentally proves that, this grant must have been made, during that period.

(*l*) Helias de *Dundas* witnessed a charter of Robert de London, the son of King William. Chart. Inchcolm, No. 15.

(*m*) Sir Ja. Dalrymple's Coll. 381; Nisbet's Heraldry, App. 269, 176-7, and i. 281; Douglas Baron. 171.

John

John de Malherb, and Adam de Malherb, obtained the manor of Morham, in East-Lothian; and from it, their posterity assumed the surname of Morham (*n*). There were several families of this name, that settled in Perthshire (*o*). Gray, a younger son of Gray of Chillingham, settled in North-Britain, under William; and was the progenitor of Gray, Lord Gray, and of other respectable families of that name (*p*). The Mortimers also settled, in Scotland, during this reign. William de Mortimer, who appears to have come from England, as a soldier, with Earl David, the brother of William, the lion; and obtained from that opulent prince, the manor of Aberdour, in Fife (*q*). The Moubrays also settled, in Scotland, during the same reign; and they got lands in Perth, and the neighbouring shires, where they placed their followers (*r*). The Gourlays came

(*n*) Chart. Newbotle, 94—8, 105-6, 110-12-13.

(*o*) Hugh Malherb acquired the lands of Rossie, in the Carse of Gowrie, about the middle of the twelfth century. He was succeeded by his son, Hugh Malherb, who lived under K. William; and he granted two bovates of land, in the territory of Rossie, to the monks of Arbroth; which was confirmed by K. William. Chart. Arbroth, 92-3, 192, 134. William de Malherb, the brother of the first Hugh, obtained a considerable grant of lands, in the north-east of Perthshire, at the middle of the twelfth century: and William granted, in subinfeudation, the lands of Balenaus, to his younger brother, Evyn Malherb, for his service. William was succeeded by his son, Thomas, who gave to the monks of Arbroth a donation of two shillings yearly, for ever: this grant was witnessed, by his uncle, Evyn, and by his cousin, Hugh, the son of Hugh Malherb. Id. Philip de Malherb, who was probably of the same family, settled in the Merns, during the reign of William, the lion. Ib. 96.

(*p*) Douglas Peerage, 308.

(*q*) Chart. Inchcolm, 10. It is said, indeed, that Alan de Mortimer previously held this manor, in the reign of David I, and that he acquired it, by marrying the daughter, and heiress, of John de Veterepont. Nisbet's Herald. i. 294. William de Mortimer witnessed some of the charters of his Lord, Earl David. Chart. Kelso, 225. He granted the church of Aberdour to the monks of Inchcolm. Chart. Inchcolm, 20. Roger de Mortimer settled, in Perthshire, in the reign of William, whose charters he witnessed, and under whom he was sheriff of Perth. Chart. Scone, 41, and throughout; Chart. Cuper, 14; Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. 28; Chart. Arbroth, 131. He acquired a part of the manor of Foulis, in the Carse of Gowrie, by marrying one of the three daughters, and heiresses of William Maule, who acquired this manor, and other lands, from David I. Chart. of St. Andrews. By his wife, Roger had a son, Hugh de Mortimer, who confirmed to the monks of St. Andrews, the grant of his grandfather, William Maule, of the chapel of Foulis, and some land, belonging to it. Id. There was one Marco de Mortimer who lived, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, and witnessed some of the charters of Malcolm Earl of Fife. Chart. Moray, 103.

(*r*) Philip de Moubray witnessed a number of charters of K. William, under whom he held lands, in Fife. Chart. Arbroth, 55, 73, 79, 113, 124; Chart. Cuper, 6; Chart. Glasgow, 215; Chart. Moray, 57, 69. He granted to the monks of Arbroth a toft, in the town of Inverkethin, in pure alms, for his salvation, and that of his wife Gallisme. Chart. Arbroth, 154-5. To the monks

came into Scotland with William, the lion, when he returned, in 1174 (*s*): Ingelram de Gourlay obtained a grant of lands in Fife; and became the progenitor of the Gourlays of Kincraig (*i*). Another family of the Gourlays settled, in Lothian, as vassals of the Earls of Dunbar (*t*). Joceline, the abbot of Melros, and bishop of Glasgow, from 1175 to 1199, obtained for his brother Helias, the manor of Dunsyre, in Clydesdale: and, Helias granted the church of Dunsyre, with its pertinents, to the monks of Kelso (*u*). Hugh Say, an Englishman, obtained a grant of the lands of Kintulach, in Perthshire, under William, the lion: his estate descended to Arabella, his sister, who married Reginald de Warrene (*x*): Henry Rewel, a foreigner, obtained, from King William, a grant of the lands of Cultrath, in Fife, with Balmerinach, and Ballendard (*y*): and William granted to Richard Rewel, the nephew of Henry, the lands of Easter-Ardit, in Fife (*z*).

monks of Dunfermlin, he, and his wife, granted some lands at Inverkethin. Chart. Dunfermlin; Nisbet's Herald. i. 287. Philip de Moubray outlived K. William, and flourished under his son, and successor Alexander II. In July 1215, he was sent by Alexander II, with the bishop of St. Andrews, and others, on an embassy to the English King. Rymer, i. 203. In June 1220, Philip de Moubray was, at York, with Alexander II, and witnessed his marriage-contract, with the princess Joan of England. Ib. 241. In the following year, he was again at York with the same king, and witnessed the endowment of his young queen, on the 18th of June 1221. Ib. 252. Roger de Moubray, the brother of Philip, held lands in Perthshire, under K. William, and his son Alexander II, some of whose charters he witnessed. Chart. Arbroth, 154; Chart. Balmerinach, 20. He granted, in subinfeudation, the lands of Moncrief, and Balconachin to Mathew, who assumed the surname of *Moncrief*, from the lands. Douglas Baron. 43. Galfrid de Moubray was justiciary of Lothian, in 1294. Chart. Kelso, 191. For other notices of this family, see Nisbet's Heraldry, i. p. 287

(*s*) Scala Chronica, in Leland's Coll. i. 533.

(*i*) Douglas Baron. 468.

(*t*) Hugh Gourlay, the first settler, was succeeded by his son Hugh. Chart. Newbotle, 104.

(*u*) Chart. Kelso, 553.

(*x*) Reginald de Warrene witnessed a charter of William de Rothven, lord of Rothven, during the reign of Alexander II. Chart. Scone, 74. *Arabella*, after the death of her husband, granted, in 1249, to the monks of Scone, a toft, and a croft, with three acres of land, in her territory of Kintulach, Ib. 65.

(*y*) Chart. Balmerinach, No. 2-3.

(*z*) Ib. 6. Richard Rewel witnessed a number of K. William's charters. Chart. Arbroth, 91; Chart. Moray, 57, and throughout. Henry Rewel, having died, without issue, transmitted his lands of Cultrath, Balmerinach, and Ballendard, to his nephew, Richard, who obtained a confirmation of them from Alexander II. Id. Richard, also, dying without issue, was succeeded by his brother, Adam de Rewel, or Stawel, who, in 1225, sold the lands of Cultrath, of Ardit, and Balmerinach, with its church, to Ermengard, the queen dowager, for a thousand marks. Adam went into the King's court, at Forfar, before Alexander II. himself, and surrendered the whole to Ermengard: and, the queen granted the estates, thus acquired, to the monastery of Balmerinach, which she then founded. Chart. Balmerinach, No. 4, 5, 6.

The

The Norhams of Northumberland settled under William, the Lion, in Forfarshire, where John de Norham obtained the lands of Panbride (*a*). The Mountforts came into North-Britain, under William: A part of this family settled, in Lothian, where they obtained the manor of Elstanford: John de Mountford of Elstanford granted to the monks of Newbotle a stone of wax, yearly (*b*). William de Mountfort, who witnessed several charters of King William, obtained from him some lands in the Merns, where he settled (*c*). John, who was probably the brother of William de Mountfort, also obtained, from King William, lands in the Merns, where he settled: And, he gave, in pure alms, to the monks of Arbroth, the lands of Glasheler, in that district (*d*). The St. Michaels came into Scotland under William, the Lion: Robert de St. Michael settled, as a vassal of the Earl of Dunbar (*e*). Roger de St. Michael settled in the Merns, under a grant of King William: And Roger gave to the monks of Arbroth, in pure alms, the lands of Mundernachin; and his bounty received the king's confirmation (*f*). William de Candela, who obtained from David I. the lands of Anstruther, in Fife, was the progenitor of the several families of Anstruther, in Scotland (*g*). He was succeeded by his son, William, who gave in pure alms a piece of his lands to the monks of Balmerinach (*h*). The second William was succeeded by his son, Henry, who gave some booths, in his town, to the monks of Dryburgh; and was the first, who relinquished his surname of Candela, and assumed the territorial

(*a*) He outlived King William, and, about 1220, he confirmed to the monks of Arbroth the patronage of the church of Panbride, with its pertinents, which had been granted by the late King. Chart. Arbroth, 53. John, having died without issue, was succeeded by his brother Adam de Norham, who confirmed the grant of the church of Panbride to the same monks. Ib. 54.

(*b*) Chart. Newbotle, 216: William de Mountfort witnessed a charter of Alexander de St. Martin, of East Lothian. Ib. 108. And William de Mountfort, with other "barones et milites" of the king, perambulated some lands, in East Lothian, for the purpose of settling a controversy between the monks of Newbotle, and William de Vallibus. Chart. Newbotle, 126.

(*c*) Chart. Arbroth, 107, 120: And William de Mountfort witnessed a grant of Robert de Ros, and Isabel, his spouse, the daughter of King William. Ib. 67.

(*d*) Chart. Arbroth, 99: This grant was confirmed by King William. Ib. 100. John witnessed the grants of his neighbours. Ib. 96, 125.

(*e*) Robert de St. Michael witnessed a charter of Waldeve, the Earl of Dunbar, from 1166 to 1182. Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. 73.

(*f*) Chart. Arbroth, 113-14. Roger was succeeded, in his estate, by his nephew, John de St. Michael, who confirmed the grants of his uncle. Ib. 115.

(*g*) Doug. Baron. 313, 536; Nisbet's Her. Ap. 65. (*h*) Chart. Balmer, No. 49.

distinction

distinction of Anstruther (*i*). Bernard, the son of Brien, an Anglo-Norman, came into Scotland, in the reign of William, the Lion, from whom he obtained the manor of Hawden, in Roxburghshire (*k*). Bernard assumed, from his estate, the surname of *Hawden*, by which his posterity were distinguished. Bernard was succeeded by his son, Bernard de Hawden, who was Sheriff of Roxburgh, under Alexander II., many of whose charters he witnessed (*l*). A branch of the English family of Hastings settled in Scotland, under William, the Lion. John de Hastings, who witnessed many charters of this king, obtained from him the manor of Dun, in Forfarshire, where he settled (*m*). Adam de Hastings acquired, from the same king, a grant of lands, at Kingoldrum, in Forfarshire, where he also settled (*n*). In the reign of Alexander II., Sir David Hastings acquired the earldom of Athol, by marrying Fernelith, the daughter of Henry, the last Celtic earl of that district (*o*). Walter de Hamule settled, under William, the Lion, in Lothian, where he obtained lands (*p*). Robert de Hullecester, Miles, acquired the lands of Newton, in Berwickshire, where he settled in the reign of King William (*q*). Walter de Mulcaster settled on the lands of Giffyn, which he held of the Morevilles, and their successors, the lords of Galloway, in the same reign (*r*).

(*i*) Henry gave to the monks of Dryburgh "tres bothas in villa mea de Anstrother." Chart. Dryb. 15, 17, 189, 190; and he confirmed his father's grant to the monks of Balmerinach. Chart. Balmer. 49.

(*k*) Chart. Kelso. Bernard witnessed many charters of King William, for the salvation of whose soul, he granted some lands, in his manor of Hawden, to the monks of Kelso. Id. 213, 204-5, 216: And these grants were confirmed, by King William. Id. 385, 405. From the Abbot of this monastery, Bernard acquired the special privilege of having a private chapel in his court. Id. 210, 212. To the hospital of Soltre, Bernard granted four bolls of corn, yearly, to be received at Hawden, on the feast of St. Nicholas, Chart. Soltre, 28.

(*l*) Chart. Kelso, in which several other persons of this family may be seen. William de Hawden acquired the lands of Kirkyetham. Ib. 481. The families sprung from this stock are now distinguished, by the name of *Hadden*.

(*m*) Chart. Arbroth, 73, 122; Chart. Cupre, 14, 35; Chart. Melros, 4; Astle's MS. Diplom. Scotiæ, No. 3. To the favourite monastery, which King William founded, at Arbroth, John de Hastings granted a salt-work, with some land, pasture, and other easements, in his manor of Dun. Chart. Arbroth, 174.

(*n*) Ib. 156.

(*o*) He became Earl of Athol, in right of his wife, in 1242. Chron. Melros. David de Hastings, the Earl of Athol, was one of the guarantees of the peace with England, in 1244. Rym. Fœd. i. 428. He granted to Ness, the King's physician, the lands of Dunfolenthin, for his homage, and service. Chart. Cupre, 69, 70. David the Earl of Athol died, in the Holy Land, in 1269. Chron. Melros.

(*p*) Chart. Newbotle, 92.

(*q*) Chart. Kelso, 348.

(*r*) Chart. Dryb. 169-70.

Richard

Richard de Frunit, an Englishman, acquired, from King William, a grant of lands in the Merns, where he settled; and he conferred on the monks of Arbroth a portion of the estates, which he had thus acquired (*s*). The Durhams derive their ancient descent, from the family of that name, in the north of England, a branch whereof found a root, in Scotland, during the thirteenth century: From this stock, sprung the Durhams of Grange, of Pitkerrow, of Largo, of Luffness, and other families of this distinguished surname (*t*). The Lascelles became early attached to the princes of Scotland (*u*). An English family of this name settled, in Fife, under William, the Lion (*x*). Radulph de Lascel was Sheriff of Fife, about the year 1250 (*y*). Margery de Lascel, widow, with the consent of her son, Alexander de Moravia, gave to the monks of Inchcolm twenty shillings, yearly, from her manor of Baledmond, in Fife (*z*). The Munfichets settled, in Scotland, under William, the Lion (*a*). Richard de Munfichet, who witnessed some of the charters of that king, obtained from him a grant of the manor of Cargil, in Perthshire, where he settled; and was succeeded by his son, William de Munfichet (*b*). The Munfichets were the progenitors of the families, in Scotland, who are named Muschet. The Bisets of England settled, in Scotland, under William, the Lion (*c*). They obtained the manor of Upsetlington, in the Merse. They here founded an hospital, which was dedicated to St. Leonard; and which Robert Byset, the proprietor of Upsetlington, conveyed, with all its rights, to the monks of Kelso (*d*). Several of the Bysets settled, in Moray, during the same reign. John Byset possessed the manors of Kiltalargyn, of Coneway, and of Dulbathlach, while Brice was Bishop of Moray (*e*). John Byset gave the church

(*s*) To those monks he granted some lands in Monethyn, near the river Bervie; and also a carucate of land in Ballekellefan. Chart. Arbroth. 126-7. And those grants were confirmed by King William. Ib. 128-9.

(*t*) See Douglas's Baronage.

(*u*) Alan de Lasceles witnessed a charter of Earl Henry to the monks of Holmcultram. Dug. Monast. i. 886.

(*x*) William de Lascel witnessed several charters of William. Chart. Moray, 51, 74.

(*y*) Chart. Incolm. No. 13.

(*z*) Ib. No. 15.

(*a*) The name is variously written Montefixe, Montefichet, and Munfichet. In popular speech, it has been abbreviated Muschet. Rud. Ind. to Diplom. Scotiæ; Ragman's Roll, in Prynn, iii. 660-2.

(*b*) Chart. Moray, 154. In 1220, William de Munfichet granted to the monks of Cuper, common of pasture, in his manor of Cargil. Chart. Cupre, 43. He witnessed several charters of Alexander II. Ib. 43, 58. Chart. Moray, p. 160.

(*c*) Dug. Bar. i. 632.

(*d*) Chart. Kelso, 239: Walter Byset, and William Byset, are witnesses to this grant. Id.

(*e*) Chart. Moray, 121, 123, 176, 181, 183. John Byset entered into a composition with Brice, touching the advowsons, and tithes, of the churches of Coneway, and Dulbathlach. Chart.

church of Kiltalgryn, with the pertinents, to the church of St. Peter, at Rothven, for the support of leprous persons (*f*). The Bysets became very numerous, in the northern districts, during the reign of Alexander II., whose charters they witnessed, as persons of importance (*g*). An event happened, in 1242, which involved the family of Byset, in disgrace, and Scotland, in disquiet. Patrick, the young Earl of Athol, the son of Thomas of Galloway, overthrew W. Byset of Upsetlington, at a tournament on the borders: And in revenge of this mortification, the Bysets assassinated the accomplished Earl within his lodging, in Hadington, which they fired, to conceal the doers of this odious deed. The nobles flew to arms: John Byset, and Walter, his uncle, were outlawed, and the whole family were disgraced (*b*).

The Chenes, who settled, in Scotland, soon after the thirteenth century began, were undoubtedly of Anglo-Norman lineage. Three descents had occurred, in this race, before the year 1260 (*i*). They do not, however, appear in any of the public acts of Alexander II.'s reign: Neither do the Chenes appear among the two parties, who struggled for pre-eminence, in 1255 (*k*). But, Reginald le Chene was one of the *magnates Scotiæ*, who entered into a treaty with the Welsh, in 1258 (*l*): And in 1267, he became Chamberlain of

Moray. Id. This composition is witnessed by Arnolph Byset, and William Byset, of Kiltalgryn, the brother of John. Id. They witnessed another deed of John Byset. Ib. 80.

(*f*) This grant was witnessed by Andrew, the Bishop of Moray, from 1222 to 1242, by William Byset, the brother of John, by H—— his chaplain, by Wadin his scutifer, and others: He states his grant to have been made, for the soul of King William, and for the salvation of Alexander II. Ib. 128. *Kiltalgryn* is now *Kiltarlitie*, a parish in Inverness shire. John Byset founded the monastery of Beaulie, in 1230. Walter de Byset held the lands of Stratharric, in the 13th century, by a charter from the king. Rymer's *Fœd.* ii. 219.

(*g*) John, Walter, and Peter Byset, witnessed a charter of Alexander II., at Fyvie, in 1221. Chart. Arbroth, 164. William, and Malcolm Byset, witnessed a charter of the same king, in 1229. Ib. 155. Thomas Byset witnessed a deed of Alan Hostiarius, in 1256. Ib. 208.

(*b*) Mat. Paris, 397; Chron. Meilros, 206. Notwithstanding this check, the Bysets still continued a family of importance. William Byset witnessed several charters of Alexander III., in 1266, and 1279. Chart. Lindores; Title-deeds of Sinclair of Roslin. William Byset, of the county of Edinburgh, and Walter Byset of the county of Aberdeen, swore fealty to Edward I., in August, 1296. Prynne, iii. 654, 660. Another William Byset, the son of Robert Byset, was taken prisoner, in 1296; and was liberated in 1297, on condition of serving the English king, in France. Rymer, ii. 773. When the government of Scotland was settled, in September, 1305, William Byset was continued in his office of Constable, and Keeper of Stirling Castle; and he was also appointed Sheriff of Stirling. Ryley's *Placita*, 505. Thomas Byset played a double part, at the disastrous epoch of the battle of Falkirk, in 1298, by which he acquired, from Edward I., a grant of the Isle of Arran. L. Hailes, An. i. 264.

(*i*) Nisbet's *Heraldry*, i. p. 130.

(*k*) Rym. *Fœd.* i. 566.

(*l*) Ib. 653.

Scotland.

Scotland. Reginald Chene, the father (*m*), and Reginald, the son, were both present, in 1284, among the *magnates Scotiae*, who engaged to accept the Princess Margaret, for their queen (*n*). In 1290, they were present, in the Parliament, at Brigham (*o*): And both father, and son, were appointed, in 1291, nominees of Baliol (*p*). But, Sir Reginald, the father, died, soon after, an aged man (*q*). Sir Reginald Chene, the son, was Sheriff of Invernarn, in 1292 (*r*). With other persons of the same name, and family, Sir Reginald swore fealty to Edward I., in 1296, when all men, in Scotland, submitted, except Sir William Wallace (*s*): Henry Chene, the Bishop of Aberdeen, swore fealty to the English king, at the same time (*t*). When Edward settled the government of Scotland, in 1305, Sir Reginald Chene was appointed one of the Justiciaries, in the northern parts, beyond the mountains (*u*). He died, before the 6th of November, 1313, when Robert I. confirmed a convention, which was made, with regard to the lands of Duffus, between *Domina Maria*, the spouse of the late Sir Reginald Chene, and Alexander Fraser of Philorth, who married Jane, the second daughter of William, Earl of Ross (*x*). He left a son, Reginald, who inherited the extensive estates of his father. He was one of the Scottish barons, who wrote the spirited letter to the Pope, in 1320 (*y*). He was taken prisoner at the battle of Halydonhill, in 1333 (*z*).

(*m*) Fordun, l. x., cap. 22, 26. Sir Reginald Chene witnessed a charter of Alexander, the Earl of Buchan, in 1261. Chart. Aberdeen, 323. He had, for some years, been in possession of the manor of Inverugie, in Buchan, though by what title does not appear. In 1272, Reginald Chene, the father, and Reginald, his son, witnessed a charter of Alexander, the Earl of Buchan. Ib. 589. In 1281, Sir Reginald Chene, the father, was present, with the Earl of Buchan, at a perambulation of the moor of Nigg. Chart. Arbroth. No. 4.

(*n*) Rym. Fœd. ii. 266.

(*o*) Ib. 471.

(*p*) Ib. 555.

(*q*) He married Eustace, the heiress of Sir William Colville, of Ochiltree, in Ayrshire, who brought him lands, in that country. Chart. Meilros. Eustace outlived her husband; and having sworn fealty to Edward I., in 1296, had livery of her lands, in the shires of Ayr, Aberdeen, Baaff, Inverness, in the Merns, and in Forfar, whether her heritage, or her dower. Rym. Fœd. ii. 727.

(*r*) Ayloffe's Calendar, 337.

(*s*) 3 Pryne, 651. Reginald, the son, married, some time before the year 1286, Mary Moray, the eldest daughter, and co-heiress of Freskyn de Moray, who died before the year 1268. As eldest daughter, the wife of Sir Reginald enjoyed the manor place, and castle, of Duffus, with other lands, in Moray, in Cathness, and in West Lothian.

(*t*) Id. He was a son of old Sir Reginald, and a brother of young Sir Reginald; and was consecrated Bishop in 1281, and continued forty-eight years. Keith, 65. There were other Chenes, in Scotland, in that age: John Chene of the county of Edinburgh swore fealty to Edward, in 1296. 3 Pryne, 660.

(*u*) Ryley's Placita, 504.

(*x*) The Earl of Ross had married Isabel, the heiress of John, Earl of Caithness, by whom he had Jane, who married Sir Alexander Frazer. Crawford's Peer. 425.

(*y*) Diplom. Scotiae, pl. 51.

(*z*) Knyghton.

And, he died about the year 1350; leaving by his wife, Mary, two daughters, who inherited his estates: Mariot married first, Sir John Douglas, and secondly, after his death, without issue, John de Keth, the second son of Edward de Keth, the Mareschal, by whom she had a son, Andrew, who inherited her estates: Mary married Nicol Sutherland, the second son of Kenneth, Earl of Sutherland, who obtained with her the barony of Duffus, and other lands; and from this marriage, sprung the family of Sutherland, Lord Duffus (*a*). In this manner, ended, in female heirs, the male line of the chief family of the Chenes; though many branches sprung from the principal stock, which still exist in Aberdeenshire (*b*).

There arose, in the same country, nearly in the same age, the family of the Grants, whose origin, as stated by the Scottish genealogists, is undoubtedly fictitious. This appellation is rather Norman, than Gaelic (*c*): And the family came, from Normandy, into England, where many Grants appear, in public employments; and whence several of them passed into Scotland (*d*). The first of this family, whom I have found, in record, are Laurence Grant, and Robert Grant, who are said to have been the sons of Gregory le Grant, who married Mary Byset, the daughter of Byset of Lovet (*e*). Laurence Grant married Bigla, the heiress of Cumyn of Glenchernach, whose estates, in Strathspey (*f*), he thus obtained by marriage, with the connection of the most powerful family, in Scotland. By Bigla Cumyn, Laurence Grant had two sons; John, and Radulf; who were taken prisoners, in 1296, when fighting for their country, at the battle of Dunbar (*g*). Yet, it does not appear, that the Grants were very numerous, at the accession of Robert Bruce, in 1306. Two of them appear, indeed, as prisoners, after the battle of Halydonhill, where they again

(*a*) Doug. Peer. 196; Crawford's Peer. 108; Nisbet's Herald. ii. 20.

(*b*) Nisbet's Herald. i. 430; Chartulary of Aberdeen.

(*c*) The form of the name, in Normandy, is Grand. MS. Memoir of the Grants, by the Viscount de Vaux.

(*d*) The Grants in England may be traced in Rymer's Fœd. i.; Dugdale's Monasticon; and in Holinshed.

(*e*) Laurence Grant, and Robert Grant, were witnesses to an agreement, which is dated the 9th of September, 1258, between Archibald, the Bishop of Moray, and John Byset, touching the church of Conway, and some lands at Conway, and Erchless. Chart. Moray, 183.

(*f*) Doug. Bar. 341-2.

(*g*) Rym. Fœd. ii. 776: When they were released from their captivity, in the subsequent year, on condition of serving Edward, in France, John Cumyn of Badenach, the competitor, was their surety. Id. This circumstance shews, that they had a very powerful protector. Robert le Grant of the county of Fife, swore fealty to Edward I., on the 28th of August, 1296. Pryune, iii. 657.

fought bravely, though unsuccessfully, for their country (*b*). The principal stock of the Grants shot out, however, in after times, into a potent clan, whose sons have shone, brilliantly, in the two opposite professions of the gown, and the sword.

The great family of the Campbels, like the numerous clan of the Grants, are undoubtedly of an Anglo-Norman lineage, whatever family historians may think, or fablers may say (*i*). The progenitors of the Cambells came into Scotland, during the twelfth century: But, they appear little, in record, as actors in the public scene, till the end of the subsequent age, when an uncommon occasion brought new characters upon an extraordinary stage. The Cambells, who were then settled, in the several shires of Ayr, Argyle, Perth, and Dunbreton, were called forth to promise their allegiance to Edward I. (*k*). The principal stem of the Cambells took root, in Argyle, as early as the twelfth century, by marrying the heiress of O'Dubhin, a Gaelic chief, with whom he obtained Lochow, the first seat of the Cambells (*l*). Five, or six descents brought down this prolific family to Gillespick Cambel, the laird of Lochow, who witnessed a charter of Alexander III., in March 1266 (*m*). Gillespick died, before the year 1280; and was succeeded by his son, Colin, the laird of Lochow, who was surnamed *More*, from his stature: And, the chief of this family was long called, from that circumstance, by the Gaelic people, *Mac-Calan-more*. Colin was knighted, by Alexander III., in 1280 (*n*): And he also had the honour to be appointed one of the nominees of Brus, in 1291, when his title to the crown was to be investigated (*o*). Sir Colin is said to

(*b*) Dominus John Grant, and Dominus Alan Grant, are recorded among the prisoners, on that sad occasion, by Knyghton, p. 2564.

(*i*) *Crawf. Peer.* 13; *Dougl. Peer.* 34. The name was anciently Cambel, in Scotland, the same as it had previously been, in England, and in Normandy. *Rymer's Fæd.* i.; *Dug. Monast. Prynne*, iii. Martin of Clermont, the antiquary, was of opinion, that the Cambells came from France. *Gen. Col.* i. 53; ii. 59. *Kemble* is a variation of the common name of Cambell.

(*k*) Nicol Cambel, Chevalier, who, we may easily suppose, was Sir Nigel, or Niel Cambell, was then at the head of the Lochow, or Argyle family, swore fealty to Edward, in August, 1296. *Prynne*, iii. 653. Mestre Niel Cambell of Ayr, also, swore allegiance, at the same time. *Ib.* 654-58. Duncan Cambel del Isles also swore fealty. *Ib.* 655. Thomas Cambel, tenant of the king, in Perthshire, followed their example. *Ib.* 656. Dougal, Arthur, and Duncan Cambel of Perthshire, and Sire Dovenal [Donal] Cambel of Dunbretanshire, who were probably all sons of Colin Cambel, *More*, of Lochow, and brothers of Niel, also swore fealty to Edward. *Ib.* 657-62.

(*l*) Duncanson's MS. Hist. of the Cambells, in the family archives; *Dougl. Peer.* 34; and *Crawford's Peer.* 13, who quotes a MS. Hist. of this family, in his hands.

(*m*) *Chart. Lindores*, 3.

(*n*) *Dougl. Peer.* 34.

(*o*) *Rym. Fæd.* ii. 255.

have

have been slain, in a conflict with the lord of Lorn, about the year 1293. By his wife, who is called Sinclair, by the family historians, he left five sons; Niel, his heir, Dovenal, the progenitor of the Cambels of Loudun, and three other sons, who all swore allegiance to Edward I., in 1296; and afterwards supported Bruce, with their most strenuous efforts; and were all amply rewarded, by that munificent prince, for their services, and hazards (*p*). As the Cambels assisted Bruce, in crushing Alexander de Argyle, the lord of Lorn, they shared largely in his forfeited estates: And they seem to have risen on the ruin of that powerful lord, whom they succeeded, in the chieftainry of Argyle. As Sir Nigel, and his four brothers, obtained extensive estates from Robert Bruce, they founded five separate families, who formed each a distinct house, that soon rose to eminence, amidst the convulsions of a distracted country (*q*).

Such, then, were the Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Norman, and Anglo-Belgic families, who were the principal settlers, among the Gaelic people of Scotland, during this period of her annals! The succinctness, with which the biography of those families can only be treated, in this place, precludes the mention of a

(*p*) Sir Nigel Cambel, who married Mary, the sister of Robert Bruce, joined him, at the outset of his enterprise; adhered to him, in his prosperity, and in his adversity; fought by his side, in almost every rencounter, from the conflict of Methven to the battle of Bannockburn: And, Sir Nigel appeared, in the parliament of Ayr, in 1315, for settling the descent of the crown. Among other lands, he obtained the whole forfeiture of David, Earl of Athol. Doug. Peer. p. 35; Robertson's Index to the Records, 26. Sir Nigel is said to have died about the year 1316: His widow, the Princess Mary, certainly married Sir Alexander Fraser, the Chamberlain, who also became enriched, by his alliance. Sir Nigel left by her three sons; Colin, his heir, John, who obtained from his uncle, the earldom of Athol, and Dougal, who obtained from his father, among other lands, the estate of Menstrie. (II.) Sir Dougal Cambel, the brother of Sir Nigel, obtained from Robert Brus, various lands, in Argyle. Robertson's Index, p. 14, 15. He must not be confounded with his nephew, Dugal, with whom he had some dispute, and made an agreement. Ib. 28. (III.) To Arthur, the brother of Sir Nigel, Robert Brus granted various lands in Lorn, and Argyle. Ib. 14, 15, 25, 26. (IV.) Duncan Cambel, another brother of Sir Nigel, obtained also various lands, in Argyle. Ib. 14. (V.) Sir Donal Cambel, an older brother of Sir Nigel, than any of those brothers, also obtained from Robert Bruce, lands in Lorn, and in Forfarshire. Ib. 18. This Donal was the father of Duncan Cambel, who married Susanna, the heiress of Sir Reginald Crawford, the Sheriff of Ayr, with whom he acquired, among other lands, the estate of Loudun. Ib. 6; Sir Ja Dalrymple's Col. Preface 66.

(*q*) Sir Duncan Cambel, of Lochow, was created a lord of parliament, in 1442. His grandson, Colin, was made Earl of Argyle, in 1457. Archibald, the eighth Earl, was created a Marquis, in 1641; and after various forfeitures, and fortunate restorations, Archibald, the tenth Earl, was created Duke of Argyle, in 1701. Crawford's Peerage, 16-22; Douglas's Peerage, p. 41.

greater

greater number of colonists, who contributed, by their posterity, to people North-Britain. Yet, such were the men, who governed Scotland, throughout the Scoto-Saxon period; who formed her constitution, and administered her laws; who established her church, and transmitted her authorities; who vindicated her rights, and restored her independance. And the whole of the subsequent history will be found to apply, in a great measure, to those settlers, and their sons, if we except some risings of the Gothic inhabitants of Cathness, and some insurrections of the Gaelic people, in proper Scotland, and in Galloway.

If any one were disposed to suspect the foundation of those intimations, after such full proofs, he might find in the names of men, who appear, in the chartularies, satisfactory evidence. Before surnames came into use, men were distinguished by their countries. During the twelfth century, there appeared in Scotland, many settlers, from England, who were known by the name of *Anglicus* (*s*). In the south, and east of Scotland, there still may be traced a number of places called *English-town*, or *Inglis-ton*, which mark the settlement of Englishmen, in those ages: And *English*, or *Inglis*, is a common surname, in North-Britain, which is appropriate to some respectable families. Many persons settled, in North-Britain, during the twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, who had assumed surnames, from the *localities* of England. We may see, in the chartularies, several men, who were surnamed de *Leycester* (*t*), de *Windesour* (*u*), de *Lincoln* (*x*), de *Colchester* (*y*), de *Excester* (*z*), de *Hert-*

(*s*) Radulph *Anglicus* witnessed David's charter to the monks of Selkirk. Chart. Kelso, No. 4. Richard *Anglicus* witnessed the same prince's grant to the monks of Meilros. Chart. Meilros, 54. Simon *Anglicus* settled in Clydesdale, in the twelfth century. Chart. Glasgow, 51. Henry *Anglicus* witnessed a charter of Walter Berkeley, the Chamberlain. Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. 77; Thomas *Anglicus* witnessed a charter of Roland, the lord of Galloway. Ib. pl. 81. Walter *Anglicus* witnessed a charter of Alan, the son of Roland. Chart. Kelso, 244. Philip *Anglicus* witnessed a charter of Alexander II., in 1233. Ib. 392. And we see William, *dictus Anglicus*, in the 13th century. Ib. 167. Robert *English* settled in West Lothian, under King William; and was succeeded by his son Warin. Chart. Inchcolm, 9.

(*t*) Roger de *Leycester* witnessed the charter of Earl David to the monks of Selkirk. Richard de *Leycester* settled, as a burgess in Perth, in the reign of King William. Chart. Scone.

(*u*) Walter de *Windesour* lived under William, the Lion; and witnessed several of his charters. Chart. Kelso, 402; Astle's MS. Diplom. Scotiæ, No. 3.

(*x*) Richard de *Lincoln* was the *Clericus* of King William; and witnessed many of his charters. Chart. Arbroth. 38, 60, &c. Another Richard de *Lincoln* settled at Moll, under the same king. Chart. Kelso.

(*y*) Robert de *Colcester* appears, in a charter of Robert de London, the son of King William, to the monks of Inchcolm, between 1189 and 1199. Chart. Inchcolm, 15.

(*z*) Henry de *Excester* settled, in Clydesdale, during the reign of William, the Lion. Chart. Arbroth, 135.

ford,

ford (a), de *Kent* (b), de *Warewic* (c), de *Essex* (d), de *Huntedun* (e), de *Notingham* (f), de *Derby* (g), de *Grantham* (h), de *St. Edmund's* (i), de *Norham*, and many others might be enumerated, from the charters of the twelfth, and thirteenth centuries: But, those examples are sufficient, to evince how many Englishmen of inferior note, settled, during those early ages, in North-Britain.

The Flemings, who were the most enterprising people of the twelfth century, emigrated, through England, into Scotland, in almost equal numbers. After seeing so distinctly, in the foregoing pages, that the family of the Douglasses is descended, from a Fleming, the reader will not be surprized to hear, that some of the greatest houses, in North-Britain, owe their foundations to the same people. The Flemings, who were incommoded, by the infelicity of their situation, at home, migrated to England, in great numbers, during the reign of William Rufus, and Henry I. (a). During the civil wars of Stephen, the Flemings acted as stipendiaries, in his armies. On the accession of Henry II, in 1154, he banished the *Flemings*, and other *foreigners*, who had come into England, in such numbers, during the preceding reign (b).

(a) William de *Hertford* settled at Nielston, in Renfrewshire, during the reign of King William. Chart. Paisley, 81.

(b) Several persons of this surname settled, under Walter the son of Alan, in Renfrew, and in East Lothian. Several of the same name appear, in Ragman's Roll. 3 Prynne.

(c) Richard de *Warewic* settled under the Morevilles, before 1190. Chart. Glasgow, 165.

(d) John de *Essex* settled, in Fife, in the reign of Alexander II. Chart. Balmerinach, 16.

(e) John de *Huntedun* settled, in Clydesdale, during the reign of King William. Chart. Melros, 12; Chart. Kelso, 186. Another John de *Huntedun* was rector of Durisdeer, in Nithsdale. Chart. Kelso, 17.

(f) Radulph de *Notingham* was *Præpositus* of Berwick. Chart. Newbotle, 207.

(g) Roger de *Derby* was a canon of Aberdeen, in the middle of the thirteenth century. Chart. Aberdeen, 336.

(h) John de *Grantham* settled in Berwick. Chart. Kelso, 35.

(i) Walter de *St. Edmund's* settled, in Perthshire, during the reign of William, the Lion. Chart. Scone, 54.

(a) William Rufus settled them on the waste lands, in Northumberland, and in Cumberland, where their settlements may still be traced, by the names of places. Henry I. planted many Flemings, in Wales. *L'Art de Verifier les Dates*, tom. iii; Mamlbury, fo. 68; Hoveden, Florence of Worcester; Simeon of Durham.

(b) Gervaise Chron. 1377. No. 30; Giraldus Cambrensis, book i. ch. ii; Brady's Hist. i. 298; Carte, i. 503. Bromton, 1040, says, there were, in England, during the year 1155, a great multitude of Flemings, who were driven away, by the edict of Henry II; and who went chiefly into the North, while some of them settled, in Wales. King John brought so many Flemings into England, to oppose his Barons that, according to the *Scala Chronica*, the country had much ado to feed them. Leland's Coll. i. 585.

The

The Flemings, driven thus from England, repaired, in great numbers, to North-Britain, where they easily obtained settlements, after acting as stipendiaries, in the king's armies (*c*). They settled in the towns, in the hamlets, in the country, and on wastes, which they converted into villages. The Flemings, who thus colonized Scotland, during the twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, were a far more civilized people, than the Gaelic inhabitants, among whom they settled: as they were more addicted to industry, and business, the Flemings sat down in the villages, and towns, a policy, which the Gaelic people abhorred (*d*). The towns, along the eastern coast, were chiefly settled by Flemings, during those early times, when Flanders was the universal mart (*e*). Several hamlets, along the same shore, which were named *Flemington*, still mark the places, where the adventurous Flemings found permanent repose.

In addition to the subordinate classes of Flemings, who settled in the towns, and energized the hamlets, as traders, or fishers, many eminent persons, who had distinguished themselves in the wars, came with their followers into Scotland; where their services were rewarded by the sovereigns, with grants of lands, which they knew how to cultivate. They settled, in every district of North-Britain, from the Tweed and the Solway, to the Clyde and the Moray Frith; and their posterity formed numerous, and respectable families, at the recent conclusion of the Scoto-Saxon period (*f*).

Jordan,

(*c*) William of Newbrig, i. p. 210; Lord. Lytt. iii. 148; The Scala Chronica says, "William, King of Scots, entered England, having with him many Flemings, and wan the castles of Appleby, and Burg." Lel. Col. i. 532. When William was taken prisoner, in 1174, some of his principal officers were Flemings; as we know from the English chroniclers.

(*d*) Adam, Flandrensis, was the prepositus of Berwick, in the thirteenth century. Chart. Newbotle, 207: a body of Flemings possessed the Redhall in Berwick, by the tenure of defending it against the English: in 1296, thirty of those Flemings bravely defended this post till it was fired, when they perished, in the flames. Border Hist. 195. The other towns along the east coast were also energized by Flemings. Stat. Acco. xvi. p. 517. Under William, the lion, St. Andrews was inhabited by Scots, French, English, and *Flandrenses*. Reliquiæ Divi Andreæ, 167. Maynard, a Fleming, was the Provost of St. Andrews, under David I. Henry Bald, a Flemish goldsmith, settled in Perth, during K. William's reign. Chart. Scone, 40. Swartbrand, a Fleming, settled in Perth, during the same reign. Chart. Balmerinach, 21-22. Baldewin, a Flemish sadler, settled in Perth, under David I; and was surnamed *Lorimer*, from his profession. Chart. St. Andrews. Bartholomew, a Fleming, became a burghess of Edinburgh, during K. William's reign. Chart. Inchcolm, 19.

(*e*) Even as late as the year 1587, an act of Parliament was passed, "anent the craftsmen Flemings." Private Act Ja. VI, No. 63 of Skene's Collection.

(*f*) In the charters of the twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, there are a number of persons, who were surnamed, *le Fleming*, *le Flamang*, *Flandrensis*, *Flamensis*, and *Flamaticus*, though the settle-

Jordan, a Flandrian, obtained from David I. some lands, on the Tweed, where he settled; and whence he proceeded with William, the lion, to the fatal siege of Alnwick, which ended in the captivity of both (g). Many Flemings settled, with their followers, in Annandale, where they formed a numerous clan, during the fourteenth, the fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. The Flemings settled in Clydesdale, amidst the descendants of the ancient Britons (h). The Flemings sat down in Renfrew, where they founded some distinguished houses (i). During the reign of William, the lion, a Flemish leader acquired the manors of Kilpatrick, and Dunnotyr, in Dunbarton, where he settled with his followers, among the Gaelic people (k). The Flemings settled, also, in Ayr, under the Earl of Carrick (l). Baldwin, a more distinguished Flemish leader, than any of those, settled with his followers, at Biger, in Clydesdale,

ments of each cannot be localized. See the chartularies throughout; and Sir J. Dalrymple's Coll. 424-5-6. Robert le Fleming was one of the Barons, who sat in the Parliament at Brigham, in 1290. Rym. Fœd. ii. 471. Many Flemings swore fealty to Edward I, in 1296: Sir John Fleming, at Aberdeen; William le Fleming, of Seton, in Edinburghshire; Walter le Fleming of Lanerkshire; William le Fleming, and Patrick le Fleming of Dunbarton; Alan le Fleming of Ayr; John le Fleming of Peebles; and others of the same instructive name. 3 Prynne, 651-9.

(g) Jordan, *Flandrensis*, witnessed a charter of David I. to the monks of Kelso, in 1144. Chart. Kelso, 8. Jordan, the Fleming, witnessed a charter of the Countess Ada to the monks of Dunfermlin. Sir Ja. Dalrymple's Coll. 425. Jordan granted some lands, in the territory of Orde, to the monks of Kelso. Chart. Kelso, 27. Even the English chroniclers take notice of the capture of Jordan, the Fleming.

(h) Tankard, a Flemish leader, obtained from Malcolm IV. a grant of lands, in Clydesdale, where he settled with his followers, and named his seat *Tankards-tun*. He was succeeded, by his son, Thomas, who lived under William, the lion. Thomas granted to the monks of Arbroth all his lands, lying between the Eskar, and Caledour, which, he says, had been given to his father by Malcolm. This charter was witnessed by William de Douglas, the son of Theobald, the Fleming, who had settled on the Douglas-water, about the same time, that Tankard sat down, in his neighbourhood. Chart. Arbroth, 135-6. The village of Tankerton is still distinguished, by the name of the Flemish Tankard, in Upper-Clydesdale. William, the Fleming, settled in Clydesdale, in the beginning of the thirteenth century. Chart. Kelso. Patrick, *Flandrensis*, sat down, in this district, about the same epoch. Chart. Glasg. 257.

(i) A Flandrian, who settled in Renfrew, under Walter the son of Alan, during the reign of Malcolm IV, was the progenitor of Fleming of Barochan. Chart. Paisley; Stat. Acco. i. p. 327. This family, who are called in the charters *Flamensis*, and *Flandrensis*, may be traced throughout the thirteenth century, while their connections with the Stewarts are apparent. Chart. Paisley, 43, 33-7, 62, 79; Chart. Newbotle, 194.

(k) He was succeeded by his son Hugh, *Flandrensis*, who enjoyed those lands, under Alexander II. Chart. Paisley, 282.

(l) *Dominus* Bartholomew, *Flandrensis*, Miles, witnessed the charters of Niel, the Earl of Carrick, during the reign of Alexander II. Robertson's Index to the Records.

under

under a grant of David I. (*m*). Baldwin was sheriff of Lanerk, under Malcolm IV, and William, the lion (*n*). He obtained, also, the manor of Inverkip, in Renfrew (*o*). And from that distinguished Fleming descended the Flemings, Earls of Wigton, the Flemings, Lord Fleming, with other respectable families of the same name (*p*). Robert, a Flandrekin, settled in East-Lothian, where he acquired lands, by marrying Matilda, an heiress, in the reign of Alexander II. (*q*). Many of the new settlers, in North-Britain, acquired their estates, by the commendable mode of marriage.

Various Flemings of different ranks settled in several districts, beyond the Forth. Robert Burgon, a Flemish leader, obtained some lands in Fife, from David I. (*r*). Bartholomew, *Flandrensis*, a knight, settled, in Angus, under Alexander II. (*s*). Aberdeenshire was, particularly, distinguished, in early times, for considerable colonies of Flemings. Bartholomew, a Flemish chief, settled with his followers, in the district of the Gariach: his posterity were denominated *de Leslie*, from the place, where he fixed his residence (*t*). Earl David, the opulent brother of King William, and lord of the Gariach, confirmed to Malcolm *de Leslie*, the son of Bartholomew, the whole lands of *Leslie*, which his father had held (*u*). So many Flemings settled, in Scotland, during those ages of colonization, that they obtained a right to be governed, by their own law. This principle of Scottish jurisprudence was recognized, as late

(*m*) Chart. Glasg. 57: He was first designed *Baldewin Flamingus*; but, he assumed, like other proprietors, from his lands, the appellation of *Baldewin de Biger*. Chart. Paisley, 7.

(*n*) Chart. Newbotle, 175; Chart. Paisley, 94; Crawf. Off. of State, 299. Several of Baldwin's descendants enjoyed the same office of sheriff, during the thirteenth century. Chart. Kelso, 332; Dalrymple's Coll. 415; Off. State, 264: For other notices of the posterity of that respectable Fleming, see Chart. Kelso, 185-8, 334-40. Waldeve, the son of Baldwin de Biger, was taken prisoner with William, the lion, at the siege of Alnwick-Castle, in 1174. Hoveden, 539.

(*o*) Baldwin granted to the monks of Paisley the church of Inverkip, with some lands, in the same parish. Chart. Paisley, 94.

(*p*) Dalrymple's Coll. 426; Crawford's Peer. 491; Douglas Peer. 693.

(*q*) Chart. Newbotle, 123.

(*r*) Chart. Dunfermlin; Chart. St. Andrews; Chart. Antiq. Bibl. Harl.

(*s*) Chart. Arbroth, 108.

(*t*) From Bartholomew descended Leslie, Earl of Rothes; Leslie, Earl of Leven, Leslie, Lord Lindores, Leslie, Lord Newark; and many other families of this name. Dougl. Peer.

(*u*) This grant of Earl David is addressed, "omnibus probis hominibus totius terræ suæ, Francie, Angliæ, *Flamingis*, et *Scottis*." This charter, according to Malcolm, the antiquary, was granted, in 1173: it was certainly granted between 1172 and 1199; as Mathew, the bishop of Aberdeen, is a witness. Malcolm's MS. Coll. 425. Earl David, as well as his brother, William, the lion, appears to have had several Flemish followers: Simon *Flamang* witnessed Earl David's foundation charter of the monastery of Lindores. MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 224.

as the reign of David II. (x). We may thus perceive the true source, to which may be traced up the Teutonic dialect of Aberdeenshire, that is even now called the *Broad Buchan*.

We are now to follow the Flemish colonists into Moray, whose Gaelic inhabitants had often distinguished themselves, by their opposition to strangers. Berowald, a Flandrian leader, obtained from Malcolm IV, a grant of the lands of Innes, and Urchard, where he settled, with his followers (y). As the first descendants of Theobald, and Bartholomew, assumed, from their lands, the surname of *Duglas*, and *Leslie*; so the first descendant of Berowald took, from his estate, the name of *Innes*, which he transmitted to some respectable families, who are descended from the same stock (z). We are at length to advert to one of the most eminent chiefs, who came into Scotland, during the migratory age of David I. Freskin, a Fleming, obtained from that munificent king the lands of Strathbrock, in West-Lothian. Soon after the insurrection of the Moray-men, in 1130, Freskin, who probably contributed, by his skill, and bravery, to the subduement of those ancient people, acquired, from the same prince, some of the most fertile districts of the Lowlands of Moray (a). Freskin left two sons; William, and Hugh (i); and the former certainly inherited his lands, both in Moray, and West-Lothian, which were confirmed to him by William, the lion (b). William, the son of Freskin, acquired other lands, in Moray,

(x) David II. granted a charter to John Marr, canon of Aberdeen, for the lands of Cruters-town, in the Gariach, "una cum lege *Flemynge*, dicitur *Fleming-lauche*." Robertson's Index to the Records, 61. *Cruter*, the settler of this hamlet, was plainly a *Fleming*; as we learn from his name.

(y) Chart. Moray; Shaw's Hist. Moray, App. xiv. The settlement of those Flemings, and other strangers of English lineage, gave rise to the tale, which is recorded by the old historians, how Malcolm IV. dispossessed the ancient people, and repopled it with very different inhabitants. The rising of the Moray-men, in the time of David I, was suppressed; perhaps, by Flemish stipendiaries, who obtained lands, like Berowald, for their services.

(z) MS. Account of the families of Innes, in my Library; Shaw's Hist. of Moray; and Douglas's Baronage.

(a) Freskin then obtained Duffus, Rosile, Inshkiel, Kintrae, Machir, and others. Chart. Moray; Shaw's Hist. Moray, 75; App. to Nisbet's Heraldry, 191. On Duffus, he built a fortalice, wherein he resided, the massy ruins whereof are still remarkable. Shaw's Hist. Moray, 207.

(i) Hugh, the son of Freskin, witnessed a charter of Robert, the bishop of St. Andrews, to Herbert the bishop of Glasgow, before the death of Earl Henry, the son of David I, in 1152. Chart. Glasg. 57. Douglas has perverted some charter notices of Hugh Freskin, the son of the above William; so as to apply them to Hugh, the son of Freskin. Peerage, 660-1. Of this last Hugh no other notice appears.

(b) King William, in the beginning of his reign, confirmed to William, the son of Freskin, the lands, in Moray, and West-Lothian, which his father, Freskin, had held under David I. Chart. Moray; Shaw's Hist. of Moray, 74-5; Nisbet's Herald. App. 191.

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from the bishop, during the year 1190 (*c*). He flourished under Malcolm IV; and was a constant attendant on King William, during his frequent expeditions into Moray, when he witnessed several of his grants (*d*); and perambulated some lands, under his authority (*e*). After thus acting, as the most considerable person, in Moray, next to the bishop, William, the son of Freskin, died, towards the end of the twelfth century; leaving two sons, Hugh, and William, who, in some charters, are surnamed Freskin, while, in others, they are designed de Moravia, or Moray, which became the surname of their posterity, in preference to the family name of Freskin (*f*). (I.) Hugh, the eldest son, inherited his father's lands, in Moray (*g*). At the end of the twelfth century, Hugh acquired, from King William, the territory of *Sutherland*, lying northward, on the opposite side of the Moray Frith, which had been forfeited, by the Earl of Cathness, in the rebellion of 1197, which Hugh Freskin had assisted to suppress (*b*). Hugh Freskin died, soon after 1203, leaving two sons; Wil-

(*c*) Chart. Morav. 138.

(*d*) William, the son of Freskin, witnessed Malcolm IV.'s charter to Berowald, the Flandrian, in 1157, at Perth. Id.: Shaw's Hist. Mor. App. No. 14. See the charters of William, the lion, which he witnessed, in Chart. Morav. 152-156-158-206: he witnessed, with his son Hugh, charters of K. William. Ib. 72-4, 147-8: and he witnessed some of the same king's charters, with his sons Hugh, and William. Wight on Elections, 410; MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 204.

(*e*) Chart. Morav.; MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 205.

(*f*) Hugh Freskin, and William, his brother, witnessed a charter of K. William, at Elgin, between the years 1203 and 1211. Chart. Morav. 159. Hugh de Moravia witnessed a convention of Richard, the bishop of Moray, with Duncan, the Earl of Fife, between the years 1187 and 1203. Ib. 152.

(*g*) Ib. 2.

(*b*) Of the rebellions of the Earl of Cathness, in 1196, and the subsequent year, Fordun gives some useful particulars, in lib. viii. c. 59: in 1196, K. William, he says, "*exercitum duxit, in Cathenesiam, et transito fluvio Ochiello, utramque provinciam Cathenesiam,*" &c. The river *Ochil* falls into the Frith of Dornach; and divides *Sutherland*, from *Ross*: it thus appears, that Harold's earldom of *Cathness* comprehended *Sutherland*, or South *Cathness*, at the epoch of that insurrection; and it is equally clear, that he was deprived of it, on that occasion, when he had shown how unfit he was to enjoy power: for, Hugh Freskin appears, in possession of *Sutherland*, in the beginning of the thirteenth century; as he granted to his relation Gilbert, who became archdeacon of Moray, about the year 1203, the lands of *Skelbol*, in *Sutherland*, to hold the same, in fee. This grant of *Skelbol* was confirmed by William, *dominus* [laird] of *Sutherland*, the son, and heir, of the late Hugh Freskin; and both those grants to archdeacon Gilbert were confirmed by William, the lion, between the years 1211 and 1214. Add. *Sutherland Case*, p. 9. Lord Hailes, indeed, says that, the grant of Hugh Freskin to archdeacon Gilbert, was made some time between the years 1186 and 1214: but, the chartulary of Moray evinces that, *Robert* was archdeacon of Moray till 1203, when *Gilbert* became archdeacon, in his place: and, consequently, the grant of Hugh Freskin must have been made to archdeacon Gilbert, in some subsequent year.

liam,

liam, who inherited from him the new acquired estate of *Sutherland*; and Walter, who enjoyed Duffus, with other possessions, in Moray. William became thus the laird of Sutherland, at the commencement of the thirteenth century, and at the end of K. William's reign (*i*). The death of Earl Harald, in 1206, with the punishment of his sons, did not prevent fresh insurrections of the Scandinavian people of Cathness, in 1222, when they assassinated Andrew, their bishop, with circumstances of odious cruelty, as well as insidious insult, to the government of Alexander II. (*k*). The Scottish king severely avenged that aggravated outrage. The Freskins were again called out, in support of the royal authority: and, they probably contributed their assistance, in crushing the insurrections of Gillespie, in 1228 (*l*). It was on this occasion, perhaps, that the gratitude, as well as policy, of Alexander II, thought fit to raise William Freskin to the dignity of Earl of Sutherland; in order to balance the power, or to overawe the turbulence of the Earl of Cathness (*m*). William, who thus became the first Earl of Sutherland, under Alexander II, is supposed to have died, in 1248, when he was succeeded by his infant son, William (*n*). This second Earl of Sutherland was too young, or perhaps at too great a distance, to engage in the ambitious intrigues of Alexander III.'s minority: but, he attended the Parliament, at

(*i*) When William, the eldest son of Hugh Freskin, confirmed his father's grant of Skelbol to archdeacon Gilbert, he stiled himself, "*Willielmus dominus de Sutherland, filius, et heres, quondam Hugonis Freskyn*;" and this confirmation was confirmed, as we have seen, by William, the lion, between the years 1211 and 1214, when the aged king demised. We may remember, that Sir George Mackenzie, the Lord Advocate of Scotland, translated *dominus*, by the appropriate word, *laird*, to signify merely a tenant in chief of the crown. Now; here are satisfactory proofs, that the earldom of Sutherland did not exist, at the demise of William, the lion, in 1214; and, of course, that William, the son of Hugh Freskin, who called himself *dominus de Sutherland*, was not then *Earl of Sutherland*.

(*k*) "An. 1206, obiit Comes Arald," [in the castle of Roxburgh]. Chron. Meilros, 182. A new Earl of the same turbulent race appears to have been soon after appointed to proper Cathness, which lay northward of Sutherland, who was in possession, when Andrew was assassinated.

(*l*) Fordun, lib. ix. c. 47.

(*m*) The convention of the year 1275, between Archibald, the bishop of Cathness, and William, the Earl of Sutherland, states, that controversies had arisen between Gilbert, William, and Walter, three of Archibald's predecessors, the bishops of Cathness, "*et nobiles viros Willielmum claræ memorie, et Willielmum ejus filium Comites Sutherlandie*." This indenture is printed, in the original case of the Countess of Sutherland, App. No. 1. This writing attests, that William, the son of Hugh Freskin, who was the son of William Freskin, who was the son of Freskin, who flourished under David I, was, in fact, the Earl of Sutherland: and from the foregoing documents, it is apparent, that he was the first *Earl*. In opposition to this document, Douglas, however, calls him the *second* Earl of Sutherland. Douglas Peer. 661.

(*n*) Crawford's Peer. 472; Douglas Peer. 661.

Scone,

Scone, in 1284, which engaged to support the title of the princess Margaret (o): he sat in the great Parliament, at Brigham, in 1290 (p). He swore fealty to Edward I, in 1296 (i). At the age of sixty-seven, he fought in support of Bruce, at Bannockburn, in 1314 (q). He outlived those disastrous times; and subscribed the spirited letter to the Pope, in 1320 (r): he died, in 1325, when he had nearly advanced to the patriarchal age of eighty years (s). William, the second Earl, was succeeded by his son Kenneth, the third Earl of Sutherland, who fell, in defending his country, on Halydonhill, in 1333 (t). It is unnecessary to trace any farther the Sutherland branch of the family of Freskin; as their descents are so obvious, as to require little illustration (u). (II.) Walter, the other son of Hugh Freskin, as he enjoyed his father's lands, in Moray, was distinguished, by the surname of *de Moravia*, or *Moray*, a distinction that, his father sometimes enjoyed: and, as Walter possessed the castle of Duffus, which his great-grandfather, Freskin, had built, he was designed sometimes Walter de Duffus, to distinguish him from his cousin, Walter de Moravia of Pettie (x). Walter de Moray married Euphemia, by whom he obtained some lands, in Ross. He died between the years 1240 and 1248; leaving by Euphemia a son, Freskin de Moray, who inherited, from his father, the manor of Duffus, and other lands in its vicinity, Strathbroc, in West-Lothian, and from his mother, the Clonys, in Ross (y). Freskin de Moray appeared, as Dominus de Duffus, in 1248, when he entered into a composition with the bishop of Moray, about their several rights (z). Freskin de Moravia was one of the *Magnates Scotiæ*, who entered into a treaty with the Welsh, in 1258 (a). He died before the

(o) Rym. Fœd. ii. p. 266.

(p) Ib. 471.

(i) 3 Prynne.

(q) Sir Robert Gordon's MS. Hist. of the Sutherland family; Crawford's Peer. 472.

(r) Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. 51.

(s) It was to this venerable Earl, that the House of Peers adjudged the present Countess of Sutherland to be the successor, *as heir of his body*.

(t) Nicol, a second son of Earl Kenneth, was the progenitor of Lord Duffus, and the Sutherlands of this family. Crawford's Peer. 109.

(u) See the *Pedigree*, which is annexed to the additional Sutherland Case.

(x) Chart. Mor. 128: Walter de Duffus, and dominus Walter de Pettie, militibus, were witnesses to a convention, between their relation Andrew, the bishop of Moray, and David de Strathbolgy, in 1232. Ib. 77. They both witnessed many deeds of bishop Andrew, between 1222 and 1242: but, they were most frequently distinguished, as Walter de Moravia, the son of Hugh, and Walter de Moravia, the son of William de Moravia. Chart. of Moray, throughout.

(y) Chart. Moray: Freskin of Moray, with his relation Malcolm of Moray, the progenitor of the Athol family, witnessed a charter of Malise, the Earl of Strathern, about the year 1236. Nisbet's Herald. App. 192.

(z) Chart. Mor. 90-1.

(a) Rym. Fœd. i. p. 653.

year 1268 (*b*) ; leaving two daughters, Mary, and Christian ; who, as we have seen, married Reginald de Cheyne, and William de Federeth ; and thus carried with them into the families of strangers the estates of the Freskins, in Moray. (III.) It is now time to advert to the younger brother of Hugh Freskin, William, the younger son of William, the son of Freskin, the first settler in Moray. William Freskin appears often with his father, William, and his brother, Hugh, as witnesses to the grants of William, the lion, in the end of the twelfth, and in the beginning of the thirteenth, centuries (*c*). He possessed large estates, in Moray, partly from his father, perhaps more from his own acquirement, particularly from the bishops of Moray (*d*). He died about the year 1220 ; leaving by whatever wife, a son, Walter, who inherited his estates : and other sons, who propagated the name of Moray, by founding other houses (*e*). Walter was often designed of Pettie, in order to distinguish him, from his cousin Walter Moray of Duffus ; but Walter of Pettie was never called of *Bothwell*, as Douglas, the Peerage writer, mistakingly, supposes. He flourished, from 1222 to 1242, while Andrew of Moray was bishop, whose charters he frequently witnessed (*f*). He is said to have married a daughter of the Earl of Fife, whose charters he also witnessed (*g*). Walter of Moray was one of the guarantees of the peace with England, in 1244 (*h*). During the factious minority of Alexander III, he acted with the Earl of Fife, as one of Henry III's party, in 1255 (*i*). Walter soon after died, at an advanced age ; and was succeeded by his son, Walter, who has been confounded, by the Peerage writers, with his father, Walter. The son of Walter inherited his estates, in Moray ; and he acquired, probably, by marriage, the manor of Bothwell, in Clydesdale, and the lands of Smallham, in Berwickshire, both which had been recently possessed by the Olifards (*k*). He appears, from his charters, to have
resided

(*b*) Chart. Mor. 300.

(*c*) Wight on Elections, App. 410 ; Chart. Mor. 159, and throughout. William Freskin was sheriff of Invernarn, in 1204. Ayloffe's Cal. 337. This shows, distinctly, when he flourished. From the location of his fathers, and his own possessions, he assumed the distinguished surname of Moray, which he transmitted to his posterity.

(*d*) Chart. Mor. throughout.

(*e*) As the family of Moray had now branched out into two stems from the original stock, it is impossible to trace all the ramifications. John de Moray, who lived contemporary with the above William, and was probably his younger brother, emigrated to the south, settled, in Perthshire, and became the progenitor of the Morays of Tulliebardin, who rose to be Earls, Marquisses, and Dukes of Athol. See Douglas's Peerage, and Baronage.

(*f*) Chart. Mor. throughout.

(*g*) Id.

(*h*) Rym. Fœd. i. 428.

(*i*) Ib. 566-7.

(*k*) Chart. Dryburgh, 117-18 ; Chart. Glasg. 221 ; which evinces that, Walter Olifard, the justiciary

resided in the Castle of Bothville (*l*). He died soon after; and was succeeded by his son, William, who appeared in the Parliament of Scone, 1284 (*m*). He also sat, in the more numerous Parliament of Brigham, in 1290, with his brother, Andrew de Moray (*n*). He swore fealty to Edward I, in 1291 (*o*). He is said to have died, in 1294: but, he appears never to have been *Panetarius Scotie*, as the Scottish genealogists assert (*p*). As he had no issue, he was succeeded by his brother, Sir Andrew, who became celebrated, as the associate of Wallace, when this illustrious patriot raised the standard of national independence. The firm, and gallant Sir Andrew, obtained his death's wound at the battle of Stirling, in 1297 (*q*). By his wife, a daughter of John Cumyn of Badenach, he left two sons, Andrew, and John (*r*). Andrew inherited, with his father's estates, his patriotism, and his gallantry. He became the associate of Wallace. He joined Brus, whose sister, Christian, he married: and Sir Andrew Moray continued till his death, in 1338, to be the strenuous protector of David II, the helpless infant of the great Brus. Such, then, were some of the most distinguished progeny of Freskin. When we see the blood of the Flemings defending, with such magnanimous perseverance, the country, which had given them settlement, who would regret, that he owed his origin to that accomplished, and spirited race (*s*)!

justiciary of Lothian, held the manor of Bothville, at his death, in 1242, twenty years after the death of William de Moray, who is said to have acquired the same manor, by the marriage of an Olifard. Doug. Peer. 80.

(*l*) Chart. Dryburgh, 119, which shows that, he was alive, in 1278.

(*m*) He is called, in the record, Willielmus de Moravia filius Walterus de Moravia. Rym. Fœd. ii. 266.

(*n*) Guillam de Moref, Andrew de Moref, William de Moref de Drumsergard, and Johu de Moref, all sat, in that Parliament. Ib. 471-2.

(*o*) Ib. 572.

(*p*) Ib. 547, 554, where he is simply called "William de Moravia:" in his charter to the house of Soltre, he merely calls himself, "Willielmus de Moravia." Chart. Soltre, 30. His successor Andrew de Moray is not called *Panetarius Scotie*: but, the son of Andrew held this office, in the reign of Robert Brus, from whom, he probably obtained it: and the genealogists have carried back this distinguished acquisition to his predecessor, William. Chart. Dryburgh, 187.

(*q*) Fordun, lib. xi. c. 29.

(*r*) John is said to have obtained from his father the lands of Drumsergard; and by marrying the daughter of Malise, the Earl of Strathern, he acquired the lands of Ogilvie, and Abercarnie, in Perthshire: and, John thus became the progenitor of the Morays of Abercarnie.

(*s*) It is now obvious, from the most satisfactory evidence, that some of the most numerous, and eminent families, in Scotland, are derived from that race: the Sutherlands, the Morays, the Duglases, the Leslies, the Flemings, the Inneses, and others of less distinction; all owe their descent to Flemish originals. The great family of the Percys came from Brabant, according to Camden.

Such were the numerous colonies of Flemings, which settled, in every district of North-Britain! Yet, Scotland neither owed the whole of her Saxon colonization, nor derived the body of her Teutonic speech, from the Flemings, whatever may have been their numbers. The towns had their origin, generally, long before the Flemings began to migrate. It was, in Lothian, among the Saxons, where the first towns arose. EDINBURGH owes its rise to Edwin, the Northumbrian king. Jedburgh was founded by Ecgrid, the Bishop of Lindisfarn, during the ninth century. The very streets of Berwick, and Roxburgh, and other towns, were of old called after Saxon names, though the original appellation of the hamlets may have been Gaelic (*t*). The Celtic people had their hamlets, and cil-tuns, to which they gave descriptive names, in their own language: But, when the Anglo-Norman settlers came in upon them, their first object obviously was to build a stronghold, around which the followers of the chief sat down; and thus formed a hamlet, and sometimes a town. The policy, indeed, of the Scottish kings during the Saxon dynasty, prompted the building of castles, in convenient sites, for bridling the Celtic people: And it was under the protection of those strengths, that towns arose; and industry began her career (*u*). The Gaelic people viewed all those measures with indignation; and when they rose upon the strangers, after the capture of King William, in 1174, the foreigners fled to the King's castles for shelter (*x*). Such had been

(*t*) In Roxburgh, we see the *Senede-gate*. Chart. Dryburgh, No. 111. In Jedburgh, we may perceive the *Castle-gate*. Chart. Kelso, No. 488. In Berwick, we see *Suth-gate*, *Waldefsgate*, and others. Chart. Newbotle, No. 208; Chart. Kelso, No. 34—46. We may observe, in Haddington, *Hard-gate*, *Nun-gate*, *Huddin-gate*, from Huddin, a settler, in the 12th century. Chart. Kelso, No. 45—63: There was "*vicus dictus Syd-gate in burgo de Haddington*." Chart. Newbotle, No. 299. In Peebles, there were *Bridge-gate*, and *North-gate*: In Edinburgh, there are the *Canon-gate*, the *Cow-gate*. Ib. No. 266. In Ayr, there were *Sand-gate*, and *Bridge-gate*; and in Glasgow, the *Fisher-gate*. Chart. Paisley, No. 255. In Perth, we may see the *Spey-gate*, the *Water-gate*, the *Kirk-gate*, and *Skinner-gate*: And in Aberdeen, the *Broad-gate*, the *Castle-gate*, the *Kirk-gate*. The same term was applied to the streets of the towns, in the north of England. Ray's Local Words, 30. The most common name, we have thus seen, for the passages in towns, was the Saxon *gaet*, which assumed the form of *gate*, in the Scottish, and Old English, as we may see in Chaucer, and Spenser. In more recent times, *gate* has given way to *street*, from the Saxon *straet*, which has become the prevailing name.

(*u*) Fordun, l. v. cap. 53, informs us, that David I. established towns, and invited foreign traders to settle in them. The *Leges Burgorum* of David suppose that, there was a castle, with its *Castellan*, at every town, as Fordun intimates. When William, and his brother David, with a great army, marched into Ross, they there built two castles, in 1179. Chron. Meilros, 174. Ayr was founded by William, in 1197. Id.

(*x*) William of Newbrig, l. xi. c. 34.

the

the progress of colonization, that the towns, and burrows of Scotland were, in 1174, inhabited chiefly by English (*y*).

A policy of a very different kind was accompanied with the same salutary effects, of settling new races of men; and of promoting new modes of industry: The erecting of so many religious houses, during the twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, was attended with all those beneficial consequences. A magnificent building, which was dedicated to sacred uses, was erected. The monks were chiefly drawn from England. They had their stipendiaries, to whom they granted parcels of land, on the condition of service; and their followers, consisting of various craftsmen; together with their *vileyns*, both male, and female, who cultivated their several granges (*z*). And, in this manner, the settling of every additional religious house may be considered, as the plantation of a new colony of a Teutonic race, amidst the Gaelic inhabitants of North-Britain. (*a*).

The Saxon colonization of Galloway might be illustrated, obscure as it is, in a similar manner. It was originally settled, as we have seen, by Cambro-British tribes (*b*). During the British period, it was over-run by Saxons, who left some of their blood, and a little of their language, within its Celtic limits (*c*).

(*y*) Id. “Regni enim Scottici oppida & burgi ab Anglis habitari noscuntur.” William of Newbrig, who, as he lived, near the time, in the north of England, had good opportunities of being well informed, touching the facts. We may see in Rym. Fœd. t. ii. that the people of the Scottish towns, who swore fealty to Edward I., in 1291, were equally English, if we may decide, from their English surnames. The same fact is verified by Prynne, vol. iii. as to the persons, who swore fealty to the same king, in 1296. The Scottish kings, during the Saxon period, had been studious to invite foreign settlers into their towns; as we learn from the chartularies, as well as from Fordun. See particularly the Chartularies of Scone, of Inchcolm, of Balmerinach, of St. Andrew’s, and of Dunfermlin.

(*z*) David I. granted several bondmen to the monks of Dunfermlin. Chart. Dunferm.; MS. Monast. Scotiæ, p. 107. Fragments of Scottish History, App. No. 1—11. William granted some *vileyns* to the monks of Scone. Chart. Scone, No. 34. Waldeve, the Earl of Dunbar, gave to the monks of Kelso, “Halden et Willielmus fratrem ejus et omnes sequelas eorum.” Chart. Kelso, No. 127. Andrew, the son of Gilbert Fraser, gave to the same monks, three acres of meadow, in the manor of Gordon, with Adam, the son of Henry del Hoga, “nativo meo, cum tota sequela sua.” Ib. 123. Berenger de Engain granted to the monks of Jedburgh two bovates of land, “cum uno villano.” Chart. Jedworth. Richard Germyn gave to the hospital of Soltre Alan, the son of Tock, “et homagium suum et totam sequelam suam.” Chart. Soltre, No. 51.

(*a*) In that manner were founded, during the 12th, and 13th centuries, in Scotland, upwards of one hundred and ten monasteries, and convents, for Eng’ish, and foreign monks, exclusive of the establishments for the Templars. See Spottiswoode; and Keith.

(*b*) Book i. ch. ii.

(*c*) See Book ii. ch. iii.

During the ninth century, Galloway was new peopled by the Irish Cruithne, who overspread its surface, and new named its places (*d*). At the commencement of the Scoto-Saxon period, in 1097, Galloway was universally inhabited by a Gaelic people. And, it required the continual colonization of six hundred years, by English inhabitants, before the Gaelic speech of the Irish colonists ceased to be the vernacular language of this great peninsula (*e*).

Such, then, are the proofs of the colonization of North-Britain, by the English, Anglo-Normans, and Flemings, during the Scoto-Saxon period of her annals. This has been deemed, by great authority, a leading fact, in the North-British annals (*f*). These proofs are as new, as they are satisfactory. It was proved, on a former occasion, as a moral certainty, that the whole inhabitants of proper Scotland were of a Gaelic descent, at the end of the Scottish period (*g*). The additional evidence, which has now been adduced, from the chartularies, carries that certainty up to demonstration. The time, place, and circumstance, by which a succeeding people of a different lineage, and a dissimilar speech, colonized North-Britain, during the long effluxion of the Scoto-Saxon period, have at length been submitted to the reader's judgement. The very epochs, when the earliest progenitors of the present people came into Scotland, have been distinctly settled, from the evidence of charters. These affirmative proofs are irresistible. If those early progenitors settled, in Scotland, *after* the commencement of the twelfth century, as record attests, they could not have been settled there, "from a period of very remote antiquity." It is quite new, in the history of this country, to exhibit the settlement of a Flemish colony, in almost every district of North-Britain. It was shown, on a former occasion, by negative proofs, that the Scandinavian Goths had never settled within proper Scotland (*b*). The evidence, which has been now adduced, shows, with full conviction, that there is not a family, in that country, whatever there may be, in the Hebrides, who can carry up its pedigree to a Scandian origin: It has been proved, by references to charters, that the various Teutonic people of Scotland are derived from Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Norman, and Anglo-Belgic colonists, in the recent times of the *Scoto-Saxon period* of her annals. These cumulative proofs form a new demonstration, that the Teutonic inhabitants of North-Britain are descended, not from "*remote antiquity*," but from late colonization. Many children of the Celtic people have been, no doubt, converted, from their maternal *Celticism* to the artificial *Gothicism* of the Saxon settlers: They may have been induced, by interest, to

(*d*) See book iii. ch. v.

(*e*) Buchanan's Hist. Book ii. s. 27; Stat. Ac. vol. vii. p. 59.

(*f*) Transact. of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, vol. v. part iii. p. 29.

(*g*) See before, book iii. ch. xi.

(*b*) Id.

imitate the Saxon manners: They may have been obliged, by discipline, to speak the Teutonic language. Yet, at the end of seven centuries of different changes, the Saxon colonists, and their descendants, have not been able, with the aid of religious prejudice, and the influence of predominating policy, to annihilate the Celtic people, to silence the Gaelic tongue, within proper Scotland, nor to obliterate the Celtic topography, which all remain the constant reproach of the Gothic system, as well as the indubitable vouchers of the genuine history of North-Britain.

CHAP. II.

Of the Civil History, during this Period.

AFTER the full discussion, in the preceding Chapter, of the Anglo-Saxon Colonization of Proper Scotland, from documents, which are as new, in their nature, as they are decisive, in their inferences, it is full time to recapitulate the several conjunctions of separate districts, and various people, which formed at length, one united kingdom. When we first threw our inquisitive eyes on the immediate descendants of the British origines, they appeared as several tribes, who were connected by very slight ties. When they were pressed by conquest, they sought the greater strength of compression. The children of the *Caledonians* became a people, under the new appellation of *Picts* (*i*). They flourished for ages, till they were overpowered by the *Scots*, in 843 A.D., who had the fortune to give their own name to the united kingdom of *Picts*, and *Scots* (*k*). The Strathcluyd kingdom of the ancient Britons was united to the Scottish government, in 975, by the prudent enterprize of Kenneth III. (*l*). The Gallowidian Scots, when they felt their weakness, during adventurous times, acknowledged their Gaelic submission to the Scottish kings (*m*). Malcolm II. added a rich jewel to the Scottish diadem, when he obtained *Lothian*, in 1020 A.D. from a weak Earl of the Northumbrian dynasty (*n*). During the Scoto-Saxon period, we shall perceive, in our progress, that the various territories, forming the Scottish monarchy, acquired nearly the extent, and boundaries of modern times. On the south, the Tweed, the Solway, and the Kershope, with the intervenient heights, divided England from Scotland, at the accession of Edgar, as well as at the demise of Malcolm Ceanmore. This boundary continued, without change, during the reigns of Edgar, and Alexander I., his immediate successor. David I., who succeeded to both, had the good fortune to push that boundary so far southward, as to acquire the two northern counties of England. The interest, however, of Henry II., induced

(*i*) Book ii. ch. i.(*k*) Book iii. ch. i. ii.(*l*) Book iii. ch. v. s. ii.(*m*) Book iii. ch. v. s. iii.(*n*) Ib. ch. vi.

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him, during the minority of Malcolm IV., to demand the restitution of those shires, from the infant king; and his superior power enabled him to enforce what his ambition prompted him to require. Henry II. may be said to have extended his northern limits over the whole extent of Scotland, when he obliged the captive William, to surrender the independence of his kingdom (*o*). The generosity of Richard I, nevertheless, relinquished what the policy of Henry had extorted: And, in 1189, the English monarch re-established the marches of Scotland, as they had been settled, before the captivity of King William, and acknowledged from ancient times (*p*). No event occurred, during the lapse of this period, which disturbed the boundary, that had been thus established, by the genuine interests of the neighbouring kingdoms.

Lothian, on the east, and Galloway, on the west, were, during the Scoto-Saxon period, regarded by foreign powers, as two considerable divisions of Scotland (*q*). As territories, they were, meanwhile, considered, by the Scottish kings, who governed them, under distinct jurisdictions (*r*). Before the commencement of this period, in 1097, Lothian, and Galloway, became so completely consolidated, as to leave some doubt, in prejudiced minds, whether they had been settled, by dissimilar people, and had been ruled, by different laws.

The Western Islands, during the Scottish period, were inhabited, as we have seen, partly by a Gaelic people, and partly by a Scandinavian race, who yielded a doubtful obedience to the Norwegian Kings. At the beginning of the *Scoto-Saxon* period, while a civil war raged in Scotland, Magnus, the barefooted, came in a powerful fleet, among the Hebride isles, and asserted his rights, and enforced his authority. Neither Donal-bane, nor Edgar, the Scottish Kings, were able to contend with his irresistible force, had their pretensions been founded, in right, rather than assumed, by historians, from the suggestions of fiction (*s*). The policy of Alexander III. acquired, by treaty, in

(*o*) Rym. Fœd. i. 39.

(*p*) Ib. 64.

(*q*) Ib. 218.

(*r*) Rym. Fœd. i. 252; Skene's Old Laws; Anders. Diplom. pl. 35, 37.

(*s*) See before, book iii. ch. iv. Yet, are we told, by a late commercial annalist, on the weak authority of Snorro, that, "in 1098, Scotland was deprived of Kintire by a *quibble*:" This *quibble* consisted in this: By a treaty, which was never made, between Magnus, and Malcolm III., who had been dead, some years, *before* the irruption of Magnus, the Norwegian king acquired a right to all the Western isles; and drawing a boat across Kintire, he claimed this peninsula, as an island. D. Macpherson's Annals of Commerce, i. 313. This tale, which would do honour to the *Edda*, is worthy of such a romancer as Snorro; but, is altogether unworthy of any writer, who regards fact, more than fiction. This event is supposed to have happened in 1098; and Snorro,

in 1266, the kingdom of Man, and the isles of the Hebridian seas, which his power could neither have conquered, nor retained (*t*).

During the Scottish period, the Orkney, and Shetland islands were, in the same manner, inhabited by a Scandinavian people, who, as they had been long habituated to predatory adventures, were not easily reduced to steady subjection. They were governed chiefly by their own earls, who only yielded a forced obedience to Norway. At the commencement of the Scoto-Saxon period, Magnus, the Norwegian, re-invigorated his authority over those islands, and compelled their earls to acknowledge his jurisdiction, and yield submission to his power (*u*). Shetland, and Orkney, continued in subjection to Norway till the year 1468, when James III. gained, by the gentle mode of marriage, what he could not have acquired, by the rough means of war (*x*).

At the sad epoch, when the great Barons were assembled by Alexander III., in 1284, to settle the dubious succession to the crown, they declared, that the territories, belonging to Scotland, were the *isle of Man, the isles*, together with Tyndale, and Penrith (*y*). Both *Man*, and the Hebrides, had been acquired, as we have seen, in 1266. Tindale, and Penrith, were all, that the Scottish kings retained of their English possessions. Edward I. took the Isle of Man under his protection, in 1290 (*z*). At the conclusion of the Scoto-Saxon period, it required a persevering struggle, to retain even Scotland, the principal dominion, from the constant grasp of insidious ambition, which was supported

Snorro died, by a stroke of assassination, in 1241: Now; what could such a person, as Snorro, living in such a place, know of such an event, in such an age. None of the English historians, the Saxon chronicler, Florence, or Simeon, and indeed none of the Danish writers, take notice of such a treaty, or of such a trick; because none such ever happened. The sovereignty of the Hebrides did not belong to Scotland, in that age, whatever the commercial annalist may think: Consequently, Magnus could have no desire to acquire, either by treaty, or trick, what already belonged to himself. Neither did Alexander III., when he purchased the Hebrides, in 1266, acquire, by treaty, Kintire, which he knew was his own, from ancient descent, and present possession. Nothing can be so injudicious, as to bring forward, in such an age, as ours, such absurd pretensions to any part of the British dominions, on the authority of a professed romancer, who is contemned by the graver sort of the Norwegian historians. See Ayloff's Calendar, 343; and Robertson's Index, Introd. xi. and p. 101.

(*t*) There is a transcript of this treaty, in a very ancient MS. in the Register-house, at Edinburgh: It is printed in Torfæus's Hist. of Norway, iv. 343. It was confirmed by an agreement between Robert I. and Haco V. King of Norway, in 1312. Robertson's Index, p. 101.

(*u*) Orkneyinga Saga, 113-17; Torfæus's Orcades, 67-9.

(*x*) The marriage treaty is published, in Torfæus's Orcades, 191.

(*y*) Rym. Fœd. ii. 266.

(*z*) Rym. Fœd. tom. ii. p. 492. On the 28th of June, 1307, Edward took the Isle of Man into his hands, and assumed it, as his own. Ib. p. 1058.

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by a mighty force (*a*). It required all the fortune, and valour of Bruce, with the perseverance, and the magnanimity of the nation, to restore the monarchy to its ancient independence, and its territories to their acknowledged limits. We must now proceed to narrate, in successive progress, the various events, which led on to that happy result.

EDGAR.

The son of Malcolm, by Margaret, an Anglo-Saxon Princess, became King of the united kingdom of North-Britain, at Michaelmas, 1097, while he was yet young (*b*). He enforced his title to a disputed crown, after a fierce conflict, by means of an Anglo-Norman army, which was conducted by his uncle, Edgar Ætheling. The education, which he had received from his mother; the experience, that he had gained, in Northumberland; the power, which fixed his authority over North-Britain; all these incentives induced him to imitate the English customs, rather than the Scottish, in the usual administration of his feeble government (*c*).

Edgar had scarcely ascended the infirm throne of his father, when Magnus, the enterprising King of Norway, appeared, in the surrounding seas, in order to compel the submission of his subjects, in the Orkney, and Hebride, isles; and to plunder, or overawe, the people of the neighbouring shores of England, Man, and of Ireland. The King of Scots was little able to contend with the powerful Norwegian, if his coasts had been invaded (*d*). Edgar was at length

(*a*) The boundaries of Scotland, were, however, restored by the Parliamentary declaration of Edward III., at York, on the 1st of March, 1327-8, to their ancient extent, as they had formerly been, at the demise of Alexander III. This important document, which has not been much noticed by historians, and lawyers, is preserved, according to the practice of that age, in the chartulary of Kelso, No. 470. See also Rym. Fœd. iv. 337; Lord Hailes's An. ii. 126. It is apparent, then, that every attempt of the English government to change those limits, either by force, or fraud, was made in opposition to an English act of parliament.

(*b*) Saxon Chron. p. 206. On his great seal, he calls himself *Scottorum basileus*, in imitation of Edgar, the King of England, who affected various, and sounding titles. Edgar is the first of the Scottish kings, who is represented on his seal, sitting on a throne, emblazoned with the attributes of majesty. If he were born, in 1070, he must have been 27, at his accession: If he were born, in 1075, he could have been only 22 years old.

(*c*) Edgar is said to have been the first King of Scots, who was *anointed* by the Bishop of St. Andrew's, *under a licence from the Pope*. Martin's Reliquiæ divi Andreæ. Chap. xi. of the Bishops.

(*d*) It is said, indeed, in the Chronicon of Man, that, 'Magnus humbled the Gallowaymen, so effectually, that he obliged them to cut down timber; to carry it to the shore; and to fix it on his entrenchments.' Edit. Johnstone, p. 11. But, we hear of no conflict; and still less of any treaty.

relieved from all apprehensions, by the death of Magnus, who, in the north of Ireland, met the fate, which his piratical adventures amply merited, in 1103 (*e*). Edgar considered William Rufus, who died in 1100, more as a benefactor, than as an opponent. Henry I. married Matildis, the sister of Edgar, in the same year. Owing to those causes, he prudently avoided any dispute with England. Edgar gave his sister Mary to Eustace, the Count of Boulogne, in 1102. And his interests, or his weakness, led him not to interfere with the embroiled affairs of the European continent.

Meantime, the unhallowed disputes between the Emperor, and Pope, prevented the consecration of Godric, the Bishop elect of St. Andrew's. The gratitude, however, or the piety of the Scottish King, conferred many churches, and lands, near Berwick, on the monks of St. Cuthbert, at Durham (*f*). He gave to the Culdees, the church of Portmoak, in Kinross; and to the monks of Dunfermlin, Gellald (*g*): But, he had not the merit of founding any religious house, during a religious age. He died, at Dun-Edin, without issue, on the 8th of January, 1106-7. He was characterized, as an amiable man, resembling, in all things, Edward *the Confessor*. From the silence of history, we may infer, that there were not, during this reign, any events to record (*b*). And from that circumstance, we may suppose, and from the feebleness of his character, conclude, that the authority of Edgar was, scarcely, recognized, within the largest portion of his kingdom.

ALEXANDER I.

Assumed the tarnished sceptre, which his brother's demise had placed in his firmer grasp. One of the first acts of his reign was to acquiesce in the dispo-

(*e*) Chron. Mailros sub an. 1098; An. Ulster; Sax. Chron. p. 206; Torf. Hist. Norw. t. iii. p. 441-6. Magnus found lasting repose in the abbey of Cluen.

(*f*) Edgar's charters may be seen, in the Appendix to Smith's Bede, No. xx., and in Anderson's Diplomata. From those documents, it appears, that Coldingham, which existed, as a religious house, before the age of Bede, was now transferred, by Edgar, to the monks of St. Cuthbert. Yet, is it said, that Edgar founded a priory of Benedictines, at Coldingham. Lord Hailes's An. i. 48. And, for this position, which is countenanced by those charters, and by Fordun, there appears some evidence. Spottiswoode, 435. Wyntown sings, indeed:

"Coldyngam than fowndyd he,

"And rychely gert it dowynt be."

(*g*) Crawf. Offices of State, Ap. 430; Chart. Dunferm.; Sir Ja. Dalrymple's Col. 383.

(*b*) Wyntown is, however, mistaken, in saying that, Edgar ended his days in Dunde; as we know from the register of St. Andrew's, that he died in Dun-Edin, the Edinburgh of the Saxons.

sition, which Edgar had made of his dominions: The country on the north of the Friths, Alexander was to enjoy, as king; the districts, on the south of those dividing waters, except Lothian, were assigned to David, their younger brother, as his appanage (*i*). The policy of Henry I. concurred, with the interest of Alexander, to cultivate mutual amity, which happily preserved the peace of the neighbouring kingdoms. These ties were further strengthened, by the marriage of the Scottish king to Sibilla, the natural daughter of Henry I. With the continental states, he appears not to have had much communication. The division, which Magnus had made of his dominions, among his three sons, removed, indeed, all fears of the naval power of Norway. He was, however, called into the northern parts of Scotland, during the year 1120, to chastise the insolence, or to enforce the obedience, of his subjects, in Moray, who rose under Angus, their Maormor, the grandson of Lulach, the late king, to claim the crown, for their chief (*k*). From the promptitude, with which he quelled that insurrection, though Angus remained unsubdued, he was thenceforth called, by his people, Alexander, the *fierce* (*l*). His whole reign of seventeen years seems to have been disquieted, by the ecclesiastical pretensions of the Archbishops of York, and Canterbury: Yet, the Scottish king maintained the rights of his country, and the independence of his government, with steady

(*i*) Alexander, as king, confirmed, by several charters, to the monks of St. Cuthbert, the lands, which his brother Edgar had conferred on them, near Berwick. Anderson's *Diplomata*, pl. viii. David, *Comes*, during the reign of Alexander, also confirmed the same rights, and exercised a distinct jurisdiction over those monks, and their lands, in Coldingham. *Ib.* pl. x: One of his charters is tested by Matildis, the queen, and William her son. There is a charter of Thor-longus, wherein he prays David, *Comes*, "*Sicut dominum meum karissimum*," to confirm Ederham to the monks *for ever*. Smith's *Bede*, Ap. xx: There is a *fact simile* of this curious charter, in Anderson's *Diplomata*, pl. lxx. The *Inquisitio Davidis*, in the chartulary of Glasgow, proves, that he granted lands, and exercised jurisdiction, in Teviotdale, and Tweeddale. As David, *Comes*, he founded the abbey of Selkirk, "*while Henry reigned, in Anglia, and Alexander, in Scotia*." Chart. Kelso, No. 4; Sir Ja. Dalrymple's Coll. Ap. iv. Those incontrovertible documents demonstrate what has been little noticed by history, that Earl David enjoyed the countries on the south of the Friths, if we except Lothian, while Alexander reigned, in *Scotia*. Chart. Scone, No. 1. The king was not of a temper to submit passively to the disposition of Edgar: But, David was supported, by the voice of the country, and was protected, by the favour of Henry I.

(*k*) Eadmer, 132; Wyntoun's *Cronykil*, i. 283; Shaw's *Moray*, 213.

(*l*) We are told by Wyntoun, that,

"Frá that day hys Legys all

"Oysid hym Alysander the Fers to call.

perseverance, and ultimate effect (*m*). Alexander died, at Strivling, without lawful issue, on the 27th of April, 1124 (*n*). He appears to have been a prince, who was well instructed, both in letters, and in policy: He was courteous to his ecclesiastics; but, he was austere to an uncivilized people, who paid little obedience to laws, which they did not understand. During so rude an age, Scotland had cause to regret a sovereign of so much knowledge, and vigour, as Alexander possessed, and exercised, for the benefit of his kingdom.

DAVID,

The youngest son of Malcolm, and Margaret, immediately, occupied the vacant throne. The demise of Edgar left him in possession of the extensive countries, from the northern limits of England, on the south, to the river Forth and Loch Lomond, on the north; and he was Earl of Northampton, in consequence of his marriage with Maud, the Countess. The reign of David forms an epoch in the history, and jurisprudence, of Scotland. By attending the court of so accomplished a prince, as Henry I., he acquired a knowledge of the laws of England, and gained experience in the art of government (*o*). After the decease of Simon de St. Liz, Henry bestowed his widow on David, in 1115 (*p*). The Countess brought her second husband his son, Henry, in 1115 (*q*). And, on the 27th of May, 1124, David mounted the unsteady throne, which an able brother had supported, with some opposition, but with final success.

The duty of the Scotch king, immediately, called him to the difficult task of defending the independence of the Scotch church, against the pretensions of the Archbishop of York, and the prejudice of the Pope (*r*). His prudence finally disappointed both. His attention was soon after drawn to an insur-

(*m*) Lord Hailes's An. vol. i. p. 49. Alexander was the first of the Scotch kings, who introduced the use of a great seal with a double impress of equal grandeur: He appears not to have had any counterseal. He was also the first of the Scotch kings, who introduced among his people the commodious measure of *coins*. Lord Pembroke's Coins.

(*n*) If we may believe Ordericus Vitalus, p. 702, Alexander I. left a bastard son, *Melcof*, who rebelled against David I.; affecting a right to the crown.

(*o*) David went into England to his sister, as early as 1105. Mat. Paris. David, Comes, was the last witness to a charter of Simon, the Earl of Northampton, whose widow he married: This charter was confirmed, and signed by Henry I., and Matildis, the sister of David. Dugdale's Monast. i. 680. On his seal, the inscription is, "Sigillum Davit Comitis Anglorum Regine Fris." And. Diplomata, pl. x.

(*p*) Dug. Monast. i. 679; Kennet's Par. Antiq. 81; Malmsbury, 158.

(*q*) Ken. Par. Antiq. 93; Sim. Durham, 256.

(*r*) Sim. Durham, 252.

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rection, in Moray, which had, for its first object, an opposition to his laws, and for its ultimate end, the overthrow of his government. In 1130, Angus, the Earl of Moray, as the grandson of Lulach, and his adherents, were defeated, after they had penetrated far into the south (*s*). David was zealously supported, by the martial barons of Northumberland, with the experienced Walter l'Espec, at their head: And, strengthened thus by their presence, and alacrity, the Scottish king marched, with the whole force of his southern dominions, against the northern insurgents. At Stracathrow, one of the passes in Forfar-hire, he gave them an entire defeat (*t*). The Celtic people of Moray rose against Alexander, as we have seen, in opposition to his government: The Earl of Moray, who claimed a title to the throne, as the heir of Lulach, now disputed David's right to the crown (*u*): We shall perceive the same people, or their descendants, equally rise against the authority of Malcolm IV.; in opposition to rules of law, which they did not understand, and to modes of government, that were to them odious, because they were new.

In the mean time, David had neither disputes, nor intercourse, with the continental powers. His whole reign seems to have been occupied, in supporting the rights of his family, and promoting, in England, the interests of his kingdom. He spent much of the year 1126, at the court of Henry (*x*). At Windsor, in the subsequent year, he took an oath, with other English barons, to maintain the rights of the King's daughter, the Empress Maud (*y*). This transaction engaged David, in endless negotiations; and involved his people, in many miseries.

The death of Henry I., in 1135, was the inauspicious signal for civil war. Stephen, the Earl of Mortaigne, his sister's son, seized the vacant throne, notwithstanding his own oath, and the most solemn engagements of the English barons. Of his promise, David was more mindful. With inconsiderate ardour, he seized almost the whole country, as far as Durham; obliging the northern barons to swear fealty to Matilda. On the approach of Stephen, with a powerful army, David retired to Northumberland. At Newcastle, the two

(*s*) Chron. Mailros, 165; Chron. St. Cruce, Ang. Sacra, i. 160; Ulster Annals.

(*t*) The experienced Robert Bruce, when dissuading David from fighting *the battle of the standard*, disclosed several intimations, with regard to those events, which are no where else to be found. From those notices, it appears, that shipping were sent from the ports of Northumberland, which, no doubt, carried provisions for David's army. Aildred, 345; Ordericus Vitalis, 702-3.

(*u*) The claim of Angus was by no means ill-founded; as he was lineally descended from Kenneth IV., the son of Duff, the *eldest* son of Malcolm I.; while David was descended from Kenneth III., the youngest son of Malcolm I.

(*x*) Sax. Chron. 230.

(*y*) Id.

kings, who were nearly connected by marriage, entered into an ineffective treaty (z): David relinquished the country, which he had possessed: Stephen engaged to confer on Henry, the heir of the Scottish kingdom, the honour of Huntington, Doncaster, and the territory of Carlisle. For these, Henry did homage to Stephen, as his father David had refused to perform the feudal ceremony, for his English possessions (a).

The war, which was equally wasteful, and inefficacious, was renewed by David, in 1136, during the absence of Stephen, in Normandy. Incursions were made, on both sides, which only ruined the borders, without gaining an object. While Stephen was hard pressed, by the barons of the south, David entered Northumberland with a greater, and more various, army. According to the most barbarous practice of the age, the land was laid waste, and the people were sent into bondage. The northern shires, in the absence of Stephen, had no other resources, but their own valour, and the policy of Thurstin, their Archbishop. The barons with their vassals readily obeyed his summons, to meet at Thrisk. They voluntarily submitted, however, to the military command of Walter L'Essec, an experienced warrior. And, they were animated by all the motives, which a sense of religion, affection for their families, and attachment to their country, can inspire into manly bosoms. The English army was inspired by one soul: The troops of David, who were composed of various lineages, were actuated by many jealousies, and were divided by several pretensions (b). While the Scottish tribes were engaged in altercations, the English raised their consecrated standard on Cutton-moor, near Northalerton; a circumstance this, which conferred on the subsequent conflict the name of *the battle of the standard*.

Walter L'Essec, whose experience had taught him, that *the battle is not always to the strong*, thought it consistent with his usual wisdom, to prevent further hostilities by negotiation. He sent Robert Bruce, the Lord of Annandale, to David, whose friend he had been, in order to convince him of the uncertainties of war, and the felicities of peace. The speech, which the historian assigns to Bruce, on that occasion, contains many curious facts, and much pathetic argument. David was moved; but, not persuaded. When Bruce

(z) Stephen was Earl of Boulogne, in right of his wife, Matildis, the only child of Mary, the sister of David. Lord Hailes's An. i. 67. (a) Ib. 68.

(b) Besides Normans, Germans, and Northumbrians, David had with him the people of Galloway, the Britons of Strathclyde, the men of Teviotdale and Lothian, the warriors of the isles, and the clans of Lorn. Much of the weakness of Scotland has always consisted, in the various races of her people, who spoke dissimilar languages, and were actuated by different motives.

renounced

renounced his allegiance to the Scottish king, those old companions in arms burst into tears. Here, the negotiation ended: and the spirit of discord, going out upon the field, inspired both the armies with enmity, which was embittered by disappointment.

The men of Galloway, who claimed, from ancient custom, the dangerous privilege of commencing the conflict, raised their usual war-cry, and rushed on to battle (*u*). Their onset was furious, and persevering: they disordered the foremost ranks of their opponents. But the English archers repulsed them, with the loss of their two chiefs, Ulgric, and Dovenal. Earl Henry, the King's son, gallantly charged through the main battle, which had been weakened, by its own efforts; and, with the precipitation of youth, attacked the rear-guard. The Galloway-men attempted to renew the fight. But, the invading army, hearing that the King was slain, were seized with an irrecoverable panic. It was in vain for David to bring up the reserve: he only found, that the field was lost, and that his own person was exposed to danger. The dismay, and flight, became general. The battle of the standard was fought, on the 22d of August 1138; and furnishes another example, since the conflict of Thimbria, how often unanimity overpowers numbers, and skill overcomes valour. David made his retreat, with some difficulty, to Carlisle. Here, a council of the Scottish prelates, and nobles, was held by Alberic, the Pope's legate. By their authority, many abuses were now corrected. The legate tried to soften the hardships of war, by inducing the various tribes, who composed David's army, to engage, that they would not, in future, violate churches, nor murder old men, women, and children (*x*). This singular engagement proves, with strong conviction, the savageness of the people, and the barbarity of the age.

David, soon after, reduced the castle of Werk, and showed, that he was still formidable, notwithstanding his defeat, and the mutiny of his army. Reconcilement was so much the interest of both the parties, that Matildis, who was the wife of Stephen, and the niece of David, did not find it very difficult to induce the hostile kings to listen to proposals of peace. After a short truce, a treaty was concluded at Durham, on the 9th of April 1139: by it, Stephen ceded to Earl Henry, Northumberland, except Newcastle, and Bamborough; the Barons, who held lands of the Earls of Northumberland, were now to hold them of Henry, saving their allegiance to Stephen: the laws, which had been

(*u*) Aildred, 345; Hoveden has happily preserved the war-cry, on that signal occasion; it was, Albanich! Albanich! Albanich! Saville, 483.

(*x*) J. Hagustald. X Script. p. 264; Lord Haile's Councils, p. 3.

established,

established, for Northumberland, by Henry I, were to remain in force (*y*). In return, David engaged to maintain perfect amity with Stephen, and to give hostages, according to the practice of the age, for his faithful performance.

Yet, after the captivity of Stephen, David repaired to his niece, the Empress, and attended her, during her flight from Winchester, in 1141: but, finding his counsels slighted, he returned to the nobler task of civilizing his people, by the arts of peace. The quiet of the country was, however, disturbed, and the progress of improvement retarded, by the frequent irruptions of an adventurer, called Wymund, who pretended to be the son of the late Earl of Moray, between the years 1134, and 1156. It is a strong proof of the ignorance of the age, and the attachment of the people, that the supposed son of their late Maormor should have occupied the whole force, and policy, of David, during a dozen years, to bring such an adventurer, not to justice, but to a compromise (*z*).

In the meantime, Henry of Anjou, the son of the Empress, visited David, at Carlisle, during Whitsuntide 1149. He received from David the honour of knighthood, which, in that age, was deemed of great importance (*a*). In return, Henry made oath, that on his acceding to the crown of England, he would restore Newcastle to David, and cede to him, for ever, the country, which is situated between the Tine, and Tweed. They also entered into measures, for dethroning Stephen; but, as those transactions began with breach of treaty, they ended in disappointment.

A more severe disaster awaited David. On the 12th of June 1152, died his son, and heir, Henry, a youth of the fairest hopes, who left, by the Countess Ada, three sons, and three daughters (*b*). These were at present the only consolations of the aged king. Malcolm, his eldest grandson, who was now, in the eleventh year of his age, he sent, in a solemn progress, under the guardianship of Duncan, the Earl of Fife, through every district of Scotland, where he was proclaimed, and received, as heir of the crown, according to the practice of an age, in which the efficacious voice of the law was seldom heard: this solici-

(*y*) Hoveden, 482; Chron. Mailros, 165: From this time, Henry assumed the title of Earl of Northumberland. His baronial seal may be seen in Anders. Dipl. pl. 20. with the following inscription: "Sigillum Henrici Comitis Northumberlandie Filij Regis Scotie." The same year, Earl Henry married the Countess Ada, the daughter of the Earl Warrenne. Chron. Mail. 166.

(*z*) Fordun, lib. viii. c. ii: Chron. Meil. 165-7; Chron. St. Crucis, sub An. 1157; Will. Newbrig, i. 24.

(*a*) Chron. Mail. 167.

(*b*) As Henry came of age, in 1136, he must have been born in 1115. Kennet's Par. Antiq. 92. For his character, by Ethelred, see the Decem Scriptores, p. 368. His eldest son, Malcolm IV, was born, in 1142; William, the lion, in 1143; and David, the Earl of Huntingdon, in 1144.

tude of the prudent David seems to imply, that he suspected, there were still latent claims to the crown, existing in the Gaelic hearts of the people. To his second grandson, William, he destined the litigated territories, in the Northumbrian regions. Him, he presented to the Northumbrian Barons, from whom he demanded a promise of obedience; taking hostages, for the performance of engagements, which were probably regarded, as only contingent. This investiture embittered the whole life of William, and involved his people in endless miseries. Worn out with solicitude, at the age of seventy-three, David died, at Carlisle, on the 24th of May 1153. He has been held up by historians, who were not addicted to flattery, as *the perfect exemplar of a good king*. David was, undoubtedly, an excellent man, and a beneficent sovereign: if he had acted with less zeal, as an English Baron, and more policy, as the Scottish king, his character would have approached nearer to perfection. David may be considered, however, as the salutary reformer of his country; the wise institutor of the municipal law of North-Britain: he founded towns, and he enacted the *Leges Burgorum*. He may be deemed the munificent founder of her church, for the improvement of his people, who were mixed, from various descents, and rude from ancient habits (*c*). And David introduced, as we have lately seen, so many Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Norman, and Anglo-Belgic Barons, into every district of North-Britain, that he may be said to have new peopled his realm with novel races of men, who were the great supporters of his crown, and the strenuous defenders of his kingdom.

MALCOLM IV.

Succeeded, in the twelfth year of his age, to the manly task of defending, with firmness, what his grandfather had acquired, with difficulty. Here commences what may be regarded, as one of the greatest infelicities of Scotland, and what was unknown, during her ancient policy, the frequent recurrence of minorities, in her government. Malcolm was soon called out to defend his country from invasion. On the 5th of November 1153, Somerled, the Lord of *the Isles*, an Hebridean chief of great influence, invaded Scotland, to satisfy his desire of adventure, as much as to vindicate the rights of the children of Malcolm, the assumed name of the impostor Wymund, who had married his

(*c*) The pious gratitude of Urban III. bestowed on David the title of "Princeps Catholicus et Christiani Fidei ampliatus." Chart. Glasg. 115.

daughter, and who had equally disturbed the former administration of David. After various conflicts, Somerled was repulsed, but not subdued. The peace with that potent chieftain, in 1153, was deemed of so much importance, as to form an epoch, in the dating of Scottish charters (*d*).

The demise of Stephen, the King of England, in 1154, and the accession of Henry II, in the same moment, soon called Malcolm to exercise his policy, rather than his power. Henry II, instead of performing his solemn engagements, that he would cede to David, or his heirs, the country, lying between the Tyne and the Tweed, demanded the restitution of those territories, which Malcolm held in England. Prudence induced him to relinquish what his strength could not defend against a prince of such abilities as Henry II. (*e*). In return, the King of England conferred on Malcolm, the honour of Huntingdon, which did not contribute to his own independence, and did not prevent the indignation of his people. But, Malcolm IV, it must be remembered, was still much under age (*f*); and is said to have been the ward of Henry II., who undoubtedly gave him a coronet (*g*), in 1157, when he did homage to the English king, as his grandfather had done, saving all his dignities.

Such were the manners of the age, that Malcolm, for the honour of knight-hood, seemed ready to surrender the independence of his kingdom. This pro-

(*d*) Shaw's Hist. Moray, p. 392.

(*e*) The English, and French, chroniclers, seem to concur, in representing, that Malcolm rendered, on that occasion, Carlisle, Babenburgh, Newcastle, *et Comitatum Ladonensum*. The Scottish historians deny, that Malcolm relinquished even the *sovereignty* of Lothian, to which Henry II. had not the least claim. Lord Hailes wrote a dissertation, in order to controvert the representations of Lord Lyttelton, on this point. Remarks on the History of Scotland, p. 41–88. Lord Hailes endeavours to show, that there was a Lothian, in England, as well as, in Scotland. I am not convinced by his labours: my researches have satisfied me, that there never was, any where, but one Lothian. In answer to Lord Lyttelton, whose notions, and language, are altogether modern, it had been quite sufficient to have said, that the chroniclers, which he quotes, as his authorities, opposed their assertions to charters, and their arguments to facts. I will, however, subjoin what would have strengthened the argument of Lord Hailes: The *Clavis* to the *Yorkshire dialect*, 1696, p. 80, would have informed his Lordship, that the Yorkshire apenines were called, by the country people, the *wolds*, *woulds*, or *wauds*; but what lay *under the hills*, or the *low lands*, upon the Humber, and the Ouse, they denominated the *Lowths*. We know, from record, what the grandfather of Malcolm IV. considered as *Lothian*. In a charter of David I. to the monks of Durham, he confirmed to them “has terras, in *Lodoneio*, scilicet, Coldingham, Aldcamus, Lumisden, Riston, Remington, Swinewood, Prendergast, Ecton, Cramesmuth, Lambton, Paxton, Fishwic, and Swinetun.” Chart. Coldingham; MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 17. Now; all these places are known, at this day, to be within Berwickshire, on the northern side of the Tweed.

(*f*) Yorke's Union of Honour, p. 165; Madox's Excheq. i. p. 539.

(*g*) Madox's Excheq. i. p. 207. Malcolm also enjoyed divers lands in Northamptonshire. Ib. 539.

ensity arose from one of the principles of chivalry, in those romantic times, which supposed, that a king could not be crowned till he had been knighted. When his Barons saw Malcolm serving on the continent, in the army of Henry, the indignant nobles broke out into insurrection. But, the interposition of the clergy, and the vigour of Malcolm, calmed their ruffled spirits (*b*).

In the meantime, the standard of rebellion was raised amidst the mountains of Galloway, where independence had ever resided. The Celtic people saw, with jealous eyes, the gradual introduction among them of the Anglo-Norman laws, and Anglo-Saxon people. Their resentment rose into revolt. In 1160, Malcolm led a discontented army into Galloway: and, he was twice repulsed. In a third attempt, he overpowered the insurgents, in battle. Fergus, the Lord of Galloway, bowed down to his superiority; gave his son Uchtred, as a hostage; and assumed himself the habit of a canon-regular in the Abbey of Holyrood, where he died, in 1161 (*i*).

By that example, the people of Moray, who equally affected independence, were not terrified. They also perceived, with indignant apprehension, the Anglo-Norman jurisprudence intrude upon their Celtic customs; and Anglo-Belgic colonists settle in their Gaelic country: they likewise raised the standard of revolt, in support of their native principles, and in defence of their ancient laws. But, after a violent struggle, Malcolm obliged them, in 1161, to submit to his power, without understanding his policy. The Moray-men are maligned, by history, as a people, who were not to be allured by largesses, bound by treaties, nor influenced by oaths. Malcolm is said, though without any proof of an egregious improbability, to have removed the inhabitants of Moray, from their ancient seats, and to have planted their lands with new people (*k*).

Amidst

(*b*) Chron. Meilros, p. 168.

(*i*) Chron. St. Cruce, in *Anglia Sacra*, i. 161-2; Chron. Meilros, 168; Fergus, the Lord of Galloway, was the common progenitor of Bruce, and Baliol, and of other great families, probably, by Elizabeth, a natural daughter of Henry I. Yorke's *Union of Honour*; Hoveden, p. 539.

(*k*) Fordun, lib. viii. c. 6; Shaw's *Moray*, 213-15; Lord Haile's *An. i* p. 107. Fordun, who was the first, who talked wildly about the Moray-men, did not see, that they were a distinct people from the Scoto-Saxons; neither did he understand, that they spoke a dissimilar language, and practised different customs. The struggles, between those two races of men, which began, as we have perceived, during the reign of Alexander I, continued, till the battle of Culloden decided the contest, in 1746. The dispossessing of a whole people is so difficult an operation, that the recital of it cannot be believed, without strong evidence. It is, indeed, certain, that new laws were introduced, that new officers were appointed, that new castles were built, that foreigners were planted among them: The charter of Innes was granted, at the moment of that revolt, to *Berowaldus, Flandrensis*; to Berowald, the Flandrekin. Shaw's *Hist. of Moray*, 391. In that age, also, as we have seen, Freskin, a Fleming, the genuine progenitor of all the Moraes, obtained some of the

Amidst those domestic insurrections, Somerled, the powerful Lord of the Hebride Isles, prepared to make another attempt, in addition to the various invasions of a dozen years. He came into the Clyde, with a considerable armament; and he landed, in 1164, near Renfrew, the seat of the Stewart of Scotland: but, Somerled was encountered by the gallant inhabitants, who gave him a decisive blow, which, as they slew the chief, with his son, Gillicolane, closed the restless adventures of an ambitious man (*l*).

Malcolm, at the age of twenty-four, however, by his vigour, triumphed over all his adversaries. But, he did not long enjoy his good fortune; as he died of a lingering disease, at Jedburgh, on the 9th of December 1165 (*m*). The events of his reign exhibit his character in a very different light, from the gross caricatures of the Scottish historians: in these, he appears with the features of impotence, and incapacity: the facts of his life depict him, as a youth, with some imprudence, but more magnanimity, who was very capable of planning, and executing, measures of a hazardous policy, for the interest of his people (*n*).

WILLIAM,

The brother of Malcolm, was crowned, on the 24th of December 1165 (*e*). In the subsequent year, he repaired to the court of Henry II, in order to solicit what formed the great object, and infelicity, of his reign, the restitution of Northumberland, in which he had been enfeoffed, by his grandfather, David I. With youthful impatience, he passed into France, in order to serve under the banners of Henry II, though his counsellors informed him how much indignation this inconsiderate step had raised against his predecessor. Henry II. was not a prince, who was to be captivated, by such attentions. That politic monarch amused him with fair promises, and consented to prolong the truce with Scotland; because his own interest consisted, in preserving peace, on his northern borders, during his war on the continent.

best districts, in the lowlands of Moray, whereon he built the castle of Duffus. In those novelties, we may find the true causes of the frequent revolts of the Moray-men, and of the fictions of Fordun, which have been re-echoed, by Lord Hailes.

(*l*) Chron. Meilros, 169.

(*m*) Chron. Meilros, 169; Annals of Ulster; Bromton, 1059; Wm. of Newbrig, p. 83-4-5; 116, 166-7.

(*n*) Will. of Newbrig; and see some curious anecdotes of Malcolm IV, in Bromton, 975.

(*e*) Chron. Meilros, 170.

The tedious effluxion of a twelvemonth made William feel, that he had been amused with fruitless hopes. And, in 1168, he sent ambassadors to France, in order to negotiate an alliance with that kingdom against England. This is the first negotiation, between Scotland, and France, of which we have any authentic information (*o*). The real interest of the two weaker powers concurred, on that occasion, in a common measure against a too powerful opponent. The Scottish king, however, soon after did homage to Henry, for the lands, which he impolitically possessed in England.

William incessantly solicited the restoration of Northumberland, though he might have seen, in the excuses of Henry, the determination of his adversary to retain what his own impotence could not enforce. He was thus stimulated to enter into a confederacy with Henry's son against his father. In 1173, inroads were made on both sides, which only wasted the borders, and embittered the spirits of the two kings, without gaining any reasonable object. In the subsequent year, William made a more unfortunate incursion. With a numerous, but undisciplined army, consisting of Scots, Galloway-men, and Flemings, he laid siege to Alnwick Castle. And such was his inattention, that he allowed himself to be carried off, on the 13th of July 1174, from the midst of his army, a captive, by a gallant band of Yorkshire Barons (*p*). The Scottish king was conducted to the presence of Henry, at Northampton, with such circumstances of insult, as rather disgraced the English sovereign, than degraded the captive monarch. Henry sent his prisoner to Falaise, in Normandy, in order to exhibit to the continental powers his good fortune, and his triumph. On the 8th of December 1174, the Scottish people bought the freedom of their inconsiderate king, at the expence of their country's independence: William became the liege man of Henry; he surrendered the castles of Roxburgh, Jedburgh, Berwick, Edinburgh, and Stirling; and he gave his brother David, and some of his principal Barons, as hostages, for the faithful performance of this disgraceful treaty. The Scottish clergy, however, by an effort of address, and fortitude, which does them great honour, saved the independent rights of their national church.

The captivity of William, with his principal ministers, was the signal, for enkindling a civil war, in Galloway, and for raising the standard of insurrection throughout Scotland. Fergus, the Lord of Galloway, who died, in 1161, left two sons, Uchtred, and Gilbert. According to the ancient custom of the

(*o*) Lord Lyttelton's *Henry II.* iv. p. 218; Lord Hailes's *Annals*, i. p. 112. This may be properly named the *old league with France*.

(*p*) Will. of Newbrig, lib. ii. c. xxiii; Lord Lyttel. *Hist. Henry II.* iii. p. 148.

Gaelic people, in that region, the lands of the father were divided between the two sons. Uchtred, and Gilbert, as dependants, attended, with their fighting men, the Scottish king, when he invaded Northumberland. The king's disaster was a sufficient intimation to the men of Galloway to retire into their native wilds. They slew the subjects of Scotland, English, and Norman, who had settled, in their country; they expelled the king's officers, and threw down the king's castles (*q*). They now proceeded to murder each other. On the 22d of September 1174, Gilbert assassinated his brother, Uchtred, with peculiar circumstances of savage barbarity. In the subsequent year, William, as soon as he had regained his liberty, marched into Galloway, in order to chastise Gilbert: but, the Scottish king accepted a pecuniary satisfaction, according to the ancient custom, instead of executing rigid justice. In 1176, Gilbert attended Henry, at York, did him homage, and was received into favour. Henry II. is said to have sold his protection to the fratricide, for a thousand merks (*r*).

Incited by the powerful protection of the English monarch, Gilbert, in 1184, carried devastation into Scotland. The fears, or the impotence of William, offered a compromise to the savage Lord of Galloway. But, he was of a temper to prefer the uncertainties of hostility, amidst a rude people, to the gratifications of peace. From such a character, the world was freed, by his death, in 1185 (*s*). In this year, William, his brother David, and his Barons, met Henry II, at London, to consult, touching a supply for the holy land (*t*).

The decease of Gilbert roused to action Roland, the gallant son of Uchtred. On the 4th of July 1185, he totally defeated the vassals of the late Lord, and slew Gilpatrick, their leader (*u*). He equally subdued the hordes of banditti, which the civil war had spread over an unhappy land. And, by those successes, he possessed himself of the whole extent of Galloway. At the enterprizes of the intrepid Roland, Henry was incensed, as much as William was gratified. The English monarch assembled, in 1186, a great army, at Carlisle, with design to invade Galloway. Roland was not dismayed. He fortified, by those natural means, which were in his power, the passes of a strong country, which he resolved to defend. The interest of all parties concurred, in dictating a compromise. Roland agreed to submit to the English judicatories the decision of what had been possessed by Gilbert, and was now claimed by his son, Duncan.

(*q*) Hoveden, 539.

(*r*) Hoveden, 541-555: The fact is that, in 1180, Gilbert, the son of Fergus, was charged, in the English Exchequer, with the enormous sum of £919 9 0 for the good will of Henry. Madox Excheq. i. p. 473.

(*s*) Crawford's Peerage, 155

(*t*) Madox's Excheq. i. p. 20.

(*u*) Chron. Meil. 176.

And

And Henry, having thus enforced his favourite policy of subjugating Scotland, granted peace to Roland. William, on his part, feeling that, his own independence was compromised, tried to settle a contest, which was so fatal to himself, and his people. In 1186, he granted the district of Carrick, which formed a considerable part of ancient Galloway, to Duncan, as a full satisfaction, for his various claims. And, in the final settlement of the civil war of Galloway, we may see the erection of a new earldom, and the commencement of a family, which was destined to give to Scotland a new series of kings, in the person of Robert Bruce (*u*).

Meanwhile, disturbances arose in every district of North-Britain. The Gaelic people rose upon the new settlers, and forced them to seek shelter in towns, and castles. In Ross-shire, where the inhabitants were by habit little obedient to law, and were easily misled, by any bold pretender, the people broke out into insurrection. In 1179, William marched into the north, where his superiority commanded submission. In Ross, he built two strengths, which did not, however, ensure lasting quiet, while the business of peace was less followed, than the tumult of hostility (*x*). In 1187, Donal, the son of William, the grandson of Duncan, the bastard king of Scotland, disturbed the tranquillity of the north, by his pretensions to sovereignty. He took possession of Ross; and he wasted Moray. The Scottish king led an army against this pretender to his crown. In the vicinity of Inverness, Roland, the gallant Lord of Galloway, decided the fate of Donal, on the 5th of July 1187, when he slew him, in the accidental rencounter of a foraging party (*y*). His head was triumphantly brought to William, as a savage sign of returning quiet, by the overthrow of usurpation. It is a sufficient proof of the ignorance, and barbarity, of the times, that any audacious imposter was able to raise a sufficient force to maintain a vigorous war against the whole efforts of the royal power.

During the year 1188, Henry II. sent Hugh, the bishop of Durham, and several clerks, into Scotland, to collect a *disme* for the holy-land: but, steady opposition allowed them very little success (*z*). Henry offered to restore the castles of Roxburgh, and Berwick, if William would pay the tenths of the kingdom, for the holy-war: yet, the Barons, and clergy, indignantly said, in Parliament; “that *they* would not, although *both* the kings should have sworn “to levy them (*a*).”

(*u*) Ford. viii. c. xl; Crawford's Peer. 69; Dougl. Peer. 126. (*x*) Chron. Meil. 174.

(*y*) Chron. Meil. 177; Fordun, lib. viii. c. xxviii. There is reason to believe, that Donal, who assumed, according to the genius of the country, the name of MacWilliam, was either an impostor, or a bastard. Dug. Monast. i. 400, 758; Dug. Bar. i. 81. It is apparent, then, that Donal, above mentioned, could not be the legitimate son of William, the son of Duncan.

(*z*) Madax's Excheq. i. 20.

(*a*) Lord Hailes's An. i. 131; Benedict. Ab. 514.

An event was at hand, which was of still more importance to William, and his kingdom. On the 6th of July 1189, died Henry II, who employed great abilities, and superior power, during a long reign, in oppressing Scotland. Richard, his magnanimous successor, acted with more genuine policy, when he restored to William all, that had been extorted by Henry. On the 5th of December 1189, Richard made a formal restitution of the independence of Scotland, with all her rights, as they had been enjoyed by Malcolm IV, and as the kingdom was bounded, at the captivity of William (*n*). For this noble boon, the Scottish king agreed to pay ten thousand merks, Sterling: neither William, nor his people, could discharge so large a sum, at one payment. And, there is reason to believe, that he called a convention of his bishops, and barons, at Musselburgh, who gave him an aid, for so valuable a consideration, however embarrassing it was to a people (*o*), who could only obtain scanty opulence, from the sale of wool, hydes, and skins. It is always pleasant to remark reciprocations of generosity. When William heard of the captivity of the gallant Richard, he sent him two thousand merks, towards his redemption (*d*).

Scotland was now independant: and it was to be lamented, that William accepted what Richard agreed to convey, the earldom of Huntington, and other English territories; because the performance of the feudal ceremonies, by the Scottish kings, had, in the eyes of the vulgar, the appearance of acknowledgements for the independence of the kingdom. On the 22d November 1200, William did homage to John, the successor of Richard, with “a saving of his own rights (*p*).” After the performance of the accustomed ceremony, which was not, in that age, regarded as disgraceful, he demanded the restitution of the three northern counties of England, as his ancient inheritance. An answer was promised, which there was no purpose to give; and a disappointment ensued, that embittered enjoyment, by deferring hope.

Meantime, Harald, the Earl of Cathness, disturbed the peace of the north, in 1196. William, with his usual promptitude, dispersed the insurgents. But, they were not subdued. They appeared in the subsequent year, near Inverness, under the command of Torphin, the son of Harald. The rebels were again overpowered, by the royal army. The king now marched through Ross, beyond the river Ochil, throughout the earldom of Cathness (*q*); seized Harald, and obliged him to deliver his son Torphin, as a hostage. Harald was allowed

(*n*) The instrument of renunciation is in Rym. Fœd. i. 64; see Hoveden, 662; and Bromton, 1168.

(*o*) Lord Hailes's An. i. 133.

(*d*) Chron. Meilros, 179.

(*p*) Hoveden, 811-2; Fordun, lib. viii. c. lxi.

(*q*) Fordun, lib. viii. c. 59; Torfæus's Orcades, lib. xi. c. xxxviii.

to retain the northern divisions of Cathness; but, the southern part of it, which was called Sutherland, was given to Hugh Freskin, the progenitor of the Earls of Sutherland. Harald died, in 1206 (*r*). But, his son, in the end, paid the forfeit of his father's reiterated rebellions, and his own turbulence, by suffering, in the castle of Roxburgh, a death of such cruelty, as the savageness of the age could alone dictate, or endure (*s*).

William had scarcely calmed the troubles of those northern districts, when disputes arose on his southern borders, with a more powerful adversary. The English king, in order to overawe Berwick, built a castle, at Tweedmouth, in 1204. William demolished it, as often as this invidious building was erected. In 1209, John brought an army to Norham; and the Scottish king led his warriors to Berwick. The Barons, on both sides, who feared the events of war, mediated a peace, between the hostile monarchs. William became bound to pay the king of England fifteen thousand marks, for procuring his friendship, and for his performance of certain stipulations. William also gave hostages, for the payment of that vast sum, by periodical instalments: and he delivered his two daughters, Margaret, and Isabella, to John, in order, that he might provide them, in honourable marriages (*t*). This treaty, like other unequal agreements, was not very accurately performed, on either side. The aged William, who was censured, for this pacification, called a great council, at Stirling, in 1211. He asked assistance, to enable him to fulfil the stipulations of the late treaty. The Barons, who owed him an aid, for the marriage of his daughters, gave him ten thousand marks; and the boroughs contributed six thousand, if Fordun may be credited, for this improbability (*u*).

In the meantime, a new insurrection broke out, during the year 1211, in Ross, among a people, who, from their habits of life, set little value on the blessings of peace. Guthred, the pretended son of MacWilliam, who had fallen, on the same field, in 1187, landed from Ireland, and spread devastation, according to the savage custom of the age. He for some time baffled the King's troops, amidst the fastnesses of a mountainous region. But, the King, even at his advanced age, marched against the insurgents: and, Guthred, being betrayed by his followers, was executed, in 1212, by William Cumyn, the justiciary of Scotland (*x*).

(*r*) Chron. Meilros, 182.

(*s*) Chron. Meil. 180; Fordun, lib. viii. c. 59; Torfæus's Orcades, 144-7.

(*t*) Ford. lib. viii. c. 71-2; Chron. Meilros, 183; Rym. Fæd. i. 155.

(*u*) Fordun, lib. viii. c. 73: Lord Hailes's An. i. 139.

(*x*) Chron. Meil. 185; Fordun, lib. viii. c. 76.

William, worn out with age, and infirmities, died at Stirling, on the 4th of December 1214, in the seventy-second year of his age, and the forty-ninth of his reign (*y*). By Ermengarde, the daughter of Richard, the Viscount of Beaumont, whom he married, in 1186, William left a son, and three daughters. William appears to have been a prince of not much penetration, or judgement. He might have foreseen, that the territories, in England, which he claimed, as his inheritance, would never be delivered to him; and would not have promoted the interest of his people, if he had acquired them. His misconduct at Alnwick was the cause of his own disgrace, and his people's misfortunes. He showed dexterity, however, in regaining the independence of his kingdom, by watching the necessities of Richard. In quelling domestic insurrections, he evinced the activity of his nature. And, by administering justice, with steadiness, and severity, he in some measure tamed the fierceness of undisciplined tribes. He followed, successfully, the steps of his predecessors, in maintaining the independence of the church of Scotland, which was frequently undermined by intrigue, and often assaulted by power.

ALEXANDER II,

The son of William, was crowned, at Scone, in the seventeenth year of his age, on the 5th of December 1214 (*z*). His repose was soon disturbed by an inroad, which Donald M'William made from Ireland into Moray; and which was easily repulsed by the warlike tribes of that region, who were led by M'Intagart, the Earl of Ross. The head of the invader was triumphantly brought to the youthful king, according to the savage practice of a rude age (*a*).

Freed from this embarrassment, Alexander was induced, by the interested promises of the English Barons, to engage in hostilities with John, the object of their hate. In expectation of regaining the northern shires, the Scottish king besieged the castle of Norham, without success. In 1216, John made a signal retaliation. He wasted Yorkshire, and Northumberland; and passing the

(*y*) Chron. Meil. 186; Fordun, lib. viii. c. 79.

(*z*) Chron. Meil. 186; Fordun, lib. ix. c. i: Yet, in 1233, the archbishop of York entered an *appeal*, in the nature of a protest, which was adopted by Henry III, against the coronation of Alexander, as prejudicial to the dignity of the king of England, and derogatory from the rights of the archbishop. The writ is in Prynne, iii. 85; and in Rym. Fœd. i. 328.

(*a*) Chron. Meil. 180.

Tweed, with his army of mercenaries, he penetrated into Scotland, and burnt Dunbar, and Haddington. His devastations, by cutting off his own subsistence, obliged his army to retire: and, during their retreat, while enraged by disappointment, they burnt the priory of Coldingham, and the town of Berwick; John himself carrying the foremost torch. Alexander imitated this rage of devastation. He entered England, by the western marches, with fire and sword. The Galloway-men, who were now called *Scots*, as they were, in the former age, denominated Picts, fired the monastery of Holmcultram, in Cumberland (*b*). In returning, with their plunder, a thousand of *the wild Scots of Galloway* are said to have been swallowed up, by the river Eden (*c*). Alexander dismissed from his service those ferocious plunderers, who enfeebled his army, by their turbulence, more than they strengthened it, by their valour. While the Scottish king was marching forward to join Louis, the French prince, and the discontented Barons, he heard of the demise of John, in consequence of poison, on the 16th of October 1216 (*d*).

The shameful defeat of Louis, soon after, induced him to make a dishonourable peace, without including his Scottish ally. Deserted thus, Alexander made his peace with Henry III, in 1217: he relinquished the town of Carlisle; and he did homage to the English monarch, for the earldom of Huntingdon, and for those territories, which his predecessors had held of the English crown (*e*).

The pacification with England, which was confirmed by mutual marriages, had scarcely taken place, when an insurrection broke out, amidst the wilds of Argyle. The perseverance of Alexander, notwithstanding the obstructions of nature, enabled him to pass the defiles of this rugged country. The men of Argyle submitted to his power: their chiefs fled from his resentment. And, he distributed their lands among his officers, with their followers, who enforced obedience, by their settlement, and taught civility by their example (*f*).

A tumult arose in Cathness, during the year 1222, on account of the exaction of tithes. Adam, the Bishop, was burnt in his palace of Halkirk. The Earl of Cathness was supposed to connive at this barbarity, if he did not incite the insurrection. Alexander, while journeying to England, heard of events, which were disgraceful to his reign, however suitable to the savageness of the people,

(*b*) Chron. Meil. 190.

(*c*) Id: The *Eden* of the chronicle was probably the Solway, which was more likely, from its shifting sands, to have swallowed up the Gallowaymen, in returning to their own country.

(*d*) Chron. Meil. 190-1; M. Paris, 199.

(*e*) Rym. Fœd. i. 224; Chron. Meil. 195; Fordun, lib. ix. c. xxxi.

(*f*) Fordun, lib. ix. c. xxxiv.

and the age. He hastened into the north : and he inflicted on the multitude punishments of such severity, as outraged justice ; and he deprived the Earl of his estate, which he allowed him afterwards to redeem (*d*). The Earl was himself murdered, by his own servants, in his own house, during the year 1231 (*e*). His family, and the state, had now a sad example of the danger, which arises from inciting tumult, and perverting morals, amidst a rude people, in an irascible age. It was, during those events, probably, that the earldom of Sutherland was formed, for the family of Freskin ; in order to overawe the turbulence of the Earls of Cathness.

Meantime, a new insurrection was raised in Moray, in 1228, by Gillespoc M'Scolane. Devastation accompanied his inroad. He burned some wooden castles ; he fired Inverness ; and he spoiled the crown lands, in that vicinity. The King hastened against him, with a very slender power ; but without success (*f*). In the subsequent year, William Cumyn, the Earl of Buchan, and justiciary of Scotland, who was supported by his numerous vassals, dispersed the insurgents, and executed justice on Gillespoc, and his two sons (*g*).

Upon a more obvious principle, the standard of revolt was raised, in Galloway. Alan, the son of Roland, and great-grandson of Fergus, died, in 1234 ; leaving three daughters, though by different marriages, his heiresses, and a bastard son. The Galloway-men, who could not see, without indignation, their country parcelled out to several lords, petitioned the King to assume the lordship : but, Alexander sacrificed his ambition on the altar of justice. They next requested, that Thomas, the bastard son of Alan, who had married a daughter of the king of Man, might be appointed their lord : but, Alexander again preferred his own rectitude to their gratification. They rose, in support of their principles. The standard of revolt was now carried through Galloway, by the bastard, and Gilroth, an Irish chief. They even attacked Scotland, with fire and sword. Alexander led an army against the insurgents. He found them in a strong country ; and he obtained a victory ; but it was with great efforts of perseverance, and bravery. The insurgents now submitted to his mercy, which his equity did not withhold from mistaken, rather than seditious, subjects. And

(*d*) Fordun, lib. ix. c. xxxvii ; Chron. Mail. 199 ; Torfæus's *Orcades*, lib. i. c. xl.

(*e*) Chron. Meil. 201 : His name was John ; but of what family is uncertain.

(*f*) Those circumstances gave rise, probably, to the stat. Alexander II. ch. 15, which inflicted penalties on those " qha passes nocht to the king's hoist : " and see ch. xvii. " of the Dome agains " Gylascope."

(*g*) Fordun, lib. ix. c. xlvii. It was on that occasion, probably, that the great district of Badenach was given, by Alexander, to Walter Cumyn, the son of the Earl of Buchan.

he restored the lordship of Galloway to the heirs parceners of Alan. The bastard, and Gilroth, returned with auxiliaries from Ireland, in the subsequent year: but, finding little support from the Galloway-men, they surrendered at discretion, and received their pardons from a merciful king. The followers of Gilroth, trying to escape to Ireland from the Clyde, were put to death by the citizens of Glasgow (*b*). In this insurrection of the men of Galloway, we may see a principle of Anglo-Norman law enforced, by the sword, against the habits of the people: and, in dividing the Gaelic country among the Anglo-Norman husbands of the coparceners, we may perceive how the lands were settled by new people, who improved them by their labour, and spread civilization by their manners (*i*).

Owing to whatever policy of ambition, or weakness, Henry III. called in question, during the year 1233, the validity of the coronation of Alexander, and even attempted, by intrigues, at Rome, to deprive the Scottish king of the independence of his crown (*k*). By an interview between the two Kings, at Newcastle, they tried, in vain, to settle their misunderstandings. They adjusted, however, their mutual pretensions, at York, in September 1237: in compensation, for the claims of Alexander, Henry agreed to settle lands upon him in Northumberland, and in Cumberland, of the yearly value of two hundred pounds: and for this unequal equivalent, Alexander swore fealty to Henry, according to the ancient practice (*l*). The manners of the age, or the necessities of the occasion, could alone justify such impolitic treaties.

But, unequal agreements seldom last long. Jealousies arose between the neighbouring nations, in 1244. A rumour was brought to Henry, that Alexander had said, he owed no homage to England, for any part of his territories: Henry suspected, that Alexander intrigued against him in France. Such were

(*b*) Chron. Meil. 201; Fordun, lib. ix. c. xlviii; Wyntown, book vii. c. ix; M. Paris, 294.

(*i*) Helen, by the first wife of Alan, married Roger de Quinci, the Earl of Winchester, who became constable of Scotland, in her right, as representative of the great family of the Morevilles. Christian, the eldest daughter of Alan by Margaret, the daughter of David Earl of Huntingdon, married William de Fortibus, the son of the Earl of Albemarle; but, she died without issue. Dervorgille, the youngest daughter, married John Baliol of Bernards Castle, to whose issue, as the proper representatives of David, Earl of Huntingdon, she conveyed a claim to the crown. The Chron. of Meilros, 201, and Fordun, lib. ix. c. xlviii., state that, Dervorgille was older than Christian; and in this error, they have been followed by Lord Hailes, An. i. 151: but, the genealogical claim of Baliol, which he gave in to Edward I, states, formally, that Christian was the eldest sister, who died, without issue, and thereby Dervorgille, the youngest sister, became the representative of David, Earl of Huntingdon. See Baliol's claim, in Rym. Fœd. ii. 579.

(*k*) Rym. Fœd. i. 328-334-5.

(*l*) Rym. Fœd. i. 374, 400. He swore fealty, not for his kingdom; but for the lands, which he held in England, according to the practice of his ancestors.

the motives, which occasioned vast preparations for war. Henry assembled a great army at Newcastle, while he incited Irish adventurers to invade Scotland. Alexander marched to the frontiers with an army of a hundred thousand men, if we may credit the calculations of that age, who were unanimous and brave, and who were still more powerful from their resolution, that the clergy had inspired, to die in the just defence of their religion, and country (*m*). A smaller army, animated by such motives, would have been extremely formidable to an abler leader than Henry. This sentiment soon spread among the English Barons. And they mediated a reconciliation, between the hostile kings, at Newcastle, in August 1244, which, as it was made on equal terms, proved of lasting benefit to the contiguous nations (*n*). The character of Alexander, who was admired even by the English people, as “a devout, upright, and courteous prince,” procured him greater attentions, from Henry, who had lately felt his influence, and had also seen his power (*o*).

Meanwhile, the wild Scots of Galloway, who had been compelled to receive strange lords, and new laws, were not reconciled to either, by the harshness of Roger de Quinci. A Gaelic people could no longer bear, with any patience, the feudal services. And, in 1247, they besieged their lord, in his castle, the seat of their oppressions, and the object of their hate. De Quinci, armed at all points, sallied out with his adherents; cut his way through the unsuspecting besiegers; and made his complaint to the Scottish king. Alexander, with his usual attention to justice, chastised the insurgents, and reinstated the Earl, in his rights, but not in the good opinion of the Galloway-men. Roger de Quinci died on the 25th of April 1264; leaving by Helen, one of the coheirs of Alan, three daughters, the coparceners of his vast estates (*p*).

The refractoriness of Angus, the Lord of Argyle, next attracted the policy of Alexander. This chief, who had usually paid his homage to the king of Norway, for some of the Hebride Isles, refused his homage to the Scottish sovereign. Alexander marched an army against him, with design to enforce submission (*q*). But, he died in Kerrera, an islet, near the coast of Argyle, on the

(*m*) M. Paris, 432-36; Brady's His. 591-3.

(*n*) Rym. Fœd. i. 428-9: In fact, the treaty of York was renewed: and Alexander stipulated to live in amity with England, and not to aid her enemies, unless the English king should do him wrong. This treaty was confirmed by the Pope. Prynne's Coll. ii. 620-1.

(*o*) Id. M. Paris, 432-36.

(*p*) M. Paris, 496; Dugd. Bar. i. 688: (1.) Margaret married William de Ferrers the Earl of Derby; (2.) Elizabeth married Alexander Cumyn, the Earl of Buchan; Elena married Alan la Zouche, an English Baron.

(*q*) M. Paris, 515-6; Chron. Meil. 219.

8th of July 1249, in the 51st year of his age, and the 35th of his reign. He was buried in the Abbey of Meilros, in conformity to his own desire (*r*). By his first wife, Joan, the daughter of John, the king of England, whom he married in 1221, he left no issue: by his second wife, Mary, the daughter of Ingelram de Couci, whom he married, in 1239, he left a son, who was born at Roxburgh, on the 4th of September 1241 (*s*). Alexander II. was undoubtedly one of the best of the Scottish kings: he was, properly, characterized by Fordun, as a king, pious, just, brave; as the shield of the church, the safeguard of the people, and the friend of the miserable.

ALEXANDER III.

Succeeded his father, in the eighth year of his age. He was crowned, on the 13th of July, 1249, notwithstanding the scruples of superstition, and the prejudice of chivalry: The day was said to be unlucky, and it was added, that the prince had not yet been knighted. But, Walter Cumyn, the Earl of Menteith, who remembered the late protest of the Archbishop of York, and knew, that the King of England was intriguing at Rome, to obstruct the coronation, without his consent, insisted, that the Bishop of St. Andrew's should knight, and crown, the heir of their lamented king. David de Berneham, the Bishop of St. Andrew's, recollecting the example of Anselm, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who had knighted William Rufus, knighted also, and crowned, prince Alexander. The bold baron of Menteith deserves lasting praise, for having thus exploded a scruple, which might have involved an irascible nation in civil war. The coronation oath was explained to the youthful king in Latin, and in French. After he had been placed on the *fatal stone*, a Gaelic Seanachie approached him, in the simple mode of ancient times; and, in the absence of heralds, repeating his genealogy, the Seanachie pronounced his benison in his country's language, Benach de Re Albanich, Alexander, Mac-Alexander, Mac-William, Mac-David, Mac-Malcolm (*t*).

Alexander celebrated his nuptials with Margaret, the daughter of Henry, in 1251. He, on that occasion, did homage to the English king, for his English lands.

(*r*) Fordun, lib. ix. c. lxiii.

(*s*) Lord Hailes An. i. App. No. ix. Alexander II. granted to the monks of Newbotle the valley of Lethan, &c. for the souls of his ancestors, David, Malcolm, and William, as well as for the soul of Earl Henry, and for his own safety, and that of Mary, his queen, whose body was left to be buried, at Newbotle. Chart. Newbotle, No. 129. Mary had brought him his heir Alexander III, in 1241; and she died abroad, in 1284. Fordun.

(*t*) Chron. Meil. 219; Rym. Fœd. i. 463. Fordun, l. x. c. 1, 2. Fordun says that, at the coronation

lands. Yet, did the interestedness of Henry demand of his infant son, homage for the kingdom of Scotland. But, with a fortitude, and prudence, which would have done honour to an experienced politician, the King of Scots said, that he had come to marry the Princess of England, but not to treat of affairs of state; and that he could not take a step, so important, without the approbation of his great council (*u*).

From that epoch ensued, during the king's minority, the intrigues of interest, and the perturbations of ambition, in a continual series. In 1255, the ruling chiefs were removed, by the influence of Henry, and a new faction was elevated to the misrule of an unhappy kingdom. The *Cumyns* were the family of the greatest possessions, and influence, during that minority. Animated by them, the discontented nobles burst out into insurrection, and seized the persons of the king, and queen, in order that they might rule, in their names. This faction, consisting of the most powerful men of Scotland, entered into a league with the Welsh, who were then in arms against Henry, which had for its end, that neither of the parties should make peace with the King of England, without mutual consent (*x*). Henry found it necessary to accommodate himself to the state of parties, and of power, in Scotland. And, a regency was formed, in 1258, which, comprehending the chiefs of the several factions, produced an immediate calm, in a troubled state (*y*). The minority of Alexander III. seems to have been the epoch, when faction first came out upon the stage, in Scotland, for the obvious purposes of sharing power, and dividing profit.

Alexander, and his queen, visited Henry, her father, at London, in 1260. The safe conduct, which was given them, on that occasion, bore, "that neither the king, nor his attendants, should be required to treat of state affairs, during this visit (*b*)."
Henry made oath, that he would neither detain the Queen of Scots, nor her child, if she should be delivered, in England. It was formally agreed, that the Scottish queen should lie in, at her father's court. What manners! what morals! Henry again made oath, that he would restore the queen, and her child: He engaged, in case of the demise of Alexander, to deliver the infant prince to the regency of Scotland. A daughter was soon

coronation of the infant Alexander III., his duty was explained to him by the Bishop of St. Andrew's, in Latin, and then expounded in French, l. x. c. 1. Lord Hailes erroneously enlarges, from the above passage, that *the coronation oath* was put to the king. Annals i. 162. His lordship ought to have known, that there was no *coronation oath*, in that age; and he might have found, that the above passage is not to be seen, in the genuine Fordun of Hearne.

(*u*) Rym. Fæd. i. 467; M. Paris, 554-5.

(*x*) Rym. Fæd. i. 653.

(*y*) Rym. Fæd. i. 670.

(*b*) Ib. 713.

after

after born to the Scottish king, and named Margaret (*c*). The whole conduct of Henry, with regard to Scotland, had been so basely captious, that the Scottish statesmen could not demand too many securities against his interested practices.

The King of England, however, endeavoured, in 1262, to save Scotland from invasion. Hearing that Haco, the King of Norway, was preparing for war, Henry interposed his good offices to prevent a rupture between the two northern kingdoms. Haco gave assurances, which he knew were unreal. In the subsequent year, the King of Norway came into the Clyde, with a powerful armament. He landed at Largs, in Ayrshire. But, he was attacked by the Scottish people, who gave him a total defeat, on the 2nd of October, 1263. In making his retreat from the hostile Clyde, his fleet was dispersed by a storm. Haco arrived, in Orkney, only, to deplore his misfortunes, and to die (*d*). Magnus, the King of Man, now did homage to Alexander (*e*). The decisive victory of Largs brought to a conclusion a very tedious negotiation, for the sale of the Hebride isles. Magnus, the King of Norway, agreed, in 1266, to relinquish to Alexander those islands, including Man, with all his Hebridian rights, in consideration of four thousand marks, and an yearly quit-rent of one hundred marks, for ever. The laws of Scotland were, in future, to prevail within the ceded isles; but, the Scandinavian inhabitants of those regions were allowed freely to retire, with their effects. Orkney, and Shetland, remained to Norway (*f*). This, then, was one of the most fortunate acquisitions, which Scotland had ever obtained; as it tended to exclude foreign invasions, and to prevent domestic troubles.

In the meantime, a civil war having broken out in England, Alexander, in return, for the late interposition of Henry, sent him a numerous body of Scottish warriors, who were commanded by John Cumyn, John Baliol, and Robert

(*c*) Rym. Fœd. i. 74-15; Chron. Mail. 223.

(*d*) Rym. Fœd. i. 753; Ib. 772; Torfæus N. Hist. vol. iv. ch. 47; Chron. Mail. 225; Ford. l. x. c. 16; who intimates, that some of the Scottish barons had invited Haco to invade their country. See the *Norwegian Account of Haco's Expedition*, in Johnstone's ed. 1782: "The Scottish army is herein said to have consisted of near fifteen hundred knights: All their horses had breast-plates; and there were many Spanish horses in complete armour. The Scottish king had besides a numerous army of foot soldiers, who were well accoutred: They generally had bows, and spears."

(*e*) Ford. l. x. c. 18.

(*f*) Torfæus N. Hist. iv. 343; Ford. l. x. c. 19; Calendar of ancient charters, 328. There is a copy of that treaty, in the curious volume of MSS. which was lately transmitted, by the King's order, from the Paper Office, to the Register House at Edinburgh. And see Fordun, p. 1349. This treaty was confirmed by an agreement between Robert I. and Haco V. King of Norway, in 1312. Robertson's Index, p. 101.

Bruce, three illustrious barons of the greatest possessions, in Scotland. They shared in the defeat, and disgrace, of the battle of Lewis, on the 14th of May, 1264. Cumyn, and Bruce, with other Scottish chiefs, who were there made prisoners, regained their liberty, in the subsequent year, when the civil war was closed, on the decisive field of Evesham. The captiousness of the one party, and the jealousy of the other, introduced a stipulation, that those reinforcements should be received, rather as *auxiliaries* than as *vassals* (g).

From this period, Alexander employed several years of his manhood, in maintaining the independence of the Scottish church against the pretensions of the Pope, and in restraining the encroachments of the Scottish clergy. His firmness, and his prudence, gave him final success, in both those difficult operations. At Michaelmas, 1278, Alexander was called to perform a duty of equal delicacy. At the coronation of Edward I. of England, the Scottish king swore fealty to him, in general terms. Robert Bruce, the Earl of Carrick, by order of Alexander, and with the consent of Edward, performed the ceremony of homage, “for the services due, for the lands, which I hold of the King of England (b).” The captiousness of the English sovereigns, during those feudal times, was so gross, as even to be obvious to the eyes of the infants, who governed Scotland. Her rulers seem, however, to have been blinded, by the manners of the age, which did not allow them to perceive, in such ceremonies, their own degradation, and in such insidiousness, their country’s disadvantage.

A train of events now ensued, which involved Scotland in the miseries of civil war, and which led on to the humiliation of dependence. Margaret, who was born to Alexander, in 1260, was married in 1282, to Eric, the King of Norway, in the fourteenth year of his age: She died in 1283; leaving Margaret, an only child, who was called, in the familiar language of that age, *the maiden of Norway*. In 1282, Alexander, the Prince of Scotland, married Margaret, the daughter of Guy, the Earl of Flanders: And, he died, on the 28th of January, 1283-4. The Scottish king, who was wounded, by this stroke, both in his family, and his kingdom, immediately assembled his great council, at Scone, in order to settle the succession to the crown. The nobles bound themselves, by the most solemn ties, to acknowledge, as their sovereign, Margaret, the *maiden of Norway*; “failing any children, whom Alexander “might have; and failing the issue of the late Prince (i):” The nobles acknowledged, that *the heirs* of Alexander ought, *by law*, to succeed to the

(g) Rym. Fœd. i. 772.

(b) Rym. Fœd. ii. 126.

(i) Ford. l. x. c. 37; Rym. Fœd. ii. 266.

crown: But, they appear to have disregarded, on that appropriate emergency, the *right of representation*, if it existed, among those kingly heirs (*i*). They enumerated, with precision, however, the territories, which were thus to be governed by the legal successors of their excellent sovereign.

In order to add strength to those prudent measures, the Scottish king married Joletta, the daughter of the Count de Dreux, in 1285 (*k*). The public festivities had scarcely ceased; on an occasion, which promised stability to the state, when the nation was involved, in general mourning, for the king's decease. Riding, on the 16th of March, 1285-6, in the dusk of a cloudy evening, between Burnt-island and Kinghorn, he was thrown from his horse, and killed by the fall (*l*). Thus died, Alexander III., in the forty-fifth year of his age, and the thirty-seventh of his reign (*m*). Let no one question the salvation of this king, because of his violent death, saith Fordun; "he who has "lived well, cannot die ill." He was long lamented, for the vigour, and equity, of his government. He enforced the steady administration of justice, by his presence in the *juridical aires*. He overawed, and protected, the clergy, by his circumspection. By his prudence, he maintained the independence of his realm. By his policy, he acquired the Hebride isles, which at once enlarged, and secured, his kingdom. And he showed a virtuous example to a rude age, which his experience forbade him to reform, by his legislation, as a project, too difficult in theory, and more dangerous in execution.

MARGARET,

The maiden of Norway, succeeded, peaceably, to her grandfather's throne, and misfortunes; as she had been, recently, acknowledged the heir to his rights (*n*). The infancy, and the absence, of Margaret, concurred to make a provisional government necessary. On the 11th of April, 1286, a regency of six, consisting of the principal prelates, and barons, was settled, by the great council at Scone: The Bishop of St. Andrew's, the Earl of Fife, and the Earl of Buchan, were appointed to govern the country, on the north of the Friths: The Bishop of Glasgow, John Cumyn, and James, the Steward of Scotland, had the countries on the south of the Friths committed to their charge. Among the regents, neither Bruce, nor Baliol, appears. In a factious age, unanimity

(*i*) Id.

(*k*) Fordun. l. x. c. 40.

(*l*) The place, where Alexander was killed, is still called *The King's Woodend*, on a terrace over a precipice: This place is still pointed out, by the ferrymen to inquisitive passengers, from Leith to Kinghorn.

(*m*) Id.; L. Hailes's An. i. 183.

(*n*) Rym. Fœd. ii. 266.

could not long exist, among such men, during such peculiar circumstances, when the voice of the law was unheard, amid the clamours of ambition. (*p*).

The number of the regents was soon reduced to four, by the deaths of the Earls of Fife (*r*), and Buchan. Parties began to be formed among the nobles. The Bruces, and Stewarts, entered into a league of mutual adherence, with Gilbert, the Earl of Gloucester, and Richard, the Earl of Ulster, with a view to the competition for the crown, which now was obviously in contemplation (*s*).

To all those events the interested eyes of Edward I., the sovereign of England, and of Eric, the King of Norway, were not inattentive. As early, indeed, as June, 1286, Edward granted to Eric, who had been insidiously attacked by Denmark, assistance both of troops, and money (*t*). The two kings drew closer to each other, as the government of Scotland became more embroiled. In April, 1289, Eric sent ambassadors to Edward, in order to treat of the rights of his daughter, Margaret, and of the affairs of her kingdom (*u*). The guardians being informed, by Edward, of the purpose of Eric, sent the Bishops of St. Andrew's, and Glasgow, with Robert de Brus, the father, and John Cumyn, to treat with the Norwegian ambassadors, in the presence of the English monarch; saving, nevertheless, in all things, the liberty, and honour of Scotland (*x*). Edward informed them, in return, that he would send proper persons to inspect, and report the real state of a kingdom, whose quiet, and prosperity, he greatly desired (*y*). This politic king had already formed the salutary project of marrying the heir of his dominions to the Queen of Scots (*z*). He convened a congress at Salisbury, by joining his own agents to those of Scotland, and of Norway. The deputies soon formed a convention, which had

(*p*) Fordun, l. xi. c. 3; L. Hailes An. i. 185.

(*r*) Duncan, the Earl of Fife, was assassinated, in the twenty-sixth year of his age, by Sir Patrick Abernethy, on the 25th September, 1288. L. Hailes's An. i. 185; Sibbald's Fyfe, 96. Alexander Cumyn, the Earl of Buchan, died in 1289.

(*s*) This association, which is the earliest of those family compacts, that became so frequent, and pernicious, in Scotland, was entered into, at Turnberry-castle, the baronial residence of Bruce, the Earl of Carrick, on the 20th of September, 1286. Dug. Bar. i. 216, which quotes the original; Symson's Hist. of the Stewarts, 47-78; L. Hailes's An. i. 186, mistakingly supposes that, the Stewart of Scotland was at the head of this association; though he had then no pretensions to the crown, while Bruce had a claim.

(*t*) Rym. Fœd. ii. 323-4, 327-39.

(*u*) Ib. 417; Torfæus Nor. Hist. part iv. ch. 5.

(*x*) Rym. Fœd. ii. 431: The regents dated their commission, from the monastery of Melros, on the 3d of October, 1289.

(*y*) Rym. Fœd. ii. 445.

(*z*) He obtained a dispensation from the Pope, for such a marriage, dated the 16th of the kalends of December, 1289. Ib. ii. 450.

been previously settled: It was now agreed, that Margaret should be sent either to England, or to Scotland; that she should be delivered free to her people, if she should arrive in England, provided good order should be restored in Scotland, and her subjects should not give her in marriage, without the participation of Edward, and the assent of Eric: The Scots engaged to establish good order, previous to the arrival of Margaret; and they promised to remove any of the guardians, whom the King of Norway might deem unfit for their important stations (*a*).

The Scottish people seem not to have been well informed, with respect to the intrigues, which were carrying on, either for their happiness, or misery. The most considerable persons, in Scotland, appear to have been privately canvassed, for the projected marriage. And, in March, 1290, a great council, which was very numerously attended, met at Brigham, on the borders, to consider of the state of their country. The effects of the recent intrigues now appeared. The whole community of Scotland, including the next heirs to the crown, failing Margaret, wrote in the most obliging terms to Edward; desiring to know his purpose, of which they had only heard by rumour; and declaring their assent to a measure, that must necessarily promote the happiness of the two nations (*b*). They wrote to Eric, at the same time, in more urgent terms, to send his daughter to the King of England, in order to accomplish a marriage, which would be so honourable to him, and so advantageous to them (*c*). Eric did not enter, however, into their views, with the same ardour. Either from affection for his daughter, or from a regard for his people, he hesitated to comply with the warm desires of the British nation. Other measures were now adopted, for insuring his compliance. In April, 1290, Edward sent the Bishop of Durham, to negotiate this interesting treaty: He soon after informed Eric of the Pope's dispensation, and of the requests of the Scottish people (*d*). The English negotiator was empowered to employ more persuasive arguments with the most influential persons, at the court of Norway (*e*). Edward adopted additional measures, for obtaining the speedy arrival of Margaret, and accomplishing the object, which was so much desired by the British states (*f*).

In the midst of those intrigues, which facilitated subsequent measures, the treaty of marriage, between the Prince of England, and the heiress of Scotland, was concluded, at Brigham, on the 18th of July, 1290. The stipulations of

(*a*) See the convention, which was dated the 6th of November, 1289, in Rym. Fœd. ii. 446.

(*b*) Rym. Fœd. ii. 471.

(*c*) Ib. 473.

(*d*) Ib. 474.

(*e*) It appears, from the records in Prynne, iii. 399, that the Bishop of Durham was authorized, and enabled, to settle pensions on certain persons in Norway, till Margaret should accomplish her fifteenth year.

(*f*) Rym. Fœd. ii. 479.

this matrimonial convention do honour to the wisdom of the Scottish statesmen. In negotiating with a prince, who had shown, by every action of his life, his address, and his ambition, their circumspection stipulated, what their sagacity foresaw might be necessary, for preserving the independence of the state, and guarding public liberty, and private rights (*g*). Scotland was to remain independent. The government was to be conducted, within the kingdom, according to the established laws. And, it was settled, that the right to the crown should revert to the legal heirs, in case Margaret should die, without issue. Edward made haste to ratify a convention, which seemed to accomplish what he had resolved to obtain, by whatever measures (*h*).

Yet, his impatience appears, through all his projects, for annexing Scotland to his crown, to have blinded his policy. The treaty was scarcely ratified, when he appointed the Bishop of Durham, his lieutenant, for governing Scotland, in the names of the princess, and the prince, in concert, indeed, with the guardians, though the marriage had not yet taken place; though the treaty had provided a different government (*i*). This departure both from policy, and the convention, was followed by a demand of all the strong places, in order to guard against those dangers, which rumour had suggested; and which existed, only, in his own impatience (*k*). The suspicions of the guardians were now awakened. And they refused to surrender the strengths of their country to the demands of artifice. They offered, however, such conciliatory terms, as seem to have given satisfaction to Edward, who perhaps intended merely to try how much the patience of an irascible people could bear (*l*).

But, the demands of the one, and the proposals of the other, were all rendered vain, by an event, which foresight could not prevent; and which involved the nation in sorrow, and the people in misery. Margaret, the anxious hope of three kingdoms, sickened, on her voyage from Norway; and died, in Orkney, during September, 1290 (*m*).

At

(*g*) See the treaty, in Rym. Fœd. ii. 482.

(*h*) Rym. Fœd. ii. 482.

(*i*) Rym. Fœd. ii. 487.

(*k*) Ib. 488.

(*l*) Ib. 489, 1090.

(*m*) Rym. Fœd. ii. 1090; Math. Westm. 381; Islandic Annals in Langebek's Script. ii. 196. Sir Michael Wemys, and Sir Michael Scot, two illustrious knights of Fife, were sent, by the guardians, to conduct the Princess to Scotland. They brought the unwelcome tidings of her death: But, their report of an event, so important, does not remain. Fordun, lib. xi. cap. i. I have caused every inquiry to be made in Orkney, for some monumental stone, or some traditional memorial of the time, place, and circumstances of the demise of Margaret; but, though I have been assisted by my respectable relation, Mr. James Riddoch, of Kirkwall, I have inquired in vain. On the 31st of March, 1801, he wrote to me: "Agreeably to your desire, " I have made all the inquiry in my power, respecting the death, and burial, of Margaret of
" Norway,

At this epoch, there were due to Eric four years annuity of seven hundred marks, on account of his wife's portion: This debt, he assigned to merchants, who had lent him eight and twenty hundred marks sterling, for defraying the charges of his daughter's voyage to Britain. And, he asked Edward's assistance, in recovering what he had thus transferred to traders (*n*). In this transaction, we may see the deranged state of Scotland, and the commercial wealth of Norway! After claiming the crown of Scotland, as heir to his daughter, Eric himself died, in 1299, during the thirty-first year of his age, and the nineteenth of his reign, which had been greatly disturbed, both by domestic faction, and by foreign warfare (*o*).

"Norway, who, if she died, in Orkney, must undoubtedly have been buried, in the cathedral of St. Magnus; though you may be assured, there is neither monument, nor inscription, of any kind, to establish the fact: But, in the part of the cathedral, where divine worship is performed, there are some graves, four or five, covered with stones of white marble, without any inscription, or figure on them; and the tradition handed down respecting them, is, that they are the burial places of some Danish nobles. Upon opening a pillar opposite to one of these graves, some years ago, for the purpose of erecting a loft, there was found a box, about two feet and a half long, strongly made of wood, which contained a curious cap of silk, and a number of ribbons, and there was an appearance, that some of the vitals had been deposited in it, as was customary, when great people were interred. I think it highly probable, if you are sure she died in Orkney, that this grave opposite to the pillar, where the box was found, was hers." He afterwards wrote me, on the 4th of August, 1801, as follows: "Agreeably to what I wrote in my last, I have had the suspected grave opened, in presence of Mr. Yule, our first clergyman, and some others; and I shall describe to you, as well as I can, what we saw. This grave, from the size of the stone, which covered it, appeared to be narrower than any of the other distinguished graves; and upon removing the stone, we observed a common stone set across, nearly two feet, or twenty inches, from the top, as if to shorten the grave; and upon removing part of the earth, there was also a wall built upon the side, of cut freestone, of the size of bricks, apparently to narrow the grave, with an arch of some common stones, in a very rude stile, over what was below: This arch being removed, we found two skulls, one certainly of a full grown person, in which the teeth were perfectly sound, with bones of a large size; and the other skull from being smaller and very thin, compared with the former, we supposed to be that of a young person, and the size of the bones confirmed this opinion, and in the bottom of the grave there was a smooth flag stone, without the appearance of wood, or any thing else. One thing we discovered, which appears curious: The graves, which I call distinguished, are all covered with stones, hitherto supposed to be marble; but, upon opening this one, we found the covering stone to be granite, of a superior quality to the *Quern stones*, for grinding malt, &c., and brought from Norway, which I humbly think evinces, that the persons interred, in these graves, have been people of some note, as these stones must have been brought from Norway, for the purpose; there being none such in this country; and although all of them are so well polished, as very much to resemble white marble, yet no inscription, or mark, can be discovered on any of them."

(*n*) Rym. Fœd. ii. 1090.

(*o*) Torfæus, iv. 393-406; Langebeck's Scrip. ii. 197.

The regency was now at an end; the many ties, which had recently connected Edward with Scotland, were completely broken, by the decease of Margaret (*p*); and there thenceforth ensued

AN INTERREGNUM.

The late settlement of the crown extended no farther than the progeny of Alexander III., which had unhappily failed. But, there were remoter heirs, who had not been inattentive, meanwhile, to their several claims. The legal heirs were those respectable barons, who traced up their propinquity to David, the Earl of Huntingdon, the grandson of David I. Robert Bruce; the lord of Annandale, who was the son of the second daughter of the Earl of Huntingdon, appeared at Perth, on the news of Margaret's death, while the great council was deliberating on the demands of Edward. The formidable retinue of Bruce proclaimed the secret intentions, which his prudence concealed. The Earls of Marr, and of Athol, severally, assembled their numerous vassals. Every claimant, however preposterous his pretensions might be, formed a party. And the sad prospect of a civil war, with all the miseries of a doubtful succession, now lowered on a divided people.

John Baliol, the lord of Galloway, who then resided, in England, was the great grandson of the Earl of Huntington, by his eldest daughter, and who was now at the age of forty-two. The pretensions of this potent baron were promoted, by the intrigue of William Fraser, the Bishop of St. Andrew's. While the fate of *the maiden of Norway* was still doubtful, this artful prelate wrote to Edward, on the 7th of October, 1290; insinuating the claim of Baliol; and inciting the English monarch, not, indeed, to invade Scotland, but to appear on the frontiers, for the obvious purpose of overawing a distracted nation (*q*). The ambitious eyes of Edward easily saw the true meaning of the dark suggestions of the prelate's policy. That able monarch prepared to follow advices, which altogether corresponded with the resolutions, that his predetermined purpose had already formed. And, his resolution could, only, have been postponed, by the lamented death of his consort, Eleanor, to whom he paid the last, and merited, honours, in December, 1290.

In the meantime, the inhabitants of the Isle of Man, which belonged, by cession, to Scotland, placed themselves under the dominion of the King of

(*p*) Prynne's Col. iii. 409: Even the lands, which the Scottish kings had held in England, escheated to Edward. Ryley's Placita, 618.

(*q*) That odious epistle is in Rym. Fœd. ii. 1090; and see Lord Hailes's commentary on it, in his Ann. i. 196-7.

England,

England, owing to the intrigues of a designing monarch (*r*). Without authority, or invitation, that interested prince determined to interfere in the settlement of the affairs of Scotland, with design to acquire its sovereignty (*s*). When the marriage of their queen was in contemplation, the estates cautiously stipulated what Edward admitted, that they should never be required to meet their sovereign, without the realm: But, Edward, who had now no other authority over the Scottish people, than the pretences of ambition, required the clergy, and nobility, of Scotland, to meet him, at Norham, on the English border of the determinating Tweed. To this place he had summoned all his military vassals of the northern shires, with the obvious design, to support pretensions, which could not be maintained by argument (*t*).

In fatal obedience to this summons, the clergy, and nobility, met Edward, within the English borders. The Scottish statesmen, who had so recently treated with the King of England, on a footing of equality, could not easily suspect, that he would at once take higher ground, and from it dictate, in the tone of superiority. They were, however, sadly disappointed. Edward, who acted upon a systematic plan, came to Norham, with his justiciary, who brought such proofs, as could be collected by the monks of England, for supporting his bold assumption of Lord Paramount of Scotland (*u*).

After

(*r*) Rym. Fœd. ii. 492.

(*s*) Whether Edward I. was invited, by the Scottish nation, to settle the succession to the crown, is left somewhat doubtful by Lord Hailes, An. i. 199. Yet, it appears to me, that the King of England had no other invitation, than the insidious suggestions of Fraser, the Bishop of St. Andrew's: (1.) Neither the previous diligence of Prynne, who ransacked the Tower of London, for such documents, nor the subsequent industry of Rymer, has discovered any such paper, though the deceitful epistle of that intriguing prelate was readily found. (2.) Edward himself does not pretend, when he opened the Assembly, at Norham, to have had any such invitation. Rym. Fœd. ii. 543. (3.) There was a meeting, indeed, of the regents, and others, at Perth, in October, 1290, when they heard of the lamented death of their sovereign: But, it is inferible, from the silence of Prynne, and Rymer, that they sent none of their proceedings to Edward. (4.) Hemingford, and the historians, who followed him, were misled by the rumours, which were spread by the King of England, in consequence of the Bishop's letter before mentioned. (5.) It is, therefore, certain, that Edward had not any public invitation to interfere, in the settlement of Scotland, whatever private, and unauthorized, suggestions he may have had.

(*t*) Rym. Fœd. ii. 525, 543; Prynne, iii. 450; L. Hailes's An. i. 198-200. Lord Hailes shows, however, that the army of Edward had not arrived, at Norham, on the 10th of May: Yet, he had force sufficient within his command.

(*u*) Prynne, iii. 407. Prynne was so blinded, by his prejudice, that he assumed fictions for facts, and sophistry for argument. The monasteries of England, the great depositories of public documents, were ransacked, for historical proofs of the feudal superiority of England. Walsingham, 55. I have, in my own library a MS. roll of great length, which appears to have been drawn up, for

After all those preparations, this great council assembled, in an unlucky hour, at Norham. Brabazon, the Justiciary of England, opened the business of the assembly, with a premeditated speech. By the order of Edward, he said: That after much deliberation on the unhappy state of Scotland, owing to the failure of direct heirs to the crown, he had undertaken a long journey, in order to do justice personally to all the competitors, as *superior*, and Lord Paramount of the kingdom of Scotland; that he meant not to encroach on any individual rights, but as *Lord Paramount*, to administer ample, and speedy, justice to every person, and to every party: And, in order to accomplish more effectually his avowed intentions, he required their recognition of his title as *Lord Paramount*; and he declared his willingness to make use of their advice, in settling the nation, which was, at present, full of danger, from the disputed succession. The silence of the assembly showed their astonishment. At length, a voice was heard to say: “No answer can be made, while the throne is vacant.” The indignation of the pretended Lord Paramount was roused. “By holy Edward, whose crown I wear, (cried the King) I will vindicate my just rights, or perish in the attempt.” The Scottish statesmen desired a delay, for the purpose of consulting those, who were absent. He adjourned the business till the morrow. They now renewed their request. And, the imperious Edward allowed them three weeks to give him a definitive answer to a very perplexing question (x).

He seems, in the meantime, to have discovered, that the assembly of the Scottish clergy, and nobility, in England, was an unprecedented measure, proving the paramount dominion of England, when Henry VI. was following the steps of Edward I. The historical part of this roll, which traces the connection of the two countries, from the early age of *Brute*, consists of fictions, forgeries, and mis-statements: It does not notice the explicit renunciation by Richard I. of all claims over Scotland: It passes over, in prudent silence, the battle of Bannockburn, which established the independence of Scotland, *in fact*, and the treaty of Northampton, that settled the same independence, *in law*. Harding had a pension from Henry VI., for his forgeries. Anderson's Independence, Ap. No. vii; Calendar of Anc. Chart. 309; Astle on the Scot. Seals, 7-8. It is curious to remark, that the parliament of Henry VIII. adopted, literally, both the *history*, and *logick*, of that roll. Act for the Subsidy, 34-5 H. VIII. ch. 27. Rastal, 821. The argument of the roll, of Edward I. and of Henry VIII., amounted to this: The Scottish kings have often performed homage, for the lands, which they held in England, as the English kings had often performed homage to the kings of France, for the territories, that they possessed in France: Therefore, the Scottish kings hold Scotland, as feudaries of England. Such an argument could alone be made by ambition; and could only be maintained by power! Queen Elizabeth was the first sovereign of England, who, after the treaty of Northampton, had the policy, to disavow any claim of sovereignty over Scotland, though the Queen of Scots had been considered, as a *feudary*, in order to affect her life.

(x) Rym. Fœd. ii. 525-28, 543-4-5; W. Heming, i. 33.

which,

which, as he found in it some disadvantage, to himself, he was careful to disavow (y). He appears, however, not to have perceived, that it was equally unprecedented for a King of England to meet a Scottish great council, within the realm of Scotland. Yet, on the 2nd of June, 1291, Edward did assemble such a body, at Upsetlington, on the northern banks of the Tweed, for a purpose, which, to every party, was of great importance.

The Chancellor of England now undertook to manage the assembly, in the place of the Justiciary. He appears to have spoken with less dogmatism of his sovereign's superior right. But, since the Scots had not controverted his pretensions, he said, that the king was resolved, as Lord Paramount, to decide the question of the succession. Alas! what answer could the Scottish statesmen make to such pretensions! They were divided by faction; they were distracted by the insidiousness of the Bishop of St. Andrew's, the late regent; and they were betrayed by the interestedness of the pretenders to the crown. The ministers of Edward only changed their plan, without relinquishing their object. They had, probably, discovered, from the late delay, that the Scots, who attended the convention at Norham, had no authority to surrender the independence of their nation. And it was deemed sufficient by Edward, and his advisers, that the competitors for the royal prize should recognize the authority of him, who was about to bestow it. Ten claimants came forward, by the intrigues of Edward, with very different pretensions, in order to create difficulties, which did not really exist. At the head of these, were Robert Bruce, the grandson of David, the Earl of Huntington, by his second daughter, and John Baliol, the great grandson of the same prince, by his eldest daughter. The Chancellor, addressing himself to Bruce, demanded, whether he acknowledged Edward, as the Lord Paramount of Scotland, and whether he were willing to receive from him, in that character, judgement on his claim: Bruce, explicitly, declared his assent. The same questions were, in the same manner, asked Baliol, and the other competitors, in succession: And the same answer was, respectively, given by each. A great concession was thus obtained, by Edward, without any suspicion of the competitors, that he had any further pretensions in reserve. But, the Chancellor now protested, on the king's behalf, that he was not only entitled to the right of superiority over Scotland, but also to the right of *property*. There seemed to be no end to the subtilties, and cavils, of ambition. It was at length apparent, that Edward laid a strong claim to the royal prize, as of right his own, if the other claimants, at any time, should fail (z).

(y) Rym. Fœd. ii. 546.

(z) Rym. Fœd. ii. 544, 555-9.

After all those preliminaries, the competitors sealed a preconcerted instrument, on the 3d of June, 1291; acknowledging the established right of Edward, to adjudge their claims; and promising to submit to his award. Commissioners were now appointed both by the claimants, and the judge, to examine the pretensions of each, and to make their report to the Lord Paramount. On the 4th of June, all the competitors agreed, that seisin of the kingdom should be delivered to Edward; because judgment ought not to be given, without execution, nor could execution be awarded, without possession. On the 11th of June, the regents made a solemn, but scandalous, surrender of the kingdom to a stranger. And, he immediately restored the custody of this degraded nation to the late regents, Fraser, the Bishop of St. Andrew's, Wisheart, the Bishop of Glasgow, John Cumyn of Badenach, and James, the Steward (*a*). Amid those scenes of slavishness, it is pleasing to see upon the stage one character of spirit. Gilbert de Umfraville, the Earl of Angus, refused to deliver up the charge of the castles of Dundee, and Forfar, which had been entrusted to him, by the Scottish nation, without a joint indemnity from Edward, and the competitors. They virtually acknowledged the spirited integrity of Umfraville, by granting him the requisite indemnification (*b*). The regents of Scotland, many of the principal barons, and some of the ecclesiastics, swore fealty to Edward, as Lord Paramount. And, on the 15th of June, this assembly, which will ever be despised for its servility, adjourned to the 2d of August (*c*). Edward, by sending the proceedings of that great council to be recorded, in the monasteries of England (*d*), seems to have been studious, to perpetuate the chicanery of his claims, and the artifice of his management.

The King of England now considered the two kingdoms as completely united, by those formal acknowledgements of his paramount authority. He appears to have regarded the two countries, as more thoroughly incorporated, than if they had been governed by the same king, under distinct titles. And, he directed, that judgements, which were given in England, should be executed in Scotland; and that writs, tested in Scotland, should be received in the law courts of England: Thus forward was that able prince, to carry into practice, the novelties of his pretensions, though he thereby sacrificed his wisdom to his policy (*e*).

The universal homage of Scotland was now required, and given, as if oaths could much avail, while Edward, by the tenor of his measures, departed from

(*a*) Rym. Fœd. ii. 529-554.

(*c*) Ib. 559.

(*e*) Rym. Fœd. ii. 533-73.

(*b*) Rym. Foed. ii. 531.

(*d*) W. Hemingford, i. 36.

the practice of morals (*f*). On the 3d of August, the several competitors put in their claims, at the meeting of the commissioners. Of the ten pretensions, none were regarded, as meriting much consideration, except those of Baliol, and Bruce. As it was universally admitted, that the crown was descendible to female heirs, any real contest could only exist between those two powerful barons. When the question was stripped of all the chicanery, which artifice had thrown around it, the single consideration could alone be, whether the grandson of the eldest, or the son of the second, daughter, had the preferable title. On this simple state of the claims, Baliol had the best pretension, according to the practice of the age, which seems to have adopted the right of representation. The ancient usages (*g*), the recent practice (*b*), and the subsequent resolutions, both of the parliament, and of the church (*i*), appear to have been most favourable to the pretensions of Bruce. Yet, were both the claimants equally servile; and had both shown themselves to be altogether unworthy of an independent crown.

After so many preliminary steps, the commissioners, at length, came to the hearing of the claimants. Foreign jurists were, in the meantime, consulted by Edward. The Scotch statesmen again disgraced themselves, by referring to the English commissioners, for a declaration what were the laws, and usages of Scotland, which applied to those difficult questions. On the 2d of June, 1292, the commissioners, who were mere instruments, in the hands of an able politician, declined to make any report, in a matter of such high concernment, without listening to the better judgement of the *wise men* of England (*k*). That artful prince was now induced, by the self-denial of the commissioners, which himself had prompted, to call a parliament, at Berwick, on the 15th of October, 1292 (*l*). In the midst of those difficult discussions of Scotch jurisprudence, neither the Mac-Alpin laws, the laws of Malcolm, nor the *Regiam magistatem*, were either mentioned, or alluded to. After various discussions, which, as they were all affected, merit little recollection, Edward, on the 16th of November, 1292, gave judgement, in parliament, “that John Baliol shall have seisin of the king-

(*f*) Rym. Foed. ii. 567-73.

(*g*) As they had been derived from the Brehon laws of Ireland, and were practised in Scotland, from A. D. 843 to 1097: Lord Hailes, indeed, by an odd perversity, considers those ancient usages, as mere usurpations. Annals, i. 217.

(*b*) When the estates of Scotland settled the succession on the offspring of Alexander III. Ib. 182-3.

(*i*) Anderson's Independence, Ap. No. 11-12.

(*k*) Rym. Foed. ii. 580-1.

(*l*) Id.

“dom of Scotland (*m*).” Yet, the sovereign judge did not forget to renew his ambitious claim *to the direct dominion of Scotland*. Edward now ordered seisin of the Scottish kingdom to be delivered to the successful candidate, who was, incidentally, put in remembrance, that he was merely a pageant king. Baliol swore fealty to Edward for his kingdom, at Norham, on the 20th of November, 1292 (*n*). The disgraceful scenes, wherein we have lately seen ambition display her artifice, and interestedness her pusillanimity, were now closed. A sovereign state was thereby reduced to feudal dependence. From the consequences of so many measures, neither England obtained the great objects, that the English monarch endeavoured to gain, by so many subterfuges, nor did Scotland avoid the peculiar miseries, which the Scottish statesmen feared would be the result of a disputed succession, and a civil war.

JOHN BALIOL,

At the age of forty-three, was inaugurated, at Scone, on the 30th of November, 1292, with the accustomed ceremonies. A short month had scarcely passed over, in the enjoyment of unsubstantial royalty, when he felt, that he was only a dependant king. At Newcastle, he did homage to Edward, for his kingdom, on the 26th of December, 1292. Other mortifications followed, in the train of this degrading rite. A citizen of Berwick appealed from the adjudication of those officers, whom Edward had appointed to administer justice, in Scotland, during the interregnum. Baliol opposed what he foresaw would involve him in many troubles. He claimed of Edward an attention to his assurances, “that he would observe the laws and usages of Scotland, which did not admit of his withdrawing causes, for determination, in the English judicatories.” The Lord Paramount was provoked, by this slight opposition, to avow his real purpose. He declared that, notwithstanding any temporary concessions, he was determined to hear every complaint from Scotland; to administer justice to all persons; and if necessary, to summon the King of Scots to answer in his presence, as chief sovereign. This bold avowal seems to have induced the prudent forbearance of Baliol to confirm all that the English king had done, during the late interregnum, and to renounce, indeed, every appearance of sovereignty (*o*).

(*m*) See the whole proceedings in Lord Hailes’s An. i. 208-221, which are drawn up with adequate precision, from the public papers in Rymer’s Foedera, ii. 542, 590.

(*n*) Rym. Foed. ii. 589-90-91; Prynne, iii. book 5. ch. 3.

(*o*) W. Hemingford, 37; Rym. Foed. ii. 593-6-7; 3 Prynne; Ryley’s Placita, 145.

Edward,

Edward, however, condescended to return the Isle of Man to Baliol, as it had been enjoyed by Alexander III. reserving his own rights, and the pretensions of whatever claimants (*p*). He made a more important resignation to Baliol. While the King of England was employed in collecting, from every source, documents, for supporting his groundless claims on the Scotch crown, he appointed five commissioners to collect, to seize, and to examine, all charters, instruments, and other writings, which might concern either public, or private rights, within the kingdom of Scotland (*q*). Those documents, he now ordered to be returned to Baliol, having gained his insidious object.

The time was at length come, when Edward was to treat the Scotch king, as a mere Lieutenant of a dependent territory. In 1293 A.D., he ordered Baliol to appear, personally, in the English judicatories, to answer complaints. His compliance was not very punctual. And, Edward ordered three of the principal castles in Scotland to be seized into his hands, until the king of Scots should make satisfaction for his contempt. The execution of this order, as it would have required force, would have amounted to the commencement of hostilities. But, the Lord Paramount had, at that time, a very different object, in his military view. In preparing for war with France, Edward not only laid an embargo on all ships, within the ports of England, but ordered Baliol to lay an embargo on all the shipping, in the harbours of Scotland, till his pleasure should be further signified. He required the Scotch king to send him some troops, for an expedition into Gascony : he demanded the personal attendance of the principal Barons, as the leaders of the Scotch tributaries. But, such captious demands were either eluded, or postponed. And both parties being mutually suspicious of each other, now prepared for rancorous hostilities (*r*).

The Parliament, which Baliol assembled, at Scone, in 1294, advised him to dismiss all his English attendants, who were regarded as spies. They appointed twelve Bishops, and Barons, as a Committee, who were, by their prudence, to assist him, in the usual conduct of the public affairs (*s*). Baliol perceiving, that the Scotch people were driven almost to despair, by the conduct of Ed-

(*p*) Rym. Foed. ii. 602.

(*q*) Prynn, iii. 548 : This writ was, herein, printed by Prynn, in order to record " what great esteem and care the king had of the records in Scotland." Yet, those records, which were thus removed from the places, where they were safely deposited, have not yet been found. Calendar of ancient charters, p. li.—lvi. ; Robertson's Index to the Records, p. i.—xxvi. Edward did not destroy those documents, as some historians assert : But, his memory is answerable, for all the loss, and derangement, which happened, as the necessary consequence of that tyrannical act.

(*r*) Rym. Foed. ii. 596-7, 607-636 ; Ryley, 145-153-5-157-9 ; W. Heming. 75 ; M. Westm. p. 425.

(*s*) L. Hailes's An. i. 233.

ward, which was equally imprudent, on his side, as it was provoking to an irascible people, entered into a treaty with Philip, the French king, when Scotland, and France, had a common interest, in opposition to England (*t*). They agreed to assist each other against the attacks of Edward. They stipulated what has seldom been performed, not to make a separate peace, without the consent of the contracting parties. And, they strengthened ties, which seemed to be, naturally, formed, from a consideration of the genuine interests of both, by the marriage of the son of Baliol with the daughter of the Count of Anjou. This treaty was concluded, on the 23d of October 1295 (*u*), a day, which was not felicitous to France, and proved fatal to Scotland.

Meantime, Edward was too penetrating not to see, in the conduct of Baliol, preparations for war. He had already drawn his sword against Philip. And, he now demanded of Baliol possession of the three frontier towns of Berwick, Roxburgh, and Jedburgh, which he engaged to redeliver, on the return of peace (*e*).

The Scots, grown impatient at the multiplied demands of Edward, invaded Cumberland, with a tumultuous army, which was conducted by John Cumyn, the Earl of Buchan. He assaulted Carlisle, on the 28th of March 1296; but he was disgracefully repulsed: he carried devastation into Northumberland, on the 8th of the subsequent April; but, he was obliged to retire, more by his want of discipline, than by the stroke of an enemy (*f*).

The King of England, in the meantime, entered the eastern frontier of Scotland, with a better appointed army. He immediately attacked Berwick by sea, and land: his ships were burnt; yet, he took the town by assault; putting the garrison, and inhabitants, to the sword, on the 30th of March 1296 (*g*). To this barbarity Edward had, probably, been provoked, by some metrical scurrilities, which he promptly revenged, by his sharper sword (*b*).

Baliol was induced, by this loss, and advised by his parliament, to renounce, formally, his allegiance to Edward. He enumerated many provocations, while he forgot his circumspection. But, a renunciation, which coincided so much with the apparent object of the King of England, this penetrating sovereign heard with disdain, rather than surprize. The Scottish government expelled all those English ecclesiastics, who possessed benefices, in Scotland, with obvious policy, though with doubtful prudence. By the same authority, all the

(*t*) Rym. Fœd. ii. 695; And. Dipl. pl. xli.

(*u*) Rym. Fœd. ii. 695.

(*e*) Rym. Fœd. ii. 692.

(*f*) W. Heming. i. 87, 93.

(*g*) W. Heming. i. 89, 91.

(*b*) Ritson's Anc. Songs, 1792, Dissert. p. xxxi.

partizans of England, and all persons, pretending to be neutral, were forfeited, as traitors to a country, which was only betrayed by such feeble measures (*i*).

By such threats, the operations of Edward were not retarded. He dispatched the Earl of Warenne to retake the castle of Dunbar. The governor agreed to surrender his charge, if he were not relieved, in three days. The Scottish army, hastening to his relief, was attacked, overthrown, and dispersed, on the 28th of April 1296: the only person, who, in this conflict, acted with the firmness of a man, and the conduct of a soldier, was Sir Patrick de Graham, who maintained his post till he was slain, by an enemy, that admired his spirit. The grievous fate of Scotland was now decided, on an ill-disputed field. The castles of Roxburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling, followed the example of Dunbar, in submitting to the conqueror (*k*). Yet, two priests, Thomas, chaplain of Edinburgh, and Richard Tulle, had the bravery of spirit to excommunicate Edward, before his whole army (*l*). The King of England, however, was not a prince to be pushed aside from his ambitious purpose, by priestly weapons: he caused the standard of John of Beverley to be carried at the head of his troops; and the warlike Beck, the bishop of Durham, to command his advanced guard. The despondency of the nation, naturally, followed her distractions. And, Baliol, whose virtues, and talents, entitled him to better fortune, had only to implore the mercy of his offended Lord. He was obliged to perform a formal, and degrading act; confessing his feudal faults; and resigning his kingdom, and his people, to his Lord Paramount, on the 2d of July 1296 (*m*). In this manner, the indifference of France, and the languor of Scotland, produced

AN INTERREGNUM.

The conquered had now no other resource than to submit to the will of the conqueror. Edward made a progress, northward, to Elgyn in Moray; receiv-

(*i*) Rym. Fœd. ii. 707; Fordun, lib. xi. c. xviii, xxi.

(*k*) Lord Hailes's An. i. 238-9.

(*l*) At a gaol delivery, at Striveling, on Thursday, the first of the feast of St. Michael, 24 Ed. I. [1296], Thomas, chaplain of Edinburgh, was attached, for that he had publicly excommunicated Edward, our Lord the King, *by bell, and candle*, before the army, in despite of our Lord the King: and also Richard Tulle was attached, for that he had rung the bell, on that occasion, in contempt of the King. They were both afterwards delivered, by the King's order, to the archdeacon of *Loves*. Record, 24 Ed. I, in the Chapter-House; Report on the Records, 38; See Hearne's *Textus Roffensis*, 55, for the form of excommunication by bell, book, and candle.

(*m*) Fordun, lib. ix. c. xxvi; Rym. Fœd. ii. 718; W. Heming. i. 99, 100; Trivet, 293.

ing the baronage, and some of the bishops, to his peace, whom he obliged to swear fealty to their liege Lord, and to renounce the late treaty with the French king (*n*). Returning to the south, he carried away from Scone the coronation chair, which he ordered to be conveyed to Westminster, as a mark of the superiority of the one kingdom, and the degradation of the other (*o*).

Edward convened a Parliament at Berwick, on the 28th of August 1296, in order to add the sanction of oaths to the energies of conquest. He now received the fealty of the clergy, and laity, of that nation, which he had distracted by intrigues, and overrun by his power (*p*). Among the Bishops, and Barons, who entered into this disgraceful submission, were Robert Bruce, the elder, and Robert Bruce, the younger, Earl of Carrick; Robert Bruce, the competitor, having died, in the preceding year. He adopted more efficacious means of securing his conquest. He restored the estates of the clergy; he provided for the widows of those Barons, who had fallen in the conflict; he enforced few forfeitures; he removed few from offices, while he preserved private jurisdictions; and he conciliated the Bishops, by granting them the privilege of bequeathing their goods by testament. In addition to those measures of reconciliation, he appointed John Warrene, the Earl of Surrey, the governor of Scotland, Hugh de Cressingham, the treasurer, and William Ormsby, the justiciary. At the end of the year 1296, Edward returned into the south from Berwick, with the self-gratulations of ultimate success, in the great object of his policy, by his address, and valour (*q*).

The recent measures of the English monarch seem not to have been prudently seconded by his officers in Scotland. The Governor lived in England. Cressingham, the Treasurer, who was too opiniative for advice, oppressed a desolated country, by his exactions. Ormsby, the justiciary, spread universal discontent, by driving all those into exile, who refused the oath of fealty (*r*): an administration of so little moderation, or forbearance, could not expect much regard. Contempt for government; disobedience to law; prevalence of crimes; disorders of every kind; all were the necessary consequences of such a state of society. At a moment so fruitful of adventures, came upon the stage William Wallace, the magnanimous vindicator of his countries rights. He was the *second son of Wallace of Ellerslie*, in Renfrewshire; a young man of athletic body, of enterprising habits, of undaunted courage, and of affable manners: with all those talents, which were admirably fitted to gain an ascendancy, in

(*n*) Rym. Fæd. ii. 720.

(*o*) Ib. 720; Heming. i. 100, 37.

(*p*) Prymne, iii. 652.

(*q*) Rym. Fæd. ii. 723, 727-8-9, 730-1-2; W. Heming. i. 103-18; Fordun, lib. xi. c. 27.

(*r*) W. Heming. i. 118; Trivet, 299.

that age, among such a people, he appears to have enjoyed, from nature, uncommon talents for war. Being obnoxious to law, for some offence, which cannot now be traced, he necessarily associated with adventurers of every kind, over whom he easily obtained, by address, such an authority, as in those times, was not yielded always to power (s).

Wallace began his operations against the oppressors of his country, in May 1297 (t). His first successes collected, successively, many partizans. He was joined by Sir William Douglas, a man of consequence in Clydesdale. They now attempted to surprise Ormsby, the justiciary, who was then holding his courts at Scone. And, he who had driven so many into exile, by his severity, was now obliged to derive his safety from flight. Wallace, and Douglas, successfully, attacked the English, in every quarter. They returned into the west, with the applause, which attends success, in an honourable cause. And, they were immediately joined by Wishart, the Bishop of Glasgow, by the Stewart of Scotland, and by other persons of consideration, who brought a great accession of strength, both by their numbers, and characters (u).

Among those vindicators of their country's rights appeared not Bruce, the grandson of the competitor, and Earl of Carrick, by descent from his mother. Suspicion had watched his steps; and he had been summoned to Carlisle, where he swore, on the sword of Becket, to be faithful to Edward. As a proof of his sincerity, he laid waste the lands of Douglas, and carried off his wife, and children, according to the savage practice of knightly times. As he, probably, acted an assumed character, he soon repented, both of his oath, and of his violence: and, putting his trust in the Pope to absolve him from an extorted oath, he joined the Scottish army, as the proper scene for him, to perform a genuine part (x).

Warrenne, the Governor, hastened, in the meantime, to suppress an insurrection, which had grown into magnitude, from his negligence. He found the Scottish army strongly posted near Irvine, who were powerful in numbers, but weak from disunion. The leaders would neither obey, nor command. And, on the 9th of July 1297, they entered into a treaty, which was negotiated by the bishop of Glasgow; and which ended in the submission of Bruce, of the Stewarts, and other Barons of less consequence. Wallace, seeing the bishop negotiate this pusillanimous

(s) Ford. lib. xi. c. 28; Wyntown's Cronykil, book viii. c. xiii.

(t) W. Heming. i. 118-9; Trivet, 299.

(u) L. Hailes's An. i. 246. Among those who joined Wallace at this epoch, were Sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell, Alexander de Lindesay, Sir Richard Lundin, and the brother of the Stewart.

(x) W. Heming, i. 119-20.

treaty, attacked his house, as an enemy of his country, pillaged his effects, and carried off his family. Suspicion still clung to Bruce: and, he was now obliged to give the bishop of Glasgow, the Stewart, and Lindsay, as sureties, for his good behaviour, till he should deliver, as an hostage, his daughter, Margery, who lived to bring the crown into the family of Stewart (y).

But, Wallace, disdaining submission, retired into the north, with his most faithful adherents. Edward, meantime, accepted the treaty of Irvine; as he was preparing hostilities against France: he even liberated those Scottish Barons, who had drawn their vengeful swords against him, in the preceding year: yet, he made it a condition of his liberality, that they should serve him in the French war. He hoped, by this prudent expedient, to occupy the Barons, and to waste their followers, in foreign expeditions (z).

The army of Wallace increased in numbers, with the celebrity of his character. He was thus enabled to besiege the castle of Dundee. While occupied, in this enterprize, he heard, that the English army, which was commanded by Warrene, threatened Stirling. The energetic Wallace hastened to the Forth; leaving the citizens of Dundee to blockade their castle. Warrene, who expected to be superseded, naturally, wished to avoid a general action. He even tried, by negotiation, to induce the Scottish chief, who contemned submission, to lay down his arms: "We come not to treat, said Wallace, but "to set Scotland free." The English army, hearing this language of defiance, demanded to be led into hostile action against the bold defyer. Warrene hesitated: but, Cressingham, the Treasurer, cried out, "Why do we waste the "king's treasures, by protracting the war: let us fight, as the best œconomy." The two armies were only parted by the Forth, which was here crossed by a narrow bridge. Prudence suggested, that a ford should be sought, as the safest passage. The ignorance of Cressingham insisted to lead the army along this dangerous defile. The bravery of the English induced them to follow a leader, who showed, by his temerity, that he was unfit to conduct spirited men. Before one half of this misguided army could form, after defiling from the bridge, Wallace charged them, with as much conduct, as fury. Cressingham met his merited fate: thousands of his devoted followers fell on the field, or perished in the river. A panic seized that part of the English forces, which had not felt the swords of the Scots: the fugitives burnt the bridge, which had been built of materials, from the neighbouring Torwood; and they fled to Berwick, before they felt themselves to be safe. The loss of the Scots, on this

(y) Rym. Fœd. ii. 774-5; W. Heming. i. 124.

(z) W. Heming. i. 124; Rym. Fœd. ii. 772-82.

triumphant

triumphant day, the 12th of September 1297, would have been inconsiderable, if Sir Andrew Moray, the faithful associate of Wallace, had not been mortally wounded. The victory of Stirling put into the possession of the true owners, the castle of Dundee, and other strengths, with Berwick, which was evacuated by the English (*a*). The valour, and fortune, of Wallace, had now freed his country, from the claims of a superior, and the Scottish people, from the oppression of strangers.

Wallace hastened with his usual ardour, to pursue, where his victory pointed. He led his army into Cumberland, and Northumberland, which, in the savage spirit of the age, he wasted with fire and sword, during several weeks (*b*). He could not restrain the excesses of his followers, though he could command their valour. He associated with him, in the conduct of the army, and of public affairs, Sir Andrew Moray, the son of the gallant chief, who died, for his country, at the bridge of Stirling: and, they both acted, in the name of John Baliol, the king of Scots, with the consent of the Scottish kingdom (*c*). In November 1297, they returned into Scotland, loaded with plunder, amidst the applauses of their countrymen, who had been freed by their valour, and were now elevated by their success.

Wallace was soon after appointed the guardian of the kingdom, and leader of her armies, rather by the acclamations of a grateful people, than by the appointment of any regular *authority* (*d*). By this power, however, he directed affairs, in the name of Baliol, who was then a prisoner in the Tower of London; and was sent to France, in order to be delivered to the Papal Nuncio, in July 1299, with such circumstances of indignity, as excited the contempt of the interested, and the pity of the generous (*e*).

Meantime, Edward heard, in Flanders, of those events, which deprived him, in a few months, of a kingdom, the fruit of so many intrigues, and so much

(*a*) Rym. Fœd. ii. 787; W. Heming. i. 126-7, 130; Trivet 307; Fordun, lib. xi. c. 29. L. Hailes's An. i. 250-2: The ancient seal of the town of Stirling, which may be seen in Astle's work, pl. 2, No. 3, seems to commemorate this important victory: we may see on the obverse of it the wooden bridge, on which stands a crucifix: on the south side of the bridge may be seen soldiers, with their bows, the characteristic weapon of the English, who are attempting to pass: on the northern side, are soldiers, with spears, the national weapon of the Scots, who defend the passage: the legend is, *Hic armis Bruti, Scoti stant hic cruce tuti*, with a plain allusion to the safety of the church, and state: resulting from the valour, and victory, of Wallace. See Fordun, lib. xi. c. 29.

(*b*) Ford. lib. xi. c. 29; W. Heming. i. 132.

(*c*) In Hemingford, i. 135, may be seen a copy of the protection, which Moray, and Wallace, gave to the prior of Hexhildesham: Wallace modestly allowed the name of Moray to stand before his own, as the leader of the Scottish army.

(*d*) Anderson's Diplom. pl. xlv.

(*e*) Rym. Fœd. ii. 840-46.

bloodshed.

bloodshed. He had, scarcely, returned to England, when he summoned the Scottish Barons, under the pain of rebellion, to meet him in Parliament, at York. Between their hatred of Edward, and their fear of Wallace, they disregarded the threatened forfeiture (*f*).

The king of England, by calming the troubles of his kingdom, was enabled to assemble, at Berwick, an army of almost eighty thousand men. With this mighty force, which was animated by the presence of a warlike prince, Edward entered Berwickshire (*g*). The castle of Dirleton alone retarded his march, by a gallant defence. The Scottish fighting men, meantime, collected, though they were not incited, by the greater Barons. Young Cumyn of Badenach, Sir John Stewart of Bonkil, the brother of the Stewart of Scotland, Sir John Graham, and other Barons of less note, seconded the efforts, and strengthened the patriotism, of Wallace. Robert Bruce, the Earl of Carrick, did not obey the summons of Edward. He avowed his attachment to his country: yet, he did not join the Scottish army under Wallace, owing to whatever cause: he may have conceived, indeed, that he did full as much service to his country, by guarding the castle of Ayr, on that occasion, by preserving the communication with Galloway, and with Argyle, and, perhaps, with the more distant isles: in this manner, was Bruce employed, while Wallace, and his coadjutors, fought the influential battle of Falkirk (*b*).

Edward, knowing from experience the positions of the country, is said to have resolved to decide the fate of Scotland, in the west, rather than in the east: and, with this design, he ordered his fleet, with provisions, to meet him in the Clyde. If the Scottish leaders had wasted the country, as the enemy advanced, and retired beyond the Firths, with design to act offensively, Edward must have retreated from a desert, which could not supply such an army with necessaries. But, they determined on a decisive day, which extricated the Eng-

(*f*) W. Heming. i. 144.5.

(*g*) Ib. 160.

(*b*) W. Heming i. 160-6; Trivet, 314: Lord Hailes says, "that the earlier part of the life of Bruce, was altogether capricious, and desultory, and irreconcilable to any principle of honour or interest." An. i. 256. I do not concur in that judgement. It appears to me, that Bruce, who had, from nature, very vigorous faculties, had his penetrating eye constantly on the crown, which he was told, in his nursery, belonged to him of right: but, having continually before him a choice of difficulties, he was obliged to act, from the expedient of the day, which pressed upon his fortunes. He had now a peculiar motive, for abstaining from the presence of the English army: in the winter of 1297-8, Clifford, the warden of the west marches, had made two inroads into Annandale, wasted his father's estates, burnt Annan, and ten other villages, in that vicinity; in retaliation, no doubt, for the ravages of Wallace. W. Heming: i. 137. It was by such inroads, that the two nations were inspired with implacable hatred of each other.

lish King, from the embarrassments of a mutiny, and the fears of want. From Temple-Liston, he marched to Falkirk, the scene of many conflicts, in the vicinity of which, Wallace had drawn up his army, with sufficient skill. They met, on the 22d of July 1298. Between the English gallantry, and the Scottish valour, the engagement was fierce, and obstinate: but, the army of Wallace was at length oppressed by the numbers, overpowered by the cavalry, and harrassed by the bowmen, of a well-conducted enemy. And he retired from an obstinately disputed field, whereon were left Sir John Stewart, Sir John Graham, and other intrepid chiefs, who died for their country, and were regretted by the enemy. Wallace retired behind the Forth; having burnt, amidst the confusion of flight, the town, and castle, of Stirling. Edward repaired that strength, and made it a place of arms. He now marched into the west, with design to chastise Bruce. But, that enterprizing Earl, after burning the castle of Ayr, which might have strengthened his enemy, retreated into the fastnesses of Carrick. The perseverance of Edward would have followed his steps, if want had not warned him to retire. He at length directed a willing army to return into England; and marching through Annandale, he took the castle of Lochmaban, the baronical residence of the Bruces, and wasted their estates (*i*). Edward closed the campaign of 1298, wherein expectation was disappointed, by dividing the estates of the Scottish Barons, among his principal followers, before conquest had gained possession, and tranquillity could ensure enjoyment (*k*).

Galloway was still unsubdued: and ancient Caledonia continued to enjoy her native freedom, beyond the Friths. The misfortune, at Falkirk, deprived Wallace of power, and lessened his influence. At this moment, when necessity dictated what convenience approved, William Lamberton, the bishop of St. Andrews, Robert Bruce, the Earl of Carrick, and John Cumyn, the younger, were appointed, by general consent, the guardians of Scotland, in the name, and place, of Baliol (*l*). The new rulers tried to imitate the enterprize of Wallace. Knowing that the Scottish people were rather defeated than discouraged, they undertook the siege of Stirling castle. In order to secure success, they prudently encamped in the strong position of the Torwood, where the cavalry, which had decided the field, at Falkirk, could not act, and the infantry must have met the Scottish spears, on disadvantageous ground. Edward, however, determined to try their firmness, as he was sensible of the importance of Stirling, at the passage of the Forth. With this design, he assembled his military vassals, at Berwick, in November 1299, after holding his Parliament, at York.

(*i*) Trivet, 314.(*k*) W. Heming. i. 166.(*l*) Rym. Fœd. ii. 859.

But,

But, his Barons refused to advance ; urging the dangers of a winter campaign, in such a clime ; but recollecting, that their grievances had not been redressed, by a sovereign, who felt only for himself. His disappointment induced him to order the garrison of Stirling to capitulate ; and disgust urged him to retire from a dissatisfied baronage (*m*). The guardians applied, meanwhile, to the charity of Edward, for the respite of a truce, which his policy denied to their prayers (*n*).

The impatience of the Scots had now learned to watch occasions ; to trust to intrigue, when they could not expect success from arms : and their perseverance derived protection, from the dissatisfaction of the English people, who did not feel a strong interest, in this struggle, between ambition, and freedom. During the year 1300, the efforts of Edward were, owing to those causes, confined to an irruption into the great peninsula of ancient Galloway. After summoning his Barons to Carlisle, he entered Annandale, the land of the Bruces, on the 26th of June. He subdued the castle of Caerlaverock ; he wasted the country, without opposition, as experience had taught the Scots to decline engagements ; and penetrating to Kirkcudbright, he received the submissions of the men of Galloway. The progress of Edward, beyond the limits of Galloway, was stopped by an intimation, from ecclesiastical authority, that his war was irreligious. When he returned to New Abbey, on the northern margin of the Solway, he was met by the archbishop of Canterbury, who communicated to him, before his whole army, a bull of Boniface VIII, stating his injustice ; and requiring, that he should discharge all the ministers of religion, whom he sacrilegiously detained, as his prisoners. Edward, advisedly, said, “ it was the custom of England, that an affair, which related to the whole kingdom, should be considered by the great council of the realm (*o*).” The bishop of Glasgow, who had long been confined, was soon after set at liberty ; on his taking an oath of fidelity to the Lord Paramount, upon the consecrated host, upon the cross *neyt*, and upon the black rode of Scotland (*p*). Yet, experience had shown, that such oaths, however the sanctions might be multiplied, were not considered, in that age, as sacred. At Dumfries, on the 30th of October 1300, under the mediation of France, Edward concluded with the Scots a truce,

(*m*) W. Heming. i. 170 ; Trivet, 316.

(*n*) Rym. Fœd. ii. 859 : Their application was dated the 13th November 1299.

(*o*) Prynne, iii. 882-3.

(*p*) Rym. Fœd. ii. 867 : The *croiz neytx* was the white cross of St. Andrew ; on which they used to swear in Scotland. Kelham. Norm. Dict. in vo. *Neytx*.

which

which was to endure till Whitsunday 1301, when the season of action would again approach (*q*).

Such

(*q*) Rym. Fœd. ii. 868. In the *wardrobe account* of Edward I, during the year 1300, which has been published by the Antiquary Society of London, there are a thousand particulars of his campaign, in that year, as well as many curious notices, with regard to North-Britain, her castles, and economy. As history becomes less interesting, as it becomes more general, I will submit to the more curious reader the particulars of Edward's campaign, in 1300, from that authentic document.

Edward was, at Carlisle, on the 1st and 5th of July 1300. On the 6th of July, he was at Appelgarth, in Annandale, to which many necessities were sent from England, for this campaign: the king made an oblation of 7 s. at St. Nicholas's altar, in the church of Appelgarth; and a similar oblation, in the same church, in honour of St. Thomas. On the 8th of July, he was at Tynewald. On the 10th, the king made an oblation of 7 s. at the altar, in the church of the Minor Friars, at Dumfries. On the 12th, he made a similar oblation, in his chapel, at Caerlaverock, in honour of St. Thomas. On the 14th, he remained at Caerlaverock. On the 16th, the king made another oblation, in the church of the Minor Friars, at Dumfries. On this occasion, he gave the Minor Friars 6 s. for his victuals, when he visited Dumfries, in June: and he gave them another 6 s. for the damage they may have sustained, in their houses, owing to his visits, in June. On the 17th, he made his accustomed oblation in his chapel at Lochroiton, [in East Galloway]. On the 19th of July, he made his usual oblation, in the priory church, at Kirkcudbright. On the 20th, the 22d, the 24th, the 25th, the 27th, he made his oblations at Kirkcudbright. On the last day of July, he paid to William de Rude, for the hire of 4 hackneys, two days, in carrying money, from Lochmaben to Twyneham, [on the west side of the Dee, $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles N.W. from Kirkcudbright]. On the 1st of August, the king made his usual oblation, at Twyneham. He continued these oblations, every day, at Twyneham, till the 8th. On the 9th, he made his usual oblations at the Flete, [at Girthon, nearly 6 miles W.N.W. from Kirkcudbright]. On the 10th, after his usual oblation, he sent John de Lawford, from Gerton on the Fleet, to Carlisle, for money, to pay his household, and the army. On the 15th, he made his usual oblation, in honour of the assumption of the blessed Mary. On the 19th and 20th, he was at Crossmichael. On the 23d, he made his usual oblation, in his chapel, at Sutheck. [He was now on his return; Southwick being between Kirkcudbright, and Caerlaverock]. On the 24th, the court was at the Abbey of Douzquer, [Sweetheart in East Galloway]. On the 29th, he made his usual oblation at Caerlaverock. On the 30th and 31st, he was at Drunnoch, [Dornock, east of Annan]. And on the 2d of September, he was at Holmcultram, where he seems to have remained, at least in its neighbourhood, throughout September. At Holmcultram, and Carlisle, he remained till the 16th of October, when he set out for Dumfries. On the 17th, the king and queen were at Dumfries. On the 24th, he made an oblation, in his chapel, there, for good news, from Galloway, according to his common practice. On the 1st of November, the Feast of all Saints was celebrated in the church of the Minor Friars, at Dumfries. On the 3d of November, he made his usual oblation, at Caerlaverock: on the same day, he set out for Carlisle, after the proclamation of the truce, with the Scots. Before he left Dumfries, he gave a donation to the Minor Friars of 5 s. 4 d. for four days victuals, according to the king's common custom.

From the wardrobe account, it also appears that, the English army took its departure from Carlisle, on the 26th of June 1300; marched through Dumfries-shire, into Galloway; and penetrated to Wigton, and even to Ayr, if a detachment had not been left, in the castle of Ayr, during the

Such were the powerful influences, which brought a salutary respite to Scotland. A new competitor, for her crown, had now appeared, in the field of pretension. Boniface VIII, by the bull, which the archbishop of Canterbury had delivered to Edward, at New Abbey, with a reluctant hand, confuted the pretensions of the Lord Paramount, and set forth his own. Edward's title, by lawful transmission, from the *Trojan Brute*, vanished before the indefeasible infeoffment of St. Andrew (*r*). The Paramount Pontiff, in imitation of the Paramount King, assumed to himself the cognizance of the cause, in which he had himself so great an interest. And, he required Edward to send his proctors to Rome, in order to support his pretensions, and to defend his practices. This interposition of Boniface was not by any means spontaneous. Scottish emissaries had found their way to that ancient seat of corrupt intrigue. Among other agents, Baldred Bisset, who is still remembered, as an artful partizan, had supplied the Pope with the historical documents, which formed the irrefragable title of the Roman Pontiff (*s*).

Ridiculous as the pretensions of the Pope may now appear, they extremely embarrassed Edward, whose claim was equally ridiculous, but more overbearing. The king referred the difficult affair to the Parliament, which he called to meet

preceding campaign. There was, indeed, no battle, as the Scots had no army to oppose the king's advance: but, the Scots, by sudden, and various attacks, greatly harassed the English army. We, accordingly, see allowances for horses, which were killed, by the Scots, on the Fleet, on the Cree, at the bridge of Dee, at Cullendach on the Fleet. William de Gretham, a monk of Durham, carried the banner of St. Cuthbert, at the king's request, for which service, he was allowed 5 l. for fifty-three days' expences. The king was attended, by transports, which supplied the army with provisions, as well as the garrisons; bringing every necessary, not only from the ports of Cumberland, but from the ports of Ireland. Corn was sent, from Galloway, to England, and even to Dublin, to be ground, and brought back, in a manufactured state. Bakers were sent from Carlisle into Galloway, to accommodate the English army. The town of Drogheda sent to the king at Kirkcudbright, a present of 80 hogsheads of wine: and the king made an allowance of 13 s. 4 d. to John de Cnocfergus, for bringing the wine, in his ship. The army returned to Carlisle, from Galloway, in various detachments, in September, October, and November. He made several allowances, for damages done by his troops, on their return. He gave two hogsheads of wine to William de Carlile, and to Ade, the widow of Robert de la Fierde, for damage done to their corns, at Dornock: for 80 acres of oats, that were destroyed, the day the army lodged at Dornock, the king allowed to Will. de Carlile 24 l., or 6 s. per acre. When Edward was at Girthon, on the Fleet, he received from Dame Margaret de Multon 13 s. 4 d. for the restitution of her liberty. From Henry, the miller, who rented the mill of Girthon, he received 13 s. 4 d., for some malversation, that had been found, in his mill. He received from the town of Fleet 40 s., for their bad measures, and other transgressions. During the Winter of 1300, Edward erected a *pele*, or castle, at Dumfries; bringing materials, and workmen, from the north of England, at a vast expence.

(*r*) The Bull is in Rym. Fœd. ii. 844. (*s*) Rym. Fœd. ii. 883; Walsing. 78; Fordun, lib. xi. c. 35.
him

him at Lincoln, on the 31st of January 1301. Scholars, and jurists, were now summoned from Oxford, and Cambridge, to give their juridical assistance. The monasteries were again ransacked, for documents; as if fiction could be converted into fact, and sophistry into logic. The Parliament firmly declined the Pope's jurisdiction, as to *temporals*, and zealously maintained the king's title, by such arguments, as ingenuity will always find, when they are sought by power. Edward wrote Boniface an epistle, which, as it was more diffuse, was more feeble, and as it was more elaborate, by deducing his claim from *Brute*, was more absurd: he acted, however, upon the perfect conviction of the justice of his title, and the rectitude of his measures (*t*).

The truce with the Scots was now expired: and being at length fortified by the opinion of his Parliament, Edward hastily entered Scotland, on the 3d of July 1301. The Scots left the defence of their country to its own ruggedness, and to the wants of the invaders. And, the scarcity of forage allowed him only to penetrate to Glasgow; and retiring thence to Linlithgow, he there enjoyed the festivities of Christmas, and built a strength (*u*). Meantime, he consented to a truce, with the Scots, which was settled at Dunipace, on the 14th October 1301 (*x*); and was to endure, till the 30th of November, 1302 (*y*).

In the meantime, Boniface, owing to whatever cause, changed both his pretensions, and his tone. He coolly reprehended Wishart, the bishop of Glas-

(*t*) Rym. Fœd. ii. 873, 883-8; Prynn Coll. iii. 882, 894: In the Ashmolean Lib. Oxf. No. 8573, there is the "Protestatio Magnatum Angliæ super Literis Bonifacis VIII. Papa in Parlamento exhibitis tangentibus jus superioritatis & Dominij Regis Angliæ in Regnum Scotiæ, 28 Edw. I."

(*u*) W. Heming. i. 196; Trivet, 332.

(*x*) Rym. Fœd. ii. 892.

(*y*) The subjoined dates, which were collected from writs, that were issued by Edward, during the inefficient campaign of 1301, will exhibit his progress more distinctly, than has yet been done; and incidentally show, that Lerd Hailes was somewhat inaccurate in saying, "that Edward wintered at Linlithgow:" on the 1st of July 1301, Edward was, on his journey, northward, at Charleton; on the 2d at Bamburgh; on the 3d at Halieland, and Berewic; on the 22d at Kelshe, [Kelso]; on the 24th, at Rokesburgh, and Middleham; on the 4th of August, at Peblis; on the 20th, at Glasgow, when he offered oblations at the shrine of St. Kentigern, in the cathedral church; on the 24th at Glasgow; on the 25th he offered oblations, at the same shrine, "for the good news of Sir Malcolm de Drummond knight, a Scot, being taken prisoner, by Sir John Segrave;" on the 4th of September, at Mairnes, [the castle of Mearns]; on the 8th at Botheville; on the 24th at Glasgow; on the 14th of October, at Donypas; on the 24th at Manewell, [the monastery of Manuel]; on the 25th at Linlithcu; on the 29th at Donypas; on the 18th of December, at Linlithcu, whence he directed prayers to be universally offered for himself, his queen, and children, for his kingdom, and for his success, in the subduction of Scotland; on the 26th of January at Lynlithcu; on the 12th of February, he was at Rokesburgh, on his journey southward; and on the 24th at Morpeth.

gow, as the prime instigator of the fatal warfare, which had long continued between his dearly beloved son Edward, and the Scottish nation: with similar effrontery, he exhorted the other bishops of Scotland to promote the national peace, under the threatened pain of his displeasure (z). They probably knew his motives; and certainly despised his profligacy.

The truce had scarcely expired, when Edward recommenced hostilities; so eager was he, to regain, or ruin, an unhappy land, which owed him no obedience. He sent John de Segreve, a noted warrior, to invade Scotland. The English were now deluded, by the recent forbearance of the Scots. Under this impression Segreve marched towards Edinburgh, in three divisions, for the convenience of forage. John Cumyn, the Guardian, and Simon Fraser, the keeper of Selkirk Forest, had not been inattentive to this want of circumspection. They attacked him, near Roslin, on the 24th of February 1302-3, with such skill, and steadiness, that they defeated his three divisions, in detail, though the English fought with their accustomed bravery (a).

Scotland, which was again freed, could only be saved by such efforts; as she was left to struggle alone against a too powerful neighbour. She had already been deserted by the Pope: and she was now tacitly resigned to her fate, by the French king, who made a separate peace with the English monarch, on the 20th of May 1303 (b). She was even misled by her seven commissaries, who intrigued at Paris, and were themselves deluded by the duplicity of France (c).

Edward, at length, turned his undivided attention to Scotland, which he had finally resolved to subdue, and settle. He summoned all his military vassals from England, from Ireland, and from Gascony, to meet him, at Berwick. And he entered a devoted country, on the 10th of May 1303, with an irresistible force. Whatever power the Scots could have assembled, they were too experienced to meet that warlike monarch in the field. He marched forward by easy journies to Linlithgow. He probably passed the Forth, near Alloa, with the assistance of the shipping, which accompanied him, about the 10th of June; showing, by that passage, his intention to penetrate into the north. He remained three weeks at Perth, which, from the epoch of Lollius Urbicus to the recent times of Wade, and Cumberland, has been the scene of many military consultations; owing to its central position. Edward determined to follow the north-eastern course of the Roman road. And his progress was first obstructed

(z) Rym. Fæd. ii. 904-5; Lord Hailes's An. i. 271.

(a) W. Heming. i. 297-8; Trivet. 336; Fordun, lib. xii. c. ii;

(b) Rym. Fæd. ii. 923.

(c) Ib. 929; L. Hailes's An. i. 273-5.

by the castle of Brechin, which was defended, during a month, by the gallant Sir Thomas Maule, who fell in the act of inciting his men to an obstinate resistance. The castle surrendered, when the spirit of Maule no longer directed its defence. The king of England now continued his triumphant career into Moray, taking the homage, which was every where yielded rather to his power, than to his pretensions. From Kinloss, where he remained a month, he returned, southward, on the 11th of October. By hasty marches, he arrived before the 6th of November, at Dunfermlin Abbey, which, owing to the munificence of the Scottish kings, now afforded him splendid accommodations, for his Christmas festivities.

When Edward passed northward, he left the castle of Stirling unassailed, because he was aware of its strength. Cumyn, knowing its importance, as the last hope of his country, assembled his whole force, on the southern margin of the Forth, to protect it. The genius of Edward readily found the same ford, which had enabled the Roman armies to pass that difficult river, in the vicinity of the rocky height. When the Scots saw the English monarch ford the river, at the head of his cavalry, they fled, as if they had been surprized, or disappointed. Cumyn entered into an agreement with the English Commissioners, at Strathurd, on the 9th of February 1303-4; whereby he saved his own adherents, and sacrificed the friends of Scotland (*d*). Bruce had already surrendered himself to St. John, the warden of the western borders (*e*).

In the beginning of March 1304, Edward repaired to St. Andrews. At this metropolitan seat, he now assembled a great council, which was composed both of English, and Scottish, Barons. In this assembly, were outlawed Sir William Wallace, Simon Fraser, and the garrison of Stirling, which had hitherto resisted his artifice, and defied his power. By his great council, he was now advised to reduce the only remaining strength in Scotland. And with sacrilegious hands, he despoiled the cathedral of the lead, which covered it, as hostile provision for a difficult siege (*f*).

Sir William Oliphant, to whom the castle of Stirling had been entrusted, gained immortal honour, by the faithfulness of his spirit, and the intrepidity of his perseverance. During three months, all the bravery, skill, and enterprize, of the age, were employed to reduce its defences to rubbish. The king, himself, though stricken in years, exposed his person, with the temerity of youth. But, he did injustice to his own gallantry, by refusing a capitulation to the

(*d*) Ryley's Placita, 369-70.

(*e*) Trivet. 334; Ryley's Placita, 369-70.

(*f*) Trivet, 338; Fordun, lib. xii. c. iii.

request of Oliphant, whose fidelity demanded his favour, and whose valour merited his admiration. Scotland was now subdued, by the intrigue, and warfare, of many years. Wallace alone remained, unsullied in his character, and unsubdued in his spirit. Edward departed for England; still distrusting his own success, while that man, of whom a nation may boast, continued in freedom (g).

Of Edward it cannot be said, that he came into Scotland to save, rather than destroy. The torch every where conducted him to his object: devastation followed in his rear, throughout his extended course, from the Forth to the Moray-frith. The Abbeys, which supplied him with the most commodious lodgings, he burnt: the benedictine Abbey of Dunfermlin, which could have then accommodated three sovereigns, and their attendants, within its ample precincts, was destroyed by the English army, when they no longer wanted its abundant hospitality. Thus the fury of Edward began that destruction of religious houses, which the fanaticism of Knox completed (h).

Edward at length, proceeded to the more difficult task of settling the government of the country, which he had overrun by his power, and injured by his

(g) W. Heming. i. 205-6; M. West. 446-9; Rym. Fœd. ii. 951; Fordun, lib. xii. c. iii; Lord Hailes's An. i. 275-9. Lord Hailes has published a series of dates, from the instruments in Prynne, and Rymer's Collections, for ascertaining the progress of Edward, in the excursive year 1303: the subjoined dates will be found to be more numerous, and illustrative, of Edward's campaign, both as to the course, and extent, of his progress. He was at Westminster, on the 8th of March 1303; at Beverley, on the 21st of April; at Newcastle, on the 7th of May; at Alnwyke, on the 9th of May; at Roxburgh, on the 17th and 21st of May; at Edinburgh, on the 4th of June; at Lythgow, on the 6th; at Clackmannan, on the 12th and 14th; having probably crossed the Forth, near Alloa; at Perth, on the 16th of June, and to the 10th of July; at Kyncardyn, on the 17th of August, having taken the castle of Brechin, in the meantime; at Aberdeen, on the 24th; at Banff, on the 4th of September; at Kinloss, in Moray, on the 9th of September, and to the 20th; at Kildrummy, near Nairn, on the 8th of October; he thence returned to Kinloss, on the 10th. These last dates prove, that he did not extend his progress to Cathness, as Trivet, and other writers, assert, though he may have sent detachments into that country. Returning southward, from the Abbey of Kinloss, he was at Dundee, on the 20th of October; at Cambuskyneth, on the 1st of November; at Dunfermlin, on the 6th of November, and to the 10th of February 1303-4; at Cambuskyneth, on the 5th of March; at St. Andrews, on the 12th of March to the 4th of April; at Drumkaragh, [Drumcarra, in Fife], on the 7th of April; at Donary, on the 10th of April; at Stryvelyn, on the 1st of May, and to the 29th of July; Returning southward, he was at Boghkener, [Bothkener], on the 13th of August; at Jeddeworth, [Jedburgh], on the 23d of August; at Yetham, [Yetholm, in Roxburghshire], on the 24th of August; at Morthpeth, on the 28th of August; and at York, on the 18th of October, 1304.

(h) M. Westm. 446: Dunfermlin, Hadington, Melros, Dryburgh, were all destroyed by the English. L. Hailes's An. i. 276. Restenet, and other religious establishments, were equally destroyed by them. Rolls Parl. i. 471-3.

artifice.

artifice. In this arduous work, he seems to have placed his chief confidence in Wishart, the Bishop of Glasgow, Bruce, the Earl of Carrick, and John de Moubray. On the 26th of March 1305, they advised him, to call a great council of the Scots, at Perth, for the purpose of choosing ten Commissioners, to meet twenty Commissioners of the English nation, at London, in order to adjust such an arrangement, as should embrace the interests, and stability, of the two realms (*i*). Such a council was held, and such Commissioners were chosen, who met Edward, in Parliament, on the 22d of September 1305 (*k*). The laws of Scotland were not now abolished, as some historians assert: but, the Celtic customs of the Britons, and Scots, were abrogated; because they did not easily coalesce, with the modern usages. As many of the old forms were allowed to remain, as present circumstances would allow. The private property, which forfeiture had left, was resigned to the protection of law. The rights of hereditary officers were respected. The executive government was placed in the king's Lieutenant, and Chamberlain. The castles were placed in the hands of trusty officers. Many individuals were punished either by fine, or disqualification. And measures were provided, either to arrest, or banish, all such persons, as were likely to disturb tranquillity by their intrigues, or raise commotions by their vigour (*l*). On that occasion, it must be allowed, that Edward acted more, as a legislator, than in his character of conqueror; since moderation seems to have dictated what policy approved, though the Scottish people had been too much injured to admit of reconciliation.

Wallace, however, was still alive, enjoying obscure freedom, in his native wilds. Activity, and artifice, discovered, at length, the place of his retreat. He was arrested by Sir John Menteth, the sheriff of Dunbarton-shire; and sent to London in fetters. He was now tried, for the odious guilt of high treason. Wallace denied, that he had departed from the allegiance, which he had never sworn: he admitted, that he had levied war against the king of England, in support of his country's freedom; and being found guilty, he suffered the aggravated pains of treason, on the 23d of August 1305 (*m*). Such was the unworthy fate of the only pure character, of which Scotland could boast, during those difficult times. The fond admiration of his countrymen has attributed to Wallace the incredible feats of ancient heroism: but, such was his disinterestedness, his valour, and his services, that his fame needs not the heightenings of fiction, for its durability.

(*i*) Ryley's Placita, 243.(*k*) Ib. 503.(*l*) Ib.; Rolls of Parl. i. 267; L. Hailes's An. i. 283-89.(*m*) Trivet, 340; Stow's Chronicle, 209.

Yet, Robert Bruce still remained, who was a more dangerous foe to Edward, and a more successful friend to Scotland; having as much enterprize, and bravery, as the valorous, and unsubmitting Wallace, with more suppleness, and greater address. The education of Robert Bruce had taught him to consider the decision of the king of England, in favour of Baliol, as the unjust deprivation of his fairest inheritance. During the recent struggles, for the subordination, or the independence, of Scotland, the ambition of Bruce, constantly looked up to the diadem, as the ultimate object of all his aims. While he was acting with Wishart, the Bishop of Glasgow, as the adviser of Edward, in the settlement of Scotland, the Earl of Carrick entered into an agreement of mutual concert, and help, with Lamberton, the Bishop of St. Andrews (*n*). The genuine object of such an agreement, during such times, it required not a strong sight to perceive. The rivalry of Bruce regarded John Cumyn, as a competitor for the crown, and as the obstructor of his fortune. These two potent Barons met, accidentally, at Dumfries, while the English judges were holding their usual assizes. An expostulation ensued between those rivals, in the church of the Minorites. Altercation was easily roused to fury, between men, who, like the characters on the theatre of Rome, could not brook a superior, and could hardly bear an equal. In that sacred place, on the 10th of February 1305-6, Bruce gave a mortal wound to Cumyn, who was dispatched by Kirkpatrick, a partizan of his rival. The justiciaries, instead of arresting Bruce, were themselves made prisoners by him; and yet were allowed to depart for England, without further molestation (*o*); as their detention would only have been an embarrassment.

Accident had now obliged Bruce to avow his object. After choosing the least of many a difficulty, during several years, the Earl of Carrick had at length to decide, whether he would choose to be punished, as a felon, or revered, as a king. The manners of a rude age, which induced men to consider, as a manly effort, for the freedom of his country, what would now be deemed an aggravated murder, enabled the slayer of Cumyn to decide the alternative. Robert Bruce ascended the throne of his ancestors, at the age of thirty two, in the face of a thousand obstacles, supported, by a few friends, strengthened, by the resources of his own genius, and animated by his own valour (*p*). At Scone, the ancient seat of Scottish inaugurations, was the Earl of Carrick crowned king

(*n*) Lord Hailes was the first, who published, from ancient MS. muniments, this curious document, which is dated at Cambuskyneth the 11th of June, 1304. *Annals*, i. 280.

(*o*) W. Heming. i. 220; M. West. 453; Trivet, 342.

(*p*) Trivet, 342; M. West. 454; Fordun, lib. xii. c. 9.

of Scots, on the 27th of March 1306, without *the regalia*, which Edward had carried to Wesminster. But, the occasion always supplies such requisites. Lamberton, the Bishop of St. Andrews, crowned Robert Bruce. The Bishop of Glasgow furnished him with the robes, and a banner. A golden crown was found by the nearest artist. Isabella, the Countess of Buchan, the sister of the Earl of Fife, had the manliness to act the part of her brother, who, from ancient descent, had the privilege of placing the Scottish kings in the inaugural chair. And any lapideous matter would sufficiently supply the place of the *fatal stone*. Such a concurrence of circumstances evince the popularity of the act, the applause of the country, and the resolution of the people to support Bruce, with their spears (*q*).

(*q*) For their conduct, on that occasion, the bishops would have lost their heads, if their ecclesiastical characters had not shielded them, from the vengeance of Edward. The bishop of Glasgow was accused, by the English king, before the Pope, for that the bishop provided out of his own wardrobe *the robes*, which the Earl of Carrick was to appear in, on the day when he was to act as king; and had moreover delivered to the Earl of Carrick “a banner of the arms of the late king of Scotland, which the bishop had concealed, in his treasury, and sent to the Abbey of Scone.” Rymer’s second Letter to Bishop Nicolson, 88. In the Pat. Rolls of the 35 Ed. I. there is a pardon to Walter de Coigners, for concealing, and detaining the *golden crown*, with which Robert Bruce was crowned. Not so, the intrepid Countess of Buchan, who is characterized by M. Westminster, as “*impiissima conjuratrix* :” she was actually imprisoned, in a *wooden cage*, within the castle of Berwick, by the special order of the enraged Edward. Rym. Fœd. ii. 1014, attests this disgraceful fact. This illustrious woman seems to have died in her *wooden cage*; as she never appeared again upon the gory stage of the Scottish history: nor, has my research found her afterwards mentioned in any record, or noticed by any writer.

CHAP. III.

Of the Ecclesiastical History, during this Period.

THE church establishment of Scotland remained imperfect, at the recent commencement of the Scoto-Saxon period, in 1097 A.D. Some parishes, indeed, had long been formed, though not by the special authority of any king, or the spiritual influence of any Bishop: ministers had regularly performed their usual functions; and tithes, and other ecclesiastical dues, had been undoubtedly paid (*a*): yet, is there reason to believe, that though Bishops had existed, for ages, bishopricks had not been locally settled, when that period began (*b*).

Godric, as he was the Bishop of the Scots, in 1097, had the doubtful honour of inaugurating Edgar, though he had never been himself consecrated, owing to the disputed jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical power, which ought to perform the necessary consecration. He died, in 1107; leaving his imperfect rights to be defended, by an abler king than Edgar. Turgot, the prior of Durham, who had been confessor to Margaret, was now nominated by Alexander I, as the successor of Godric, and confirmed by the clergy: but, his consecration was, for many months, delayed. There was not, in Scotland, at that epoch, any authority, which, according to the constitution of the church, could perform the metropolitan act of consecration. This power had been, pertinaciously, claimed by the Archbishop of York, and, obstinately, denied by the Scottish clergy. The Archbishop of Canterbury disputed the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of York, to consecrate the Bishops of the Scots. This competi-

(*a*) See before, book iii. ch. viii. Though many parishes were laid out, during the Scottish period, yet, many such districts were progressively settled, during the present period, when so many ecclesiastical changes were made.

(*b*) See the seals of the Bishops of St. Andrews, even as low down, as A.D. 1188, on which the prelates, Robert, Arnald, and Richard, each entitles himself, *Scottorum Episcopus*: And. Diplom. pl. 100; Anglia Sacra, ii. 234-6. Whence we may infer, that their predecessors had considered themselves, as the Bishops of the Scottish people.

tion of rival metropolitans evinces, that neither of them had an indisputable right. The knot, which could not be cut, by controversy, was at length untied by compromise. Henry I, in concert with Alexander I, enjoined the Archbishop of York to consecrate Turgot; saving the right of either church: and, the consecration was performed, on the 30th July 1109, without any profession of archiepiscopal obedience (*c*).

But, the death of Turgot, in 1115 (*d*), after an unsuccessful government of an extensive see, only revived former pretensions, reinvigorated subsequent demands, and inspired ultimate denials. Alexander I, artfully, applied to Ralph, the Archbishop of Canterbury, for his advice, and assistance, in the choice, and consecration, of a successor to the aged Turgot. After the hesitation of years, the Archbishop sent Eadmer to Alexander, as a fit person, to rule the Scotican church. This monk of Canterbury was received, as Bishop of St. Andrews, by the queen, by the clergy, and the nation. But, the disputed act of consecration still remained to be performed: and the litigated point of canonical obedience continued to disturb the peace of an unformed church. Eadmer was so weak, as not to know, that people must be governed, in conformity to their principles. And, Alexander was resolved, from the vigour of his habit, and the conviction of his interest, “to be every thing himself, in his own kingdom.” The king resisted the remonstrances of the Archbishop, and refused the submissions of the monk (*e*); as the besotted Eadmer preferred his connection with Canterbury to the independence of the Scotican church.

Meanwhile, the greatest efforts were made by the Pope, and Thurstin, to obtain a sufficient number of suffragans for the see of York. The Popes, Paschal (*f*), Calixtus, Honorius, and Innocent, successively, exerted themselves to subject the Orkneys, the Western-isles, Galloway, Cumbria, and Scotland, to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the ambitious Thurstin (*g*). But, their persevering

(*c*) Eadmer, 17-98; Sim. Dun. 207-232; Innes's MS. Chronicon.

(*d*) Innes's MS. Chronol. Scotiæ, sub an.

(*e*) Eadmer, 130-33. Angl. Sacra, ii. 234.

(*f*) He governed the church from A. D. 1099 to 1118; Calixtus from 1119 to 1124; Honorius from 1124 to 1130; and Innocent from 1130 to 1141.

(*g*) Angl. Sacra, ii. 234-6; Torfæus, lib. ii. 159: See the Pope's letters to the King of Norway, *admonishing him, in the Lord*, to place the Bishop of Orkney, and the Isles, under the see of York. Dug. Monast. iii. 144-5. The bishoprick of *Candida Casa* was now revived; and Gilla-Aldan, the bishop elect, was admonished to put himself under the archiepiscopal authority of Thurstin: Gilla-Aldan, willingly, obeyed the Pope's mandate; considering it as a duty, which had come down to him from ancient times. Ib. 145-48. The Bishops of *Candida Casa* long regarded themselves as under a distinct jurisdiction, from Scotland. The episcopate of Glasgow

severing efforts were ultimately baffled, by the intelligent firmness of the Scottish kings, and the virtuous struggles of the Scottish prelates.

Alexander I. who constantly opposed a firm front to every ecclesiastical attack on the independence of his crown, only lived to find a successor to Eadmer in Robert, the Prior of Scone. Thurstin revived the pretensions of his see, which were left to the policy of David to settle. At the accession of Alexander, in January, 1106-7, he found prelates, performing their undefined functions, within the Scottish territories (*e*). During his reign, though not under his authority, the bishoprick of Glasgow was revived. Alexander gave ample possessions to the church of St. Andrew's (*f*). He enlarged the funds of the abbey of Dunfermlin, which the piety of his mother had endowed (*g*). After founding the monastery of Scone, in A. D. 1114, he placed therein a colony of Canons regular, from England (*h*). To the same Canons, he gave Inch-Tay, in 1122, where a monastery was built; and wherein Sibilla, his queen, was buried (*i*). He founded at St. Andrew's a priory, in honour of the apostle of Scotland (*k*). And he erected, in 1123, a religious house, in one of the islets of the Forth, which he gratefully dedicated to Columba, to whose intercession, says the legend, he owed his safety from shipwreck (*l*). Such were the ecclesiastical establishments, which owed their foundation to the munificence, or policy, of an able prince, during a religious age.

Robert, who was chosen the Bishop of St. Andrew's, in 1124, did not obtain consecration, till 1128 (*m*). Thurstin, from a love of God, and a respect for David I. consecrated Robert, without any profession of obedience; reserving

was also revived about A. D. 1116; and John, the tutor of David, the earl, was consecrated by Pope Paschal, in 1117. Innes's MS. Chron. sub An. Calixtus, and Innocent often urged him, by the most pressing admonitions, to obey the Archbishop of York, as his metropolitan; but, without effect. Dug. Monast. iii. 145-7. The Scottish kings were also admonished, by the same Popes, to place their church under the same jurisdiction; but, without success. Id. Yet, is the prejudice of Sir James Dalrymple, constantly, charging both the kings, and bishops of Scotland, with the design of introducing the Romish power, and practices, among the Scottish people. See his *Collections*, every where. But, the jaundiced eyes of Sir James had not seen the interesting epistles, before quoted, in Dug. Monast. iii. 143-8. Those curious papers equally escaped the minute industry of Bishop Keith, and the learned diligence of Lord Hailes.

(*e*) Chart. of Scone.

(*f*) Ford. lib. v. c. 36-7.

(*g*) Chart. Dunfermlin; Dalr. Col. Ap. iii.

(*h*) Chart. Scone; Dalr. Col. Ap. ii.

(*i*) Spottiswoode, 414.

(*k*) Ib. 416.

(*l*) Fordun, l. v. c. 28.

(*m*) Innes MS. Chron. sub An.; Flor. Wig. 506.

the rights of the two sees of York, and St. Andrew's (*n*). The Pope, as supreme head of the church, had the undoubted right of consecration, in the opinion of those ages, according to the established law of the christian world. The Archbishop of Canterbury had neither from custom, nor practice, any pretence of superiority over the Scotican church. Whatever power the Bishop of York may have exercised over Lothian, or Whithern, during the seventh, and eighth, centuries, ceased at the commencement of the ninth age, when anarchy freed those countries, from the claims of Northumberland. The Bishop of York never exercised any ecclesiastical authority over proper Scotland. The recent attempts of the Popes to subject the bishops of Scotland, as suffragans of York, evince, that the ancient practice was deemed merely a pretence. The spiritual jurisdiction of the Pope was, in that age, acknowledged: His temporal power was disputed; because it would have absorbed the sovereign rights of independent princes. After many struggles, Celestine III. declared, in 1188, the church of Scotland, to be "the daughter of Rome, by special grace," and to be *immediately* subject to the apostolic jurisdiction (*o*). Amidst the prejudices of the age, this declaration of Celestine was regarded, by the Scottish clergy, as a *great charter*, which operated, as an impregnable shield against the groundless pretensions of the Archbishops of York, and Canterbury.

Robert, who had thus been elected, and consecrated, the Bishop of St. Andrew's, outlived David I. by whose policy he had been placed, canonically, in his extensive see. His successors were either consecrated by the Pope's legate, or by the Scottish bishops. On the death of Herbert, the Bishop of Glasgow, in 1164, Roger, the Archbishop of York, revived, indeed, the pretensions of his predecessors. But, Pope Alexander III., by an irrevocable bull, decided the metropolitan question, in favour of the Scotican church (*p*).

(*n*) Angl. Sacra, ii. 237: There is a declaration of David in Dug. Monast. iii. 146, which shows, that he had, with the address of a statesman, obtained his present object, by postponing the litigated question of right, for the discussion of some future day. The prejudices of Sir James Dalrymple led him to transfer the power of *consecration* to the *Culdees*. Col. 236. While those monks formed the *chapter* of any diocese, they would, necessarily, possess, like other chapters, the right of *election*; but not of *consecration*.

(*o*) Hoveden, 651: Celestine, moreover, declared, that the Pope, or his legate *a latère*, should alone enjoy the power of pronouncing against Scotland the sentence of excommunication, or interdiction; that no one should be capable of exercising the office of legate, in that country, except a Scottish subject, or a proper person, who should be deputed, by the apostolic see, out of the sacred college; and that no appeal, concerning benefices, should be ever carried out of Scotland, except to the court of Rome. Lord Hailes's An. i. 130.

(*p*) Keith's bishops, 138-9; Chart. of Glasgow

The

The first national council of the Scottish clergy, whereof any distinct account remains, was assembled under David I. At Roxburgh, it met, in 1126, with John of Cremona, the Pope's legate, at its head (*q*). Thurstin tried to revive, in this assembly, the ungracious question of his odious supremacy. But, Honorius II. assumed to himself the decision of a point, which, he perceived, would only embitter the proceedings of men, who already felt, for their independence. Honorius made no haste to decide the controversy, by a bull, which he saw might be disobeyed, or eluded (*r*). Another council of the prelates, and nobles, of Scotland, was assembled, in 1138, at Carlisle, by Alberic, the Pope's legate. During the perturbations of war, the papal representative, says the prior of Hagustad, corrected, in a council of three days endurance, whatever required correction (*s*). John, the Bishop of Glasgow, who had retired, from the vexations of his episcopate, to the quiet of his monastery, in France, the legate obliged to resume his uneasy functions.

But, it was David I. who refounded the Scotican church. He either superseded, or repressed, the Culdeë establishments, as we have already seen (*t*). He restored the bishoprics of Glasgow, and Aberdeen; he formed the episcopates of Dunblain, Brechin, Dunkeld, Moray, Ross, and Cathness (*u*). His munificence, or his piety, founded, or strengthened, many religious houses (*x*). The

(*q*) Sim. Dunelm. 252; Wilkins's Concilia, i. 407.

(*r*) Lord Hailes's Councils, 2.

(*s*) Decem Script. 264.

(*t*) Book iii. c. viii.

(*u*) Id.

(*x*) In A. D. 1113, David settled Tyrone monks, at Selkirk; and, in 1128, he translated them to Kelso: He also founded, in 1140, a monastery for the same monks, at Lesmahagow. In 1128, he founded Holyrood-house, for canons regular: And he established monasteries of the same order, at Cambus-kenneth, at Jedburgh, and in the Isle of May. He was very bountiful to the Benedictine monastery, which his father and mother had founded at Dunfermlin; from whence, in 1125, he transplanted a colony of Benedictine monks to Urquhart, in Moray. In 1136, he richly endowed the abbey of Melros, for Cistercian monks, from Rievall, in England: And he founded monasteries for the same order, at Newbotle, in 1140, at Kinloss, in 1150, and at Machlin, in Ayrshire. David introduced the Bernardine, or Cistercian nuns, into Berwick: And he founded convents, for the same order, at Three Fountains, in Lamermoor, and at Gulane, in East Lothian. He introduced into North-Britain the Knights Templars, who acquired establishments, at Temple, and at Balantradoch, in Mid Lothian, at Oggerston, in Stirlingshire, at Mary Culter, on the Dee, at Aboyne, and Tulloch, in Aberdeenshire, at Inchinan, in Renfrewshire, at St. Germans, in East Lothian, and other places. The Knights of St. John of Jerusalem also owed to David I. their establishment, in North-Britain, and their principal seat, at Torphichen. During the reign of David, other monastic establishments were formed, in Scotland, by his subjects. Fergus, the lord of Galloway, founded, in that Gaelic country, monasteries, for Premonstratensian monks, at Tunland, at Whithern, at Saulseat; he settled at Dundrainan, in 1142, Cistercian monks, from Rievall, in England: And he founded on St. Mary's Isle, a monastery for Canons regular.

The church, which that able prince found unformed, he left complete, by his various reforms: And, in this manner, he called in the influences of religion, to support the energies of his policy. His successor, James I. of Scotland, when he saw, at the end of three centuries, the magnificence of those religious houses, and the extent of their domains, is said to have cried out, “that Saint David had been a *soir saint* to the crown.” The experience of James did not enable him to reflect, that it was not so much the profusion, as the policy of his predecessor, which had induced him to create so many bishoprics, for the government of the clergy; and to found so many monasteries, for the improvement of his people: Neither did the intelligent James perceive, when he envied the opulence of David, that the rapacity of courtiers would, meanwhile, have seized what the clergy had improved, for their own benefit, indeed, but for the advantage of the nation.

The short reign of Malcolm IV. furnished few materials for ecclesiastical history. He naturally courted the Pope, when he wished for a protector against Henry II. With this design, he sent an embassy to Rome, in 1159. Pope Alexander III., during his contest with the Emperor Frederic, willingly, conciliated the favour of other princes. And, he conferred the commodious office of papal legate, in Scotland, on William, the Bishop of Moray, who was one of Malcolm's Ambassadors (y). This connection, however, did not long continue. The same Pope seems to have given to Roger, the Archbishop of York, a legatine authority over the Scottish church. This new legate appears to have been ambitious of exerting his interested authority. In 1163, he summoned the Scottish clergy to meet him, at Norham, under the penalty of suspension. They sent three deputies, not to submit to his power, but to remonstrate against his assumption. And, an acrimonious altercation, between the Archbishop, and the Scottish deputies, ended in a decisive appeal to Rome (z). Malcolm confirmed the right, and enforced the payment, of tithes; he con-

regular. Hugh Moreville, the constable, founded, at Dryburgh, a monastery for Premonstratensian monks; and another at Kilwinning, in 1140, for monks of Tyrone. Turgot de Rossedal founded a house, for Canons regular, upon the Esk, in Drumfries-shire, at the place, which was named from them *Canon-by*. The same Canons were settled at Restennet, in Forfarshire, at Pittenweem, in Fife, and at Blantyre, in Clydesdale. At Holywood, in Nithsdale, a monastery of Premonstratensian monks was established in David's reign. Cospatrick, the Earl of Dunbar, founded a monastery of Cistercian nuns, at Caldstream, on the Tweed; and a convent for the same order was established at Elbotle, in East Lothian.

(y) *Angl. Sacra*, i, 161; *Chron. Mail* 168.

(z) *Lord Hailes An.* i, 108.

ferred many lands, and churches; and, imitating the policy of his grandfather, he founded several religious houses (*a*).

The misfortunes of William, the Lion, raised the glory of the Scotican church. While the king, and the nobles, were obliged, by the captivity of William, to swear fealty to Henry II., the clergy would only consent, that the English church should have the authority over the Scottish, which, in right, and justice, it ought to have. In this proceeding, the address, and firmness, of the Scottish prelates, are equally remarkable (*b*).

In 1176, the papal legate, Cardinal *Huguccio*, assembled a council at Northampton, wherein were present, Henry II. and William, the Lion: Six of the principal bishops of the Scottish church attended the Scottish King. Henry required those prelates “to yield that obedience to the English church, which “they ought to yield:” But, though they were in the power of Henry, and in the presence of the legate, they explicitly avowed their own sense of the late treaty; and boldly insisted, “that they had never yielded subjection to the “English church, and ought not.” Roger, the Archbishop of York, contended, that the Bishops of Galloway, and Glasgow, had been anciently subject to his metropolitan see. Joceline, the Bishop of Glasgow, now insisted, with a retrospect to the bull of Alexander III., in 1164, that his see, being the peculiar daughter of Rome, was exempted, from the jurisdiction of all other bishops, and archbishops. Richard, the Archbishop of Canterbury, at length, interposed. In contradiction to the Archbishop of York, with whom he was at variance, he claimed the Scottish prelates, as his peculiar suffragans. This is the second occasion, when such a competition of claims evinced, that neither of the claimants had any pretence of right. Henry II. felt this observation: And he allowed the Scottish bishops to depart, without enforcing their submission to the English church (*c*).

The firmness of William, and the spirit of his prelates, appear to have obtained a similar triumph over the Pope. This victory was obtained, in a contest

(*a*) See the Chartularies. In 1156, Malcolm established, at Manuel, near Linlithgow, a priory, for nuns of the Cistercian order: In 1164, he planted a colony of monks of the same order, at Couper, in Angus, on the commodious site of a Roman station: In the same year, he founded a hospital at Soltra, which, from its situation, and revenues, became one of the most considerable establishments of this kind, in North-Britain. During the reign of Malcolm, Walter, the son of Alan, the Stewart, established, at Paisley, a monastery of Cluniac monks, who were brought from Wenloc, in Shropshire. Cospatric, the Earl of Dunbar, founded, at Eccles, in 1154, a convent, for nuns of the Cistercian order. And Uchtred, the son of Fergus, the lord of Galloway, established, at Lincluden, a convent of black nuns, of the order of St. Benedict.

(*b*) Rym. Fœd. i. 399; Hoveden, 550.

(*c*) Hoveden, 550; Keith's Bishops, 139.

about the choice of a successor to Richard, the Bishop of St. Andrew's, in 1178. The chapter chose the erudite John Scot: The king nominated Hugh, his own chaplain; and when he heard of the election of the former, he swore, "By the arm of St. James, that while he lived, John Scot should not be Bishop of St. Andrew's." Roger, the Archbishop of York, who was armed with legatine authority, excommunicated the Scottish king, and interdicted his kingdom. The Pope supported the Archbishop. Yet, William continued inflexible. The legate now excommunicated Richard Moreville, the Constable, and Richard de Prebenda, the Secretary, who were considered, as the king's advisers. But, William encountered such fulminations, by banishing all, who yielded obedience to his opponents. Meanwhile, the Pope, and the Archbishop, died. The Scottish king, immediately, sent Ambassadors to Rome. Lucius, the successor of Alexander III., reversed the excommunication, and recalled the interdict. The competition for the see of St. Andrew's was ended, at length, by compromise. The two prelates resigned their pretensions: And William allowed the Pope to nominate Hugh to St. Andrew's, and John to Dunkeld. As a mark of sincere reconciliation, Lucius sent to the Scottish king *the golden rose*, with his paternal benediction (*d*).

Five other ecclesiastical councils held their obscure sittings, during the long reign of William. One, at Edinburgh, in 1177, under the legate Tomasi; another, in the church of Holycross, near the same city, in 1180; a third, under John de Salerno, at Perth, in 1201 (*e*); a fourth, at the same town, in 1206; and a fifth was called at Perth, by William, the Bishop of St. Andrew's, and Walter, the Bishop of Glasgow, the Pope's legates, "by the king's warrant, as is the custom." These councils were probably all, like the last, composed of clergy, and nobles. But, as their transactions were dark, and ineffective, they do not supply many events, for narrative, nor furnish much matter, for reflection (*f*).

In

(*d*) Hoveden, 599; Fordun, l. vi. c. 35-36; Chron. Mail. 174-5.

(*e*) John, the cardinal legate, issued a precept to the Scottish bishops; directing them to visit the several churches, which the monks of Kelso enjoyed to their proper use, according to the rule of the Lateran council. Chart. Kelso, 444. The bishops of St. Andrew, and Glasgow had already agreed with the abbot of Kelso, that he should present vicars to the several churches, which belonged to the monastery of Kelso, in their respective dioceses; and this agreement was confirmed by the cardinal John, at the council of Perth, in 1201. Ib. 424.

(*f*) One of the canons, which was made at Perth, in 1201, prohibiting all secular employments, from Saturday, at noon, till Monday morning, is said by Boece, to have been ratified, by the estates. Lord Hailes's Councils, 7. The proceedings of a Provincial Council, which was held, at Perth, in 1242, was also ratified by the estates. Fordun, as well as Boece, asserts this position.

In the meantime, there assembled other ecclesiastical councils of a less general nature, during that religious period. The Scottish Bishops called synods of their clergy, within their several dioceses, for establishing diocesan rules (*g*). Robert, the Bishop of St. Andrew's, called a synod, at Berwick, in A. D. 1150 (*h*). The Bishop of Glasgow followed his example, in 1220 (*i*). The attendance, at such synods, by the abbots, was soon deemed a burden, from which, they studiously sought exemptions (*k*).

The abbots had gradually acquired other exemptions of greater inconvenience to the nation. They had generally obtained the privilege of sanctuary (*l*). Abuses soon crept in, which were at length felt. And, in 1212, A. D. William made a vigorous attempt to correct them, though he was opposed by Inno-

Ib. 15. Thus early seems to have begun the useful practice of calling in the assent of the king, and the estates, to energize the councils of the Scotican church. Innes, a Roman Catholic priest, but a fair inquirer after truth, appears to have gone over the parliamentary record, in order to prove how often the bulls of the Pope, and the canons of the Scotican councils, had been ratified, by the king, with the assent of the estates. Innes's MS. Col. in my library. It is important to remark, that Innes, who made his researches from 1725 to 1735, found, in the Parliamentary Record, several proceedings, which are not to be seen in Robertson's Parl. volume: So that this record seems to have received considerable injury, in the intermediate period.

(*g*) "The ancient episcopal synods, which were held once a year, about Easter, were composed of the Bishop, as President, the Dean cathedral, as representative of that collegiate body, the Archdeacons, as at first only deputies or proctors of that inferior order of deacons, and the Urban, or rural, Deans, who represented all the parochial priests, within their division." Kennet's Par. Antiq. Glos. in Vo. Synodi. The episcopal synods, in Scotland, were more numerous attended by the clergy.

(*h*) Chart. of Coldingham.

(*i*) Chart. of Glasgow.

(*k*) William Lamberton, the Bishop of St. Andrew's, liberated, in 1293, the Abbot of Dryburgh, from the synodal meetings of Haddington; and, if for urgent affairs, they should come there, in that case, he gave them a pension of four marks to be paid them, by the hands of the Dean of Haddington. Chart. Dryburgh.

(*l*) Exclusive of the general sanctuary, which every church, in some measure, possessed, several churches, and religious houses, had particular sanctuaries, by special grants of the Scottish kings. In 1144, David I. granted to the monks of Lesmahagu, that all persons, who were in danger of the loss of life, or limb, and who should flee to their cell, for refuge, or should come within the four crosses, should be entitled to his peace, in honour of God, and St. Michael. Chart. Kelso, 8. Malcolm IV. granted to the church of Inverleithan, in Tweeddale, wherein the body of his son had rested, the first night, after his death, such sanctuary, within its territory, as Wedale [Stow,] or Tynningham, enjoyed. Ib. 20. The hospital of Soltre possessed a privileged sanctuary, to which a road from the south led up; and which is still known by the name of the *Girth-gate*. Chart. Soltre; and the tradition of the country.

cent III., who only felt for his own religious order (*m*). The abbots, and monks, obtained other honours, privileges, and exemptions (*n*).

Meantime, William, the Lion, made, as well as confirmed, many grants to ecclesiastical establishments; he enforced the payment of tithes: but, he does not appear to have founded religious houses, if we except a convent of red friars, in Aberdeen, and the monastery of Aberbrothock, for Tyrone monks, which he dedicated to Becket, in 1178, with a hostile recollection, perhaps, of the invariable enmity of Henry II. (*o*).

Alexander II. had scarcely ascended the throne of his father, when engaging in warfare with John, in support of the barons, he incurred the indignation of

(*m*) Lord Hailes's *An. i.* 140: Innocent addressed a bull to William; confirming the privileges of the Scottish church: 1. That there should be no interdict, or excommunication, promulgated over the Scottish people, unless by his holiness, or his legate, in Scotland: 2. That no controversies should be drawn out of Scotland, except to Rome: 3. All former privileges, belonging to the Scottish church, were confirmed. The only bishopricks, which were then known to the Pope, in Scotland, were St. Andrew's, Glasgow, Dunkeld, Dunblain, Brechin, Aberdeen, Moray, Ross, and Cathness. *Chart. Glasgow.* The bishop of Candida Casa was, at that time, supposed to be a suffragan of the see of York: And the bishopricks of Argyle, and Edinburgh, were not founded till after the effluxion of many years.

(*n*) In 1253, Innocent issued a bull, in favour of the abbot and monks of Balmerinach, "*ne trahantur ad synodos vel ad conventus forinsecus.*" *Chart. Balmer.* 60. In 1220, Walter, the Bishop of Glasgow, exempted the abbot and monks of Paisley, "*a procuracionibus et synodalibus.*" *Chart. Paisl.* 361. In 1303, Benedict granted a bull to John, the abbot of Paisley, that he, and his successors, might wear a *mitre*, a *ring*, "*et aliis pontificalibus.*" *Ib.* 141. In 1315, the same Pope granted to Patrick, the abbot of Cambuskeneth, the same pontifical privileges, with the power of giving benediction to the people. *Chart. Cambusk.* 36. Under David I. Robert, the Bishop of St. Andrews, empowered the abbots of Kelso, to receive ordination, with its usual ceremonies, from any bishop, that they might think proper. *Chart. Kelso.* 4. The monks enjoyed more substantial exemptions. In 1205, Innocent issued a bull, commanding that, none should exact tithes from the lands of the monks of Newbotle. *Chart. Newbotle.* 247. This was afterwards extended to the tithes of animals, and fruit. *Ib.* 265. Lucius, who ruled the universal church, from 1181 to 1185, gave a similar exemption, from the paying of tithes, to the monks of Melros. *Chart. Mel.* 168. And the monks of other houses enjoyed the same exemptions, as we may learn from the *Chartularies*.

(*o*) Fordun, *lib. viii. c.* 25; *Chart. of Aberbrothock.* In the same year, 1178, his brother David, the Earl of Huntingdon, founded a monastery, for Tyrone monks, at Lindores: And in 1179, Fergus, the Earl of Buchan, planted Tyrone monks, at Fyvie, in Aberdeenshire. The Countess Ada, the mother of King William, settled, in 1178, a convent of Cistercian nuns, at Haddington. And the Countess of Dunbar established a convent of Cistercian nuns, at St. Bothan's, in Lamer-moor. Roland, the lord of Galloway, founded, in 1190, a monastery for Cistercian monks, at Glenluce: And Reginald, the son of Somerled, planted a colony of Cistercian monks, at Sadale, in Kintire. Gilbert, the Earl of Strathern, founded, in 1200, a monastery for Canons regular, at Inchaffray: And Gilchrist, the Earl of Marr, built a Priory, for Canons regular, at Monymusk, where they supplanted the Celtic Culdees.

the Pope. As John had left his kingdom under the papal protection, Honorius considered England as his own. Owing to this cause, Gualo, his legate, excommunicated the people of Scotland, in 1216 A. D.; as the enemies of his adopted land. They did not much regard this fulmination, as they deemed it the effect of interest, more than the dictate of religion (*p*). A peace was soon after concluded with Henry III.; and Alexander was thereupon absolved from the embarrassment of papal censures.

But, his people were not freed, from the odious rapacity of Gualo, the papal legate, in the scandalous sale of individual absolutions. The Scottish clergy sent three bishops to Rome, as deputies, to represent this oppression, and to solicit redress. Honorius not only removed the grievance, but confirmed the privileges of the Scottish church; owing to his affected respect for Alexander, who had manfully withstood the papal power (*q*).

A general council of the Scottish church was called at Perth, in 1221, by the papal legate, in order to obtain aids, for the holy war. Another papal agent, in the meantime, journeyed through the country; soliciting under that imposing pretence, money, which he spent, as profusely, as he had obtained it assiduously. A third legate arrived in Scotland, during the subsequent year, for a similar solicitation; but not with the same success. A bishop, whose name has not been proclaimed by fame, moved, in the assembly of the estates, what obtained their assent, and the king's approbation, that neither this, nor any other legate, should thereafter be admitted into the kingdom. Honorius felt what he was unable to suppress. And, he found it necessary to issue a bull, in 1225, to enable the Scottish prelates to hold a provincial council, without the mandate of a legate, or the summons of a metropolitan (*r*). The Scottish clergy explained the doubtful tenor of this papal act, in favour of their own powers: And, under the sanction of that bull, they called ecclesiastical councils, without the Pope's consent, or knowledge (*s*). They soon after exercised the important privilege, which they had thus artfully obtained. They held a council, wherein, among other canons, they ordained, that every parish priest should be entitled to pasture his cattle over his whole parish (*t*).

After various attempts, and repulses, by the Scottish king, Otho, the Pope's legate, held a council of the Scottish clergy, at Edinburgh, in 1239. Their

(*p*) Chron. Mail. 192; Fordun, lib. ix. c. 31.

(*q*) Fordun, l. ix. c. 32-3; Rym. Fœd. i. 227.

(*r*) Chart. Moray, L. Hailes's Councils, p. 11.

(*s*) Lord Hailes's An. i. 149.

(*t*) L. Hailes's Councils, p. 12, which quotes the Chart. of Moray, fol. 11. But, the Chartulary does not inform us, whether this agricultural canon was ratified by the parliament.

proceedings are unknown. It is only certain, that Otho, after diligently collecting money, withdrew, secretly, into England.

Gregory IX. was perfectly informed, both of the resolution, and the power of Alexander II., to oppose the entrance of a legate into Scotland; as he was strengthened by the concurrence of his prelates, and the voice of the country. And that haughty pontiff condescended to sooth his obstinacy, and to conciliate his compliance, without gaining the interested object of a profligate court (*u*).

In the absence of a legate, David, the Bishop of St. Andrew's, called a provincial council at Perth, in 1242. In it, were passed many canons, which as they were ratified by the estates, and confirmed by the king, continued to be the ecclesiastical law of Scotland, till the recent epoch of the reformation (*x*). The Scottish church gained another privilege, from the complacency, or the prudence, of the Pope. Innocent IV. issued a bull, in 1245, directing "that the
"papal delegates, for trying ecclesiastical causes, should hold their sittings,
"either within Scotland, or within the dioceses of Carlisle, or Durham; but
"not within the diocese of York." The Archbishop had recently revived some of the ancient pretensions of his see, which, at a moment of conciliation, it was deemed prudent to extinguish for ever.

During a reign, which reflected glory on the king, and brought advantage to his kingdom, Alexander established the independence of his church, without adding much to her opulence. Pitying the poverty of the bishoprick of Argyle, which had been founded about the year 1200, he endowed that episcopate with churches, and lands, by several grants (*y*). He, however, founded no fewer than nine monasteries of Dominican friars. Every succeeding age seems to have had its own fashion of monkery. David, and his two grandsons, had established, in several districts of the country, monks of various kinds. Alexander II. at length, settled Dominican, or black friars, in the towns; and he was imitated, like his predecessors, by the nobles (*z*).

The

(*u*) Lord Hailes's Councils, p. 14—15.

(*x*) Id. Those *canons* were published, in 1769, by the late Lord Hailes, from the Chartulary of Aberdeen, with learned notes: They had been, indeed, previously published by Wilkins, in his *Concilia*, i. 607.

(*y*) There are two charters of Alexander II. in the MS. Monast. Scotiæ, which lies in my library, the last whereof was dated the 8th July, 1249, at Kerreray, where he died, soon after.

(*z*) The Dominicans, or Black Friars, were introduced by Alexander II., who established monasteries for them, at Edinburgh, at Berwick, at Ayr, at Montrose, and at Aberdeen, in 1230, at Perth, in 1231, at Elgin, at Strivelin, and at Inverness, in 1233. A monastery of the same friars was established at Cupar, by Malcolm, the Earl of Fife; who also founded, in 1216, a convent of Cistercian nuns, at North-Berwick: And the same earl established at Culross, in 1217,
a monastery

The coronation of Alexander III. had scarcely been performed by the bishop, who knighted the king, when an ecclesiastical council was convoked, at Edinburgh (*a*). It was called by David, the Bishop of St. Andrew's; and it was composed of the clergy, and nobles: By the concurrence of both, an ordinance was passed; declaring, that the church, and her prelates, should enjoy their rights, and liberties, as they had possessed them, during the late reign, saving the royal authority. Those liberties, however, were invaded, and the rights of the Prior of St. Andrew's were particularly attacked. The bishops were thus induced to present a remonstrance to the king, claiming their late asserted liberties (*b*). And, in 1251, Innocent IV. interposed, by a bull in favour of the Scottish church, whose complaints of oppression had moved him, to furnish a remedy (*c*). During the king's minority, Scotland was governed by a faction, which it was not easy to restrain, or abash.

a monastery of Cistercian monks. In 1218, William Cumyn, the Earl of Buchan, planted a colony of Cistercians at Deer: And, in 1229, Ermengard, the widow of King William, founded a monastery of Cistercians at Balmerinach, in Fife. Alexander II. also introduced the monks of Vallis Caulium, whom he established, at Pluscarden, in Moray, in 1230. In the same year, John Bisset founded the monastery of Beaulie, for this new order, a colony of whom was also planted at Ardchattan, in Argyle. In 1218, Patrick, the Earl of Dunbar, founded, at Dunbar, a convent of Red Friars: In 1226, a colony of the same Friars was planted, at Houston, in Renfrewshire: And William Malvoisin, the Bishop of St. Andrew's, who died in 1233, founded the monastery of Scotland-well, for the same order. In 1244, Duncan, the Earl of Carrick, established a monastery of Cluniac monks, at Crosragwell. During the reign of Alexander II. a monastery of Premonstratensian monks was established, at Fern, in Ross, by Ferchard, the Earl of Ross. Walter, the Stewart, planted at Dalmulin, in Ayrshire, a colony of Gilbertine monks, who were brought from Sixile, in Yorkshire; And he settled at the same place a body of Benedictine nuns. Convents of Franciscan Friars were established at Berwick, at Roxburgh, and other places, during this reign.

(*a*) This council, which was attended with important consequences, escaped the acute diligence of Lord Hailes. See his *Councils*, p. 15—16; and his *Annals*, i. 162—3.

(*b*) There is a copy of that curious, and unedited, remonstrance, among the *Charta Antiqua*, in the Advocate's library. On the other hand, there was a bull of Alexander IV. which he addressed to the bishops of Scotland, “ne prælati perturbent libertates et jura domini regis.” *Rym. Fœd.* ii. 215.

(*c*) This bull was, for the first time, published by Lord Hailes, in the Appendix to his *Annals*, vol. i. No. IV. “Impartial posterity, says he, will judge, whether this declamation, [the grievances mentioned in the bull] was selfish, or patriotic.” The remonstrance of the Scottish bishops, which may be considered, as an useful supplement to the bull, will enable posterity to form a proper judgement of the parties, and their principles. David, the bishop of St. Andrew's, who was at the head of those remonstrants, died, in 1253, a date, which fixes the epoch of the transaction, to some year between 1253 and 1249, when Alexander III. ascended the throne.

Innocent,

Innocent, in return for his protection, granted, in 1254 A. D., a twentieth of the ecclesiastical revenues of Scotland to the King of England, during three years, for the aid of the Holy Land: And, he renewed the same grant, for another year, in 1255 (*d*). Mistaken piety thus furnished, during many years, a pretence for obdurate avarice, to amass, or to squander wealth, by the oppression of indigence.

In the progress of papal usurpation, the court of Rome proceeded from appropriating the revenues of the Scottish church to the appointment of the Scottish bishops. In 1256, the Pope supported the factious bishops of St. Andrew's, and Glasgow, against the king (*e*). In 1259, the Pope appointed, in the room of William, the Bishop of Glasgow, John de Cheyam, his own chaplain, to that opulent see. In the appointment of Alexander IV. and the recommendation of Henry III., the Scottish King acquiesced; because his opposition would have been dangerous to his distracted kingdom. The Pope, as he was satisfied with apparent acquiescence, recalled the angry mandates, which he had issued against the Scottish nation (*f*).

While the king, and the clergy, were at variance, about their several pretensions, Otto, the papal legate, in England, required of each cathedral, in Scotland, six marks; and four, for each parish church, on the pretence of defraying the expences of his visitation. Alexander III. forbade the contribution, and appealed to Rome, against the legate. The clergy gave the king two thousand marks to defray the expences of a law-suit, which so nearly concerned their temporal interests (*g*).

The legate felt the repulse of the Scottish clergy; and tried to avenge it. In 1268, he summoned the Scottish bishops to attend him, in England, at whatever place he should think proper to convene a council: He required the heads of the religious houses to send to the same council fit procurators. Each of those orders sent two proper persons, not to concur in the deliberations of the council, but to watch the conduct of Ottobon (*h*). This great council was held at Saint Paul's, in London, with the consent of Henry III., in May, 1268: For the regulation of the churches, and clergy, of England, Scotland, and Ireland, Ottobon published several constitutions, which he addressed to Scotland, to Ireland, and to Wales (*i*). But, the Scottish clergy, feeling their own strength, refused their obedience to the canons, which they had not approved.

(*d*) Rym. Fœd. i. 517; L. Hailes's An. i. 164.

(*e*) L. Hailes's An. i. 169-70.

(*f*) Keith's Bishops, 142; Chron. Meil. 222; Rym. Fœd. i. 683-98-703.

(*g*) Fordun. l. x. c. 21-3. L. Hailes's An. i. 178-9.

(*h*) Fordun, l. x. c. 24.

(*i*) Prynne's Col. ii. 1040.

The Pope, however, and his legates, were not to be easily repulsed: And, in 1268, Clement IV. required the Scottish clergy to pay a tenth of their benefices to the King of England, as a hallowed aid, for an intended crusade. Alexander III. concurred with his ecclesiastics, in rejecting this odious requisition: They said, that Scotland herself would equip an adequate body of crusaders. Several of the Scottish nobles, who departed for the Holy Land, never returned to their native soil. Henry III., however, attempted to collect the tenths, which Clement IV. had granted to him, without a proper motive (*e*). The clergy appealed to Rome against the collection of a tax, which had been imposed by incompetent authority.

The Scotican church, willing perhaps to show her independence, assembled in a general council, at Perth, in 1269. A bishop of their own called this council, and presided in its meetings: And, at this assembly, they enacted a body of canons, which remained the ecclesiastical code of Scotland, till the recent epoch of the reformation (*f*). Such councils continued to assemble, from time to time, for correcting clerical abuses, and maintaining the freedom of the Scotican church, till that epoch saw new jurisdictions arise, from an ardour of reform.

The year 1275 is a remarkable era in the Scottish state. An ecclesiastic, who is called Bagimont, in the history, and in the law of Scotland, but, whose real name was Bayamond, came from the Pope, to collect the tenth of all the benefices in North-Britain, for the relief of the Holy Land (*g*). He held an ecclesiastical council at Perth: and, the whole clergy, except the Cisterians, who enjoyed their exemptions, agreed to pay the tenth of their benefices, upon oath, and under the terrors of excommunication. The *auld taxation of Bagimont* is often referred to, by the Scottish statutes, as an adequate measure of the true value of ecclesiastical benefices (*h*). In that age, the clergy felt the oppression of paying truly one-tenth of their real incomes. And, they induced Bayamond

(*e*) Fordun, l. x. c. 26; Chron. Meilros.

(*f*) Wilk. Concilia, i. 607-8; Lord Hailes's Councils, 16: Among a great variety of salutary regulations, the first canon required, that a council should be annually held, in conformity to the before-mentioned bull of Honorius III., in 1225: The second canon appointed, that each of the bishops should, in rotation, be the *Conservator Statutorum*, for enforcing obedience to the canons, by ecclesiastical censures.

(*g*) Hearne's Fordun, iii. 780; Prynne, iii. 547; Calendar of Ancient Charters, 336.

(*h*) Ja. III. Par. vi. c. 44; Ja. III. Parl. iv. c. 39: yet, Skene, who published those statutes, supposes, that the *auld taxation of Bagimont* was coeval with James III.! Cowel confounds Bagimont's roll with Ragman's roll. And, Bishop Nicolson was misled by Cowel into the same mistake. Scots Hist. Lib. p. 183-5. The copy of Bagimont's roll, which is in Bisset's MS. *Rollment of Courts*, cannot be considered as older than the reign of James V, wherein it was found.

to repair to Rome, in order to solicit some abatement of that burdensome imposition. But, Bayamond, without making any impression upon the accustomed avarice of the Papal court, returned into Scotland, where he could not collect the tax, but found a grave (*i*). What made so great an impression, in those times, must be an interesting object, in the present. And, I subjoin an abstract of the only copy of *Bagimont's Roll*, which, perhaps, remains, either to gratify curiosity, or to promote knowledge (*k*).

The bad success of Bagimont's taxation of the year, 1275, did not discourage Edward I, from soliciting, nor Martin IV, from granting, the tithes, which were collected, in Scotland, for the relief of the Holy Land. Yet, was the

(*i*) In September 1292, Edward I. wrote the Bishops of Scotland; desiring that they would aid the Pope's agent, in collecting the arrears of Bayamond's tax: the king afterwards wrote the Bishops of St. Andrews, and Glasgow, to favour the Pope's agent Giffred de Vezano, who was sent to account with the executors of Bayamond. Prynne, iii. 547.

(*k*) The following abstract was taken from the manuscript *Rollment of Courts* of Abacuk Bisset, who had been secretary to Sir John Skene, the publisher of the ancient laws of Scotland; and who considered his copy of *Bagimont's Roll*, as the only one, which even then [1600] remained, in any Scottish register: it was found, says Bisset, by "Dene John Christieson, the principal of the Carmelite order, at Aberdene," and copied by "ane chaplane of Auld Aberdene, called Doctor Rouse." The Doctor was not a very accurate arithmetician, or scribe; and I have, therefore, rectified his additions, given the sums in Arabic cyphers, and corrected his spellings of the names of places. The index of the MS. in the Harleian Library would lead us to expect a copy of *Bagimont's Roll*, in that fine collection of national muniments: but, the document, which is referred to, is merely an account of episcopal benefices, in Scotland, at the Reformation.

An Abstract of BAGIMONT'S ROLL, as it stood under James V.

	£.	s.	d.
Candida Casa Diocesis—Sum'a decimarum in eccl'iam et extra eccl'iam candida casa	146	6	8
Glasgauen' Diocesis { Sum'a Capituli Glasgauen' cum ecclesijs com'unibus			
Glasgauen' Diocesis	479	13	8
Sum'a decimarum, extra ecclesiam Glasgauen' in decanatu de Peblis	78	13	4
Sum'a decimarum decanatus Tevedalie	66	13	4
Sum'a decimarum decanatu de Nyth	133	6	8
Sum'a decimarum decanatus Annandie	34	13	4
Sum'a decimarum decanatus de Ruglyn	90	13	4
Sum'a decimarum decanatus de Lennox	40	13	4
Sum'a decimarum decanatus de Lanerk	90	0	0
Sum'a decimarum decanatus de Kyle et Cuningham	53	6	8
Sum'a decimarum decanatus de Carrik	26	0	0
Sum'a totalis decimarum Glasgauen' Diocesis	1,093	13	8

the grant conferred on such conditions, as made it nugatory: it was thereby required, that Edward should himself assume the cross; that he should obtain

		£	s.	d.
S ^t Andræ Diocesis	Sum'a decanatus de Fyfe	225	6	8
	Sum'a decanatus de Fotherick	38	0	0
	Sum'a decanatus de Gowrie	64	13	4
	Sum'a decanatus de Angusiæ	115	6	8
	Sum'a decanatus de Mernis	86	6	8
	Sum'a decanatus de Lynlythquhow	193	13	4
	Sum'a decanatus de Haddington	168	13	4
	Sum'a decanatus de Merse	53	13	4
	Sum'a decimarum beneficiorum S ^c i Andræ Diocesis	945	13	4
Dunkelden' Diocesis	Sum'a decimarum cap'li cum eccl'is om'bus Dunkelden'	160	6	8
	Sum'a decimarum beneficiorum extra eccl'iam Dunkelden'	57	6	8
	Sum'a totalis decimarum beneficiorum Dunkelden' eccl'is et Diocesis	217	10	4
Dumblanen' Diocesis	Sum'a decimarum infra, et extra, eccl'iam Dunblanen'	84	13	4
Brechinen' Diocesis	Sum'a decimarum capituli Brechinen'	72	0	0
	Sum'a decimarum extra eccl'iam Brechinen'	30	13	4
	Sum'a totalis decimarum Brechinen' Diocesis	102	13	4
Abirdonen' Diocesis	Sum'a decimarum cap'li Abirdonen cum ecclesijs om'bus	295	6	8
	Sum'a decimarum extra eccl'iam Abirdonen'	56	6	8
	Sum'a totalis decimarum Abirdonensis Diocesis	351	13	4
Moravien' Diocesis	Sum'a decimarum cap'li Moravien'	171	13	4
	Sum'a decimarum Moravien' Diocesis beneficiorum extra eccl'iam	21	13	4
	Sum'a totalis decimarum Moravien' Diocesis	193	6	8
Rossen' Diocesis	Sum'a cap'li cum prepositura de Tayne in Diocesis Rossen'	100	13	4
Cathanen' Diocesis	Sum'a decimarum Cathanen' Diocesis	32	0	0
Lismoren' Diocesis	Sum'a totalis decimarum Lismoren' vel Argadie	50	13	4
Orchaden' Diocesis	Orchaden' Diocesis Archidecanatus Zetlandie	5	6	8
	Sum'a totalis decimarum beneficiorum prescript omnium diocesiorum	3,324	7	0

the

the consent of the Scottish king; that he should, from this fund, supply the Scottish crusaders (*l*).

During the year 1280, the Bishop of Moray addressed a letter to the “Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Deans, Archdeacons, and other Prelates of the church;” requiring them to assemble, in a council, at Perth. The enumeration of this precept points to the ecclesiastical persons, that were usually summoned to provincial councils, in those times (*m*). It is, however, certain, that the Scotian church, owing to her own struggles, to the enactments of her councils, to the progress of society, in that age, had arrived at complete maturity, before the unhappy demise of Alexander III. The marriage contract of Margaret, *the maiden of Norway*, with the heir of the crown of England, is a full proof of that broad position (*n*). In addition to the several houses of different monks, which former kings had erected, there were some other establishments settled, under Alexander III. (*o*).

We have seen the amount of the tenths, which the several bishoprics, and deanries, in Scotland, during that age, produced. We see, still more distinctly, the relative value of the several bishoprics, and deanries, during the same

(*l*) Rym. Fœd. ii. 274. A synod, which was held, at Perth, in 1411, ratified Bagimont’s tax, so far as to declare, that all benefices above 40 l. Scots, a year, should pay a certain sum to the Pope, for his annats, and bulls; and as much to the king, when necessity should call for it, and he himself should think fit. Malcolm’s MS. Coll. 455.

(*m*) L. Hailes’s Councils, p. 20.

(*n*) By that contract, it was, expressly, declared, on the part of the king of England, that the Scottish church should enjoy all her rights, laws, liberties, and customs; that the chapters of cathedral, collegiate, or conventual, churches, having the right of election, should not be obliged to go out of Scotland, to ask for leave to elect; for presenting the persons elected; or for swearing fealty to their liege Lord. Rym. Fœd. ii. 482-3.

(*o*) During the reign of Alexander III, the Celtic Culdees were supplanted, by canons regular, at Abernethy, and at Portmoak. Dervorgille, the Lady of Galloway, founded, for Cistercian monks, the monastery of Sweetheart, in East Galloway. But, the monastic establishments of this reign were chiefly convents of Friars. In 1250, the Red Friars were established, at Scotland Well, by David, the Bishop of St. Andrews. In 1252, they were planted, at Failefurd, in Ayrshire. In 1257, Alexander III. founded a monastery for the Red Friars at Peebles: and in 1271, this order was established, at Dornoch, in Sutherland. In 1267, the Lady Dervorgille founded a convent for Dominican Friars, at Wigton. In 1270, the Bishop of Glasgow established the same order, in that city: and they were planted, at St. Andrews, in 1274, by William Wisheart, the Bishop. The Franciscan Friars were established, at Dumfries, and at Dundee, by the munificence of the Lady Dervorgille. In 1262, a monastery of Carmelite Friars was founded, at Tullilum, near Perth: and, in 1263, Patrick the Earl of Dunbar established a convent of Carmelites, at Dunbar. There were founded, in Scotland, during the Scoto-Saxon period, other religious establishments, the chronology whereof cannot easily be settled.

period. The average income of each rectory was ten pounds sterling a year, and of each vicarage ten marks (*p*).

During the reign of Alexander III, the revenue of the church gradually rose to its greatest height. An extent, which was taken during his administration, shows the amount of every bishopric: a similar extent, which was settled by Parliament, during the reign of David II, exhibits the amount of each, at that period, after a long, and wasteful war, had ruined a wretched country. And a record, which was long preserved, in the Paper Office, and is now deposited, in the Register-House, at Edinburgh, has happily transmitted the relative values of the several bishoprics, as they were fairly estimated, both before the war of the succession began, and after it concluded. This comparative statement may be seen in the interesting note below (*q*).

The great fund, from which those incomes were paid, was the tithes. These had been, probably, collected, in Scotland, as early as the beginning of the

(*p*) L. Hailes's An. i. 202, 307-8-11; Chart. of Cambuskeneth.

				The Ancient Taxatio.			The New Taxatio.		
				£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
(<i>q</i>) Candida Casa	-	-	-	368	15	6	143	1	8
Glasgow. The old Taxatio was	-	£.4,080	12 2						
But as several churches in Teviotdale, Eskdale, and Annandale, were under the jurisdiction of England, at the epoch of the New Taxatio, the valuation of these must be deducted				-	741	12 2			
Saint Andrews	-	-	-	3,339	0	0	2,028	10	6
As the Trinity Church, in Berwick, and several churches, in the Merse, were under the jurisdiction of England, at the epoch of the New Taxation, their value is deducted from the total amount of the ancient Taxatio.				5,340	13	4	3,627	0	0
Dunkeld	-	-	-	1,206	5	8	602	13	4
Dunblane	-	-	-	607	13	4	407	12	8
Brechin	-	-	-	441	3	4	321	16	8
Aberdeen	-	-	-	1,492	4	4	1,358	17	8
Moray	-	-	-	1,418	11	0	559	8	8
Ross	-	-	-	320	7	11	246	12	0
Cathness	-	-	-	286	14	10	86	6	8
Argyle	-	-	-	281	6	8	133	6	8
				15,102	15	11	9,515	6	6

tenth

tenth century. Before the reign of William, the Lion, the right of tithes was extended to almost every thing, which the land, or water, produced; to the fruits of the garden, and the fish of the sea (*r*). The parochial clergy were entitled, moreover, to oblations, and other ecclesiastical dues. The religious houses were supported by many lands, by farms, by salt-works, and by traffic: they possessed the advowsons of many churches, and enjoyed exemptions from many burdens (*s*).

The right of patronage appears to have been exerted, during that age, in North-Britain, as it has always existed, in England. The king nominated the Bishops, who were elected by their chapters, and consecrated by the Pope, or by the Bishops. The king appointed the rural Deans, whereof there were nine in the diocese of Glasgow, eight in the episcopate of St. Andrews, and the same proportion, in the other bishoprics, according to their size, and opulence (*t*). The chancellor of Scotland exercised the king's right of presentation to the smaller benefices (*u*). The Barons enjoyed the right of presentation to those benefices, which had arisen from their own munificence, or the piety of their progenitors. The Bishops, and Abbots, had acquired, from charters of the Kings, or grants of the Barons, the right of advowson over many churches. From this right, other privileges of great importance were deduced. This in-

(*r*) Lord Hailes's *Canons of the Church of Scotland*, p. 20-1; Lord Hailes's *An. i.* 307-8. The chart. of the Isle of May shows, that tithes were exigible by the monks, there, of the fishers around that isle, as early as the reign of Malcolm IV. The millers, and the merchants, were not exempted. L. Hailes's *Canons*, 22.

(*s*) See the *Chartularies*. The abbot and monks of Kelso engaged to Walter, the Bishop of Glasgow, who governed from 1208, to present proper clerks, and chaplains, to the vicarages, and churches, which the monks held to their proper use. *Chart. Kelso*, 419. Gamelin, the Bishop of St. Andrews, [1255 to 1271] granted to the monks of Kelso a permission, that the churches of Gordon, and Home, which they held to their proper use, should be served by proper clerks, who might be answerable to him, and his successors. *Ib.* 426. David, the Bishop of St. Andrews, granted to the monks of Kelso the church of Simprin, on a similar condition, of finding a proper clerk. *Ib.* 429. The same Bishop granted a similar permission, touching the chapel of Wederley, which the same monks held to their proper use. *Ib.* 452.

(*t*) Wilkins's *Concilia*, iv. 206: David Cuninghame, the Dean of Ruglen, went, in 1489, to visit the monastery of Paisley: but, the Abbot, claiming an exemption from visitations, declined his jurisdiction. *Chart. of Paisley*, 357. Other monasteries claimed similar exemptions.

(*u*) William de Bevercotes, the Chancellor of Scotland, in 1309, presented a petition to the king, in Parliament, praying that he might have the gift of all the king's churches, *as former Chancellors used to have*: this prayer was granted, for those benefices, which did not exceed ten pounds per annum. Ryley's *Placita*, 613-14; and see Prynne, iii. 667, on this head.

ference

ference gave rise to the claims of *a mother church* (x). The clergy obtained, in that age, a thousand exemptions: their property, and their persons, were exempted, in a great measure, from temporal jurisdictions. The Bishops of St. Andrews, and Glasgow, who were so superior, in opulence, to all other Bishops, and, perhaps, to most of the Scottish Earls; and who acted such conspicuous characters, in the sad tragedy of the ambitious aims of Edward I, owed the preservation of their lives to the sacredness of their persons: that enraged monarch would have offered their heads as a sacrifice to his vengeance, if he had not feared the Pope's resentment (y).

If the Scottish church had its faults, during the Scoto-Saxon period, it also had its merits. It spread civility throughout a barbarous land: It furnished statesmen, for the conduct of affairs, while the nobles were little instructed, in the arts of government. The national rights could not have been discussed, nor could the national independence have been maintained, without the zealous support of the church. When warfare pressed upon their country, the prelates put on the cuirass with their cassocks. In the lengthened conflict, for the succession to the crown, and the liberties of the nation, their property was wasted, and their persons were imprisoned. The epistle, which, in a subsequent period, the bishops wrote, in concurrence with the barons, assuring the Pope, that they would not submit to Edward of England, while one of them remained, left an energy to be admired, and furnished an example to be followed.

(x) Whitaker's *Manchester*, ii. 432. And hence arose a vast traffic, between the Abbots, and the barons, as to the erection of chapels, in the baronial courts: the Abbot granted the power to erect a chapel; but, in return for this indulgence, he generally obtained some land, or some pasturage, or other valuable consideration. The chartularies are full of this sanctimonious sort of temporal trade.

(y) The king, having *close imprisoned in irons* Lamberton, and Wisheart, the Bishops of St. Andrews, and Glasgow, saith Prynne, wrote the Pope, on the 4th of October 1306, to appoint William Cumyn, the brother of the Earl of Buchan, to succeed the former, and Galfrid de Moubray, to succeed the latter. The epistle is in Prynne, iii. 1156; and see the curious articles, which were exhibited by Edward against Bishop Wisheart, in that very rare tract *the second letter of Rymer to Bishop Nicolson*. On the 6th of March 1307, Edward I, hearing that the Bishop of Moray, who adhered to Robert Brus, had sought shelter, in the Orkneys, wrote most earnestly to the king of Norway, to send him back, in safe custody. Prynne, iii. 1201.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Law, during this Period.

THE jurists of England have written of their laws, as if they thought them indigenous. The jurists of Scotland have been studious to deduce their laws, from a distant country, as a far fetched system, from a congenerous people. The English lawyers, indeed, might have reasoned, analogically, from the Anglo-Saxon authors of their common law, to their Gothic progenitors, in the German forests. But, the Scottish lawyers, if they had listened to the Gaelic language, which they daily heard, in their streets, would hardly have carried back their inquiries to the Teutonic tribes of Germany, from the Celtic clans of Scotland, who are so different in their lineage, and so unlike, in their language (*a*). History, however, had not furnished the Scottish jurists with documents. And, without the certainty of facts, metaphysics may darken, and system may distract; but, law cannot be cultivated, as a science, either for the agreeable illustrations of theory, or for the more useful purposes of practice (*b*).

(*a*) It is perfectly evident, that the lawyers, and historians, of Scotland, had not the least conception, that the people, the king, the clergy, the law, and the government, were all Celtic, in 1097 A. D.; and consequently, those lawyers, and historians, were not aware of the absurdity of their speculations on their theories of Scottish jurisprudence: From that view, it is apparent, that they could not, in speculating on the municipal law of North-Britain, go beyond that epoch; and of course, could not get back to the obscure reign of Malcolm Ceanmore, nor even to the Celtic times of Donal-bane.

(*b*) It was remarked, by Lord Kaimes, in 1757, "Were it decent to criticise a favourite author, it might be observed, that Craig has taken little pains to search into the antiquities of our law: It was not the practice, in his days [he died, in 1608] either for historians, or lawyers, to dip into records; and our author, [Craig] appears to be better acquainted with the feudal history of other countries, which might be learned from books, than with the feudal history of his own country, which must be gathered from records. Nor, is it wonderful, that so polite an author should be followed by Lord Stair, and other late writers." Statute Law Abridged, 434.

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In tracing the progress of law, the chief object is the people, who transmit it by tradition, and usage. In every period of the Scottish annals, which preceded the present, the inhabitants of North-Britain were Celtic, and not Teutonic, as we have seen, in many a retrospect (*c*). Their jurisprudence was altogether analogous to the nature of a Gaelic people (*d*). And, Malcolm Ceanmore, as he did not make any change, in the usages of his fathers, bequeathed to his children, a Celtic church, a Celtic government, and Celtic customs (*e*); for which a Celtic people, loudly, clamoured, after his demise, and long contended, throughout the present period (*f*).

During the present period, from 1097 to 1306 A. D., the great body of the people continued to be Celtic (*g*). In Strathclyd, the British inhabitants retained the juridical usages of their British fathers (*h*). In Galloway, the Scoto-Irish settlers enjoyed "their own peculiar laws," notwithstanding the legislative efforts of Edward I. (*i*). In proper Scotland, on the north of the two Friths, as it remained Celtic, the great body of the people continued to practise Gaelic customs, and to oppose the introduction of Gothic forms. In Ireland, during the same period, the English laws were circumscribed within a narrow circle,

(*c*) Book i. ch. i. ii.

(*d*) Book iii. ch. vii, viii, ix.

(*e*) Id.

(*f*) Saxon Chron. 199 200; Florence of Worcester, 460; Sim. Dur. 460.

The great defect of the Scottish writers, on the juridical antiquities of their country, consists, in supposing what was altogether unfounded, that the Scottish people were *German*, and not *Gaelic*: And, on this mistake, they reason, analogically, but absurdly, from the ancient customs of the people of Germany to the supposed customs of the inhabitants of Scotland. On the streets of Edinburgh, it is easy to distinguish a Gaelic highlandman, from a Saxon lowlandman, by their speech: And the juridical question is, what were the laws, which prevailed, in Scotland, when it was wholly inhabited by highlandmen? The answer must be, by Gaelic customs, and not by the feudal law. Yet, says the late Dr. Gilbert Stuart, "Scotland was a *feudal* kingdom." Pub. Law, 10. But, *when* did it begin to be a feudal kingdom is the point in question. From a concatenation of such assertions, which are equally sophistical, the same writer goes on to conclude, "I think, I am justified to infer the *high antiquity* of fiefs, in the Scottish nation." Ib. 12. Similar notions had been before propagated by Craig, in his *Jus Feudale*, and by Lord Kaims, in his *Essays, concerning British Antiquities*. Now, those inferences were drawn, in the face of a thousand facts, and in contradiction to the impossibility, that *fiefs*, which originated with a *Teutonic* people, could have existed, in Scotland, among a *Gaelic* people. It began to be a feudal kingdom, at the commencement of the Scoto-Saxon period, 1097, at least, in some districts of proper Scotland.

(*g*) See before, B. iii. c. x. B. iv. c. i, wherein that position is not only proved, but the Saxon colonization of proper Scotland is minutely traced.

(*h*) Book iii. ch. v.—ix.

(*i*) Id.; Stat. Alexander II. ch. 2; 2d Stat. of Robert I. ch. 36, in Skene's Auld Laws; Robertson's Index.

which,

which was emphatically called the *English pale* (*k*). In North-Britain, it was in Lothian, and in the towns, which lay along the eastern coast; and which may be deemed the *English pales*, that the English jurisprudence gradually prevailed over the ancient usages: After the end of the Scoto-Saxon period, it required many a struggle, through subsequent ages, before the English law became triumphant over Gaelic customs, and enforced the submission of an unwilling people, within the whole extent of Scotland; so difficult has it always been, to force strange laws upon a people, in opposition to their habits.

In the law of every country, through every age, persons must precede things. During the Scoto-Saxon period, the great personage, who appeared resplendant, in history, and in the chartularies, was *the King*. He was the *generalissimo* of the kingdom, who personally led his armies into the field. He was the great justiciary, from whom emanated all jurisdiction; and who personally administered justice to his people (*l*). He seems to have been the fountain-head of

(*k*) Dionysius Campbell, the Dean of Limerick, who was sent by the English government, to Scotland, in 1596, to intrigue among the western highlanders, remarked, “that most of the lords of the islands, neglecting to pay the king’s rents, when process of law doth not prevail upon them to come to the court, or *English Pales*, of Scotland, are committed to prison.” MS. Observations, in the Paper Office. We thus see, that in former times, the Scoto-Saxon districts were emphatically called *The English Pales*.

(*l*) In the chartularies may be seen some curious examples of that practice, in early times. In a charter of David I, he granted to the abbot of Melros the lands, and wood, of Galtonside: “Sicut ego ipse et Henricus filius meus et abbas Ricardus preivimus et circuivimus die veneris crastino ascencionis Domini, anno scilicet secundo quo Stephanus rex Anglie captus est [1141].” Chart. Melros. In a charter of Richard, the Bishop of Moray, he confirmed to the monastery of Kinloss, the grant of David I. of Kinloss, and Inverlochethin, “per rectas divisas terram quam ipse rex David eis perambulavit.” MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 205. In 1226, King Alexander II. confirmed this charter, in the same significant expressions. Ib. 207. In 1184, a controversy, between the church of Melros, and the men of Wedale, was settled before William, the Lion, and his brother David, and several bishops, and nobles: The point of right was, however, decided by Richard Morville, the Constable, and twelve *fideles homines*. Chron. Meilr. 176. Earl Henry, the son of David I. granted to the monastery of Kelso the lands of Traverlen and Cragam: “Sicut pater meus, et ego, et episcopus Johannes, peragravimus.” Chart. Kelso, 240. The Chartularies are full of proceedings before the king, in his court; before the king, and his nobles: But, it will scarcely be believed that, it was necessary the king himself should be present, personally, on such occasions: Yet, this is not a fiction, but a fact, as record attests: Alexander III. lying sick, at Jedburgh, in 1261, on Monday of Pentecost, William Cumyn of Kilbride, appeared before the king, in his bed, in the great tower of the castle of Jedburgh, the queen, the Earl of Marr, the Earl of Dunbar, John Cumyn, Aymer de Makeswell, Alexander Oviat, being all present; and resigned the lands of Sleindaff to the Bishop of Glasgow. Chart. Glasgow, 241. This curious fact illustrates what must have once been the practice of England, which still requires precepts to be returned before *the king himself*.

honours, which could only be communicated by him to his subjects. He appears, also, to have been the lawgiver of his people, although it should seem, this sovereign power was exercised, with the advice of his clergy, and the assent of his nobles (*m*).

The second person of the realm was the king's son, the prince of Scotland. (I.) Under the Celtic constitution, there was a *tanist*, who was the heir presumptive to the crown, and enjoyed many rights: After the acquisition of Cumberland, the *tanist* was incidentally *Prince of Cumberland* (*n*). Under Alexander I., his youngest brother, David, was *Prince of Cumbria*; and had for his *appanage*, the shires on the borders, both on the west, and east (*o*). Under David I., his son Henry, who was born, in 1115, became Earl of Northumberland, and Huntingdon; and enjoyed large estates in the southern shires, as his *appanage*. After the death of prince Henry, in 1152, the aged David destined his grandson, William, who was born, in 1143, to the earldom of Northumberland; obliged the Northumbrian barons to swear fealty to him; and took hostages, for their obedience (*p*): But, the accession of Henry II. blasted the fond hopes of the Scottish king. During the reign of Malcolm IV. his brother William, who was his presumptive heir, seems to have enjoyed neither *appanage*, nor *title* (*q*). William relinquished the *honour* of Huntingdon to his brother David, who was long his presumptive heir: This character ceased, in 1198, when Alexander, the heir of William, was born. David, throughout his life, ap-

(*m*) Sir G. Mackenzie's *Institutes*, 11, 12; the *Chartularies* throughout; and the *Berne Collection*, herein-after-mentioned. "In the *Annals of the North*, saith Wallace, in his *Ancient Peerages*, 116, it is recorded to have been declared, by a statute of *Finnan*, that the king should do nothing in the public administration of his realm, without the advice of his nobles, and that it should not be lawful for him either to make war, or to conclude peace, without the consent of his captains, and of the tribes." For this information, Wallace refers to Boece, Buchanan, and Balfour. They ought all to have known, that there never was such a king, as *Finnan*, in North-Britain. If we ask when, where, and by whom, such a statute was recorded, the answer must be, in the fiction of Boece, the falsehood of Buchanan, the folly of Balfour, and in the egotism of Wallace. This conceit is contradicted by history, and was conceived, in the face of a thousand facts.

(*n*) See book iii. ch. vii.

(*o*) *Ib.* ch. v.

(*p*) In *Dug. Monast.* ii. 203, there is a charter of William to the canons of Brinkeburne, wherein he calls himself: "*Willielmus de Gwarer Comes Northumbriæ.*"

(*q*) There is a charter of Henry II., at Woodstock, in 1163, which is witnessed by Malcolm, King of Scotland, and his brother, William. *Kennet's Par. Antiq.* 119. As he was born, in 1143, William was not of age, in 1163. Whatever Yorke may intimate, in his *Union of Honour*, 165, William never was Earl of Huntingdon, till he ascended the throne.

pears to have been the most opulent baron in Britain (s). Alexander ascended the throne, in 1214, when he was only sixteen, and could have had no *appanage*, as prince of Scotland. His son, Alexander III., became king, when he was still an infant, eight years old; and could have had no distinct provision, as prince. The male issue of Alexander III. died, while they were infants, and his female heirs resided in Norway. Thus much, then, with regard to the princes of Scotland, and their *appanages*, before the accession of Bruce. (II.) It was the great effort of the latter life of that great king, to settle the descent of the crown: His brother Edward was placed the first, in the series of heirs; and he was amply provided for, as Earl of Carrick, and Lord of Galloway. Margery, the eldest daughter, and heiress, of the king, when she married, Walter, the Stewart of Scotland, received many lands, as her marriage portion: But, she seems to have had no appanage settled on her, as princess of Scotland; her husband being one of the most opulent barons, in Britain. David, the son of Robert Bruce, was only a child, when he died; and spent a long reign, as an infant, an exile, or a prisoner. Robert II., the son of Margery Bruce, succeeded to the crown, in 1371, under the parliamentary settlement, notwithstanding the intrigues of Edward III. and David II. Before the dynasty of Bruce, the heir of the crown had no particular designation, and no appropriate appanage. But, on the accession of Robert II., John, his male heir, was acknowledged, by parliament, as his *son*, and *heir*; and as Earl of Carrick, and *Stewart* of Scotland (t). When John became Earl of Carrick, the antiquaries could not ascertain: But, April 1369, is the true epoch of his creation, by David II. (u). John succeeded to the crown, by the name of Robert III., in 1390, under the parliamentary settlement. His eldest son, the Duke of Rothsay, was assassinated, by his uncle. His second son, James, while a boy, was taken prisoner, by the English, during a truce, and was educated, in England. We are now arrived at the epoch of the creation of *the Principality*, as the appropriate appanage of the prince of Scotland, on the 18th of December, 1404 (x).

(s) In 1189, David, as Earl of Huntingdon, walked at the coronation of Richard I. Sandford's Gen. Hist. 74. He married Maud, the daughter of Hugh, Earl of Chester: And, he thus became the common stock, whence the claimants of the Scottish crown derived their just pretensions.

(t) Hay's Vindication of Elizabeth More, App. No. 1; Robertson's Index, App. p. 11.

(u) Hay's Vindication, 96, with Crawford's MS. note: and Dougl. Peer. 131.

(x) See Macleod's Casus Principis, 19; Carmichael's various Tracts, 103-137. There is nothing in the Parliamentary Record, on this interesting subject. See, however, Glendoick's Acts, Ja. IV. Parl. ii. ch. xvi, an act, anent the free tenants of the Duke of Rothsay, and Stewart of Scotland: And see the same collection, 452, a ratification, in 1621.

The third description of persons, next in rank to the king's son, were the prelates, who, at the commencement of the Scoto-Saxon period, were but few, in North-Britain. Before the conclusion of that period, the church was settled there, on the same policy, which had dictated every other religious establishment of the christian world. The bishops, the abbots, and the priors, were undoubtedly original members of the Scottish parliament (y). Whether the bishops sit, in the English legislature, from the right of their *baronies*, or from the authority of usage, is not quite settled among the English jurists (z). It is however, more than probable, that the bishops, the abbots, and priors, were called to the king's councils, by the king's summons.

It is a question, which has been often asked, yet has never been satisfactorily answered, when were the titles of earl, and of baron, introduced into Scotland? The late Lord Kaimes answers, explicitly, that it was Malcolm Ceanmore, who introduced both (a). But, that learned person did not know, that the prince, the people, and the polity, of North-Britain, were all *Celtic*, in Malcolm's reign. Wallace, who followed the speculative track of Lord Kaimes, at the distance of forty years, gave it as his opinion, "that earldoms are probably "more ancient than Malcolm." (b). The name, and the thing, which existed among the Anglo-Saxons, are Teutonic. And it is not probable, that a Gaelic prince, who was not an innovator among a people, who did not admit of innovations, would have introduced among such a people a new office, with a new name. During the Scottish period, as we have seen, proper Scotland was di-

(y) In the great parliament, at Brigham, in 1290, there were present, as constituent members thereof, twelve bishops, twenty-three abbots, and eleven priors. Rym. Fæd. ii. 471.

(z) See the notes on the late edition of Coke Lyttelton, 70 (b)—134 (b), where the better opinion seems to be, that the bishops right to sit in parliament arose from *usage*: But, every usage must have had a beginning: And, the question will ever recur, what was the origin of such an usage? The answer must be, the king's writ.

(a) Essays on Brit. Antiq. 21.

(b) Ancient Peerages, 51: For this improbability, Nisbet's Heraldry is quoted, which cites forged laws, and fictitious histories; and which relies on Torfæus, the Norwegian historian, who flourished at the beginning of the eighteenth century: An "Authentic Deed," which is quoted by Sir James Dalrymple, in his Collections, 225, is also mentioned: But, this *authentic deed* is merely an *excerpt* of *monkish* history. The charter of Malcolm Ceanmore to Dumfermlin, which was published by Dugdale, in his *Monasticon*, from the communication of Sir James Balfour, might have also been quoted, with good effect; because it plainly speaks of earls, and of barons: But, this unlucky communication of Sir James Balfour is a palpable forgery; as we might learn, indeed, from Sir James Dalrymple. Nor, will there easily be found any real evidence of there having existed, in the early reigns of Malcolm III., much less of Malcolm II., any earls, or barons; because a Saxon policy could not have existed among a Celtic people, who had an aversion, as we have seen, from the language, and law, of their Saxon neighbours.

vided

vided into several districts, which were ruled, hereditarily, by considerable persons, who were called, in the Gaelic speech, *Maormors*. But, there is not, throughout that period, a single trace, in any authentic document, of an Earl, a Baron, or a Thane. It is remarkable, that the countries, which were then governed by *Maormors*, were the same districts, whose chiefs, are termed *Comites*, or *Earls*, under Alexander I. (c). And, it is more than probable, that no other change happened, in the polity of Scotland, at the commencement of the Scoto-Saxon period, in this respect, than merely mentioning the Gaelic *Maormor*, by the Latin name of *Comes*, which was easily translated into the English *Earl*: The districts thus insensibly became *earldoms*, and the *Maormors*, *Earls*: But, there certainly was no *erection* of any earldom, nor creation of any earl, as Lord Hailes, and the peerage writers, suppose (d). Both *Comites*, and barones, existed, undoubtedly, under David I., at least on the south of the Friths, and *Comites*, clearly, appear under Alexander I., within proper Scotland (e). In the genuine charters of Edgar, none of the witnesses are either earls,

(c) Chart. Scone; Sir Ja. Dalrymple's Col. Ap. No. 2. There are six *Comites*, who witness this charter.

(d) Sutherland case; Crawford, and Douglas. The same changes took place, in France, under the *second race*. The peerages, which are not older than 1010 A. D. and the fiefs had the same origin, says Henault: The charters, creating them, have never been seen; because they were assumed by the peers themselves. Henault's Abr. Hist. of France, i. 127-138. This intimation of the learned Henault exactly applies to Scotland, in a subsequent age: The *Maormors* assumed the right of being *Earls*, when the word *Maormor* became obsolete, and the term *Comes* became fashionable.

(e) Several charters of David I. are addressed, "Comitibus, Justiciis, Baronibus, Vicecomitibus, &c." Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. xiv, xvi, xviii: And Chart. Glasg. 429. It is to be observed, that some of those charters are addressed to *Anglis, et Francis*, only, and not to *Scottis*. In the Diplomata Scotiæ, pl. xxii and xxv, there are two charters of Malcolm IV. addressed "Comitibus, et Baronibus, &c," "Francis, et Anglis, Scottis, et Galwethiensibus, &c. totius terræ." Thus, the peers, and the peerages, did not commence, in North-Britain, till the twelfth century. Chart. Scone, Nos. 1, 2, 3; Chart. Dunfermlin; Dalrymple's Col. 373-383; MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 105. By comparing the charters of Henry I., with those of his contemporaries, Alexander I. and David I., it will appear, distinctly, that the English bishops, and barons, preceded the Scottish several years, in the useful practice of affixing their titles to their signatures. This practice of annexing the title to the name commenced under the reign of David I: The first *Comes*, who annexed his title to his name, was Gillebride, *Comes de Anegus*. Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. xxiv: The Countess of Fife, however, preceded this earl, in this dignified innovation: Hela, *Comitissa de Fife*, was a witness to the charter of Ada, the wife of Earl Henry, and the mother of two kings, Malcolm IV. and William; giving to the monastery a toft, in Haddington: As this charter was made, during the life of Earl Henry, who died, in 1152, Hela has the honour of being the first Countess, or Count, who has yet appeared, as a witness to any charter, with the name

earls, or barons. What title Alexander, the successor of Edgar, bore, during the reign of Edgar, cannot now be known. But, David, his youngest brother, called himself, and was called by others, *Comes*, during the reign of Alexander, though not of Edgar (*f*).

During those reigns, there does not appear a *Comes*, as a witness, to any of the charters of Earl David, or of his son, Henry (*g*). The *Comites* first appeared, in the charters of Alexander to Scone, and of David, to Dunfermline; nor does there seem to have been any *Comes*, who annexed any title to his name, till the reign of Malcolm IV. Such, then, are the facts, as they appear in the chartularies, which scoff at speculation, and mock metaphysics (*h*).

name of the earldom annexed. Trans. Antiq. Society of Scotland, i. 118. In addition to those Gaelic *Maormors*, the only *Earls*, who seem to be of new creation, during the Scoto-Saxon period, were: The Earl of Dunbar, whose great progenitor, however, was Gospatrick, the Earl of Northumberland: The next was Duncan, the Earl of Carrick, by William, the Lion: And the other, was William, the Earl of Sutherland, by Alexander II.: Here, then, are only three earldoms, which appear to be new, throughout this period of the North British Annals.

(*f*) In a charter of Simon de St. Liz, the Earl of Northampton, Henry I. signed, as king of England, and Matildis, as *Queen*: Then follow several bishops, and earls, who signed, by their baptismal names, and local titles: The last of all was, "Signum David fratris reginæ." Dug. Monast. i. 680. Henry I. addressed a subsequent charter, "Comiti David," among other faithful persons, "de Huntendenscira." This seems to intimate, that David became Earl of Huntingdon, from his marriage, in 1110. Firma Burgi, 270; Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. x; Smith's Bede, 762. As Earl David, he witnessed a charter of Henry I., among other great persons, at Windsor. Madox's Formulæ, 292.

(*g*) In the *Inquisitio Davidis*, 1116 A. D. appears, as a witness, Matilda, *Comitissa*, his own consort, but no *Comes*. In David's charter to Selkirk, while Alexander reigned in *Scotia*, Matilda, *Comitissa*, is again a witness, and Henry, his son, is a witness; but not a *Comes*, though there be two *Vice-comites*. After Henry became Earl of Northumberland, he called himself, in his charters, "Henricus, Comes, filius regis Scotiæ:" He addressed his charters, "Justiciarijs, Baronibus, vicecomitibus, prepositis, &c." Smith's Bede, 762. In Alexander I. charter of Scone, Gospatrick appears as a witness, without the title of *Comes*: After the accession of David I, in 1124, the same Gospatrick, in his charter, called himself *Comes*, without any addition of Dunbar, or March. Smith's Bede, 763. These circumstances show, that he had, in the intermediate time, either acquired, or assumed that title.

(*h*) The *barons*, as we have seen, were familiarly known under David I. But, the term *barony*, which was used, in England, as early as 1220, as we know from Madox's Baronage, appears very seldom, indeed, in the usage of Scotland, thus early: The *barony* of Kilblathmont is called for, in 1219. Chart. Arbroth, 2. And, yet the term *barony*, as applied to lands, was scarcely used till the reign of Alexander III.; and even then but very rarely: In 1260, Chart. Kelso, 350; and in 1271, Chart. Soltre, 17: And the *baronia* de Coldingham appears, in a charter of Alexander III., to that monastery. Chart. Cold. 7. These are the only instances, which I have met with, in the Chartularies; so unfrequent was the use of the term, *barony*, in those times.

What

What officers of state surrounded the Celtic throne of Malcolm Ceanmore cannot now be ascertained. The only officer, who appears near Edgar, was the *Pincerna*, the *Minister poculorum*, who, indeed, is mentioned in *Domesday-book* (i). The *Minister poculorum* seems to have become hereditary in the family of Soules, before the end of this period: And a descendant of this family, William de Soules, enjoyed the office of *Buttelarius*, under Robert Bruce (k).

Under Louis le Gros, who began to reign, in 1108, at the same period with Alexander I, the usual officers, who witnessed the French charters, were the steward, the chamberlain, the butler, the constable, and the chancellor. In England, under the Norman kings, the principal officer was *the justiciary*, who soon became too great, both for the king, and subject (a). Such an officer seems not to have existed in North-Britain, during the three first reigns of the Scoto-Saxon series; the king alone being *justiciary*, or supreme judge. Under Alexander I, and David I, there appears to have been a justice of high authority, both on the south, and on the north, of the two Friths (b). This policy continued during the reign of Malcolm IV, who had his justice on the south of the Frith, as well as in Scotland (c). There appears, at the same time, to have been subordinate judges, in almost every district of North-Britain, who seem to have continued, during the subsequent reign of their successor (d).

A New

(i) In the genuine charters of Edgar, *Afric Pincerna* is a witness: And he was again called upon to witness the charter of Alexander I. to Scone.

(k) *Diplom. Scotiæ*, li. William de Hay was the King's *Pincerna* under Malcolm IV. *Ib.* xrv. And in the early part of King William's reign. *Chart. Cupre*, 3; *Chart. Glasg.* 27. After him, Ranulph de Sules was *Pincerna* to William, the lion. *Chart. Newbotle*, 45. Malcolm appears as the King's *Pincerna* in the end of King William's reign; *Register of St. Andrew's*; *Chart. Scone*, 71: And in the beginning of the reign of Alexander II. *Chart. Glasg.* 169. After him, Nicholas de Sules was *Pincerna* to Alexander II. *Chart. Newbotle*, 191. The bishops had also their *cup-bearers* in that age. A charter of Gilbert the Bishop of Dunkeld, a^o 1231, is witnessed by Henry "*Pincerna nostro*." *Chart. Balmerinach*, 26. Several deeds of Andrew, the Bishop of Moray, from 1222 to 1242, are witnessed by Michael, *bis Pincerna*. *Chart. Moray*.

(a) *Madox Excheq.* 30; *Dugdale's Series*; *Blackst. Com.* iv. 415.

(b) *Reg. of St. Andrews*; *Crawford's Officer of State*, 431. (c) *Chart. Coldingham*, 3.

(d) Brice, the *king's judge*, is a witness to K. William's charter of Aberbrothock. The same Brice appears as a witness to several other charters. Macbeth was *judge of Gowry*, during the reign of William. *Chart. Cupre*, 14; *Chart. of Scone*, 54. Roger Kayir, the *king's judge*, witnessed a charter of Henry, Lord of Anstruther, to the monks of Balmerinach. *Chart. Balmer.* 49. Constantine was *judge of Strathern* at the beginning of the 13th century. *Chart. Arberbroth.* 49. Baldwin was *judge of Ferne*, in 1222. *Rob. Index*, 53. Ferchard, the *judge of Buchan*, was a witness to a charter of William, the Earl of Buchan. *Chart. Aberdon*, 203. Lawrence was
judex

A new policy appears to have been established by William, the lion, if it were not settled, in the preceding reign: two *justiciaries* were established, in the place of the *supreme justices*; the one for the whole country on the south of the two Friths, who was called the justiciary of *Lothian*; the other, for proper Scotland.

David Olifard appears, before 1165, as the earliest justiciary, on the south of the Friths (*e*). He was succeeded by Robert Avenel (*f*): and this respectable Baron was followed, successively, by Robert de Quinci, William de Lindsay, Patrick, the Earl of Dunbar, and Hugh de Berkley, as justiciaries of Lothian, during the reign of William, the lion (*g*). Hugh de Berkeley seems to have been followed by Walter Olifard, who occurs frequently in the chartularies, and was long justiciary (*h*). Beside the administration of justice, the justiciary of Lothian attended the perambulation of lands, in obedience to the king's precept (*i*). Walter Olifard, who died, in 1242, was succeeded by David de Lindsey, in 1243; and he continued to be the justiciary of Lothian, through the remainder of the reign of Alexander II, and during the first years of his successor (*k*). David de Lindsey was succeeded by Hugh de Berke-

judex of Perth. Chart. Scone; Fragments of Scot. Hist. 52. Malisius, *judex*, appears about 1200. Ib. Duncan *judex*, was one of the inquest in Angus, during the reign of Robert I. MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 30.

(*e*) He witnessed a charter of Malcolm IV. to the monastery of Scone; and several charters of William, the lion. Chart. Scone; Crawford. Peer. 376.

(*f*) Chart. Dunfermlin.

(*g*) Robert de Quinci, as justiciary, witnessed several charters of K. William, between the years 1171 and 1180. Chart. Paisley, 32; Chart. Kelso, 385; Robertson's Ind. 79. William de Lindsay, as justiciary, witnessed several charters of the same king, between 1189 and 1198. Chart. Glasg. 211; Chart. Kelso, 325; Chart. Soltre, 6. Patrick, the Earl of Dunbar, as justiciary, witnessed a charter of K. William, about 1199. Chart. Kelso, 143. Hugh de Berkeley, the *justiciary of Lothian*, appears in a charter of this king, between 1202 and 1214. Chart. Newbotle. He must not be confounded with another Hugh de Berkeley, who was justiciary of Lothian, during the reign of Alexander III.

(*h*) Walter Olifard, as justiciary of Lothian, appears in many public transactions, and witnessed many charters of Alex. II, from 1221 to 1242, when he died. Chron. Mailros.

(*i*) Vivian de Muleneys granted half a carucate of land to the hospital of Soltre: "Sicut mensurata fuit per Dom. Walterum Olifard justiciarium Laudon. ad mandatum dom. Regis Scotiæ." Chart. Solt. 11. The same Vivian granted his whole lands of Saulton, "sicut mensurata fuit per dom. Walt. Olifard just. Laud. de precepto Dom. Regis" Ib. 12. The justiciaries frequently appear at the head of inquests, which were called by the king's precept, for deciding the disputed boundaries of lands, and other controverted claims.

(*k*) David de Lindsey, the *justiciary of Lothian*, witnessed several charters of Alexander II, in the 29th, the 32d, and the 35th years of his reign. MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 63; Chart. Scone, 67; Dalrymp. Col. 352.

ley.

ley (*l*). How long he continued cannot easily be ascertained. But, it is certain, that William de Soulis was justiciary of Lothian, in 1284; and continued at the troublous epoch of the demise of Alexander III. (*m*). Galfrid de Moubray was justiciary of Lothian, in 1294 (*n*). Whether he continued to act, during the disastrous times, which succeeded, cannot now be known. It is certain, that Edward, by the ordinance, which he issued, in 1305, for the government of Scotland, directed that, there should be two coadjutant justices in Lothian; John del Isle, an Englishman, and Adam de Gordon, a Scotsman (*o*). This office was restored by Robert Bruce, and seems to have continued till the recent establishment of the courts of session, and justiciary (*p*).

It is equally certain, that the office of justiciary of proper Scotland, was established, by William, early in his reign, if not by his predecessor Malcolm. Galfrid de Maleville appears to have been justiciary, in the period between the years 1165 and 1171 (*q*). He was succeeded by Richard Cumyn, who appears in several documents, as justiciary, between the years 1171, and 1189 (*r*): as Richard Cumyn was advanced in years, Duncan, the Earl of Fife, was associated with him, as early as 1175. Duncan continued long, in this high office; and died, in 1203 (*s*). David de Lindsay appears to have been justiciary of Scotland, for some time, between the years 1203 and 1208 (*t*). William Cumyn,

(*l*) He witnessed several charters of Alexander III, in 1265. *Diplom. Scotiæ*, 36; in 1266, *Chart. Soltra*, 9; and in 1267, *Chart. Kelso*, 395.

(*m*) *Chart. Paisley*, 106; *Chart. Glasg.* 397. William de Soulis, "*tunc Justic. Lothian*," was one of the *Magnates Scotiæ*, who acknowledged the succession to the crown, in 1284. *Rym. Fœd.* ii. 266.

(*n*) *Chart. Kelso*, 191.

(*o*) *Ryley's Placita*, 504.

(*p*) In 1284, William de Soulis held his court, as justiciary of Lothian, at Glasgow. *Chart. Paisley*, 106. In 1487, James III. granted to the Abbot of Paisley a remission for his tenants, who were tried, at Renfrew, by the justiciar: a similar remission was granted, in 1488, by James IV: and both these remissions were addressed "to our justiciar, on the south half of the "water of Forth." *Chart. Paisley*, 225-6. In 1430, Sir Thomas de Somerville sat as justiciary of Lothian, at Stirling. *Doug. Peer.* 616. The foregoing notices show, that the justiciary of Lothian had under his jurisdiction the whole country, on the south of the two Friths.

(*q*) *Chart. Glasg.* 25. He had been vicecomes of Edinburgh Castle under Malcolm IV. *Chart. Newbotle*, 159, 175.

(*r*) *Chart. Antiq. Bibl. Harl.*; *Diplom. Scotiæ*, pl. 26: Richard was the nephew of William Cumyn, the chancellor, and the father of William Cumyn, who became the Earl of Buchan, as we have already seen.

(*s*) Earl Duncan, the justiciary, witnessed many charters, and precepts, of William, from 1175 to 1200. *Chart. of Moray*, 53, 69, 147-154-155-158; *Chart. Cupre*, No. 5-13-14-35-39; *Chart. Aberdon*, 300; *Chart. Aberbroth.* 36-38-49 65 72; *Chart. Glasg.* 31-339; *Sibbald's Fife*, 113; *Wight on Elections*, App. 410.

(*t*) *Chart. Antiq. Bibl. Harl.* 53.

who soon after married the Countess of Buchan, appeared as justiciary of proper Scotland, in 1208 (*u*): and he continued to execute this high office, with decisive effect, till the year 1231, when Alexander II, returning from the north, appointed, at St. Andrews, Walter, the son of Alan, the Stewart, to be his successor (*x*). Walter was succeeded in 1240, by Richard de Montealt: and there seems to have been associated with him, in executing that great trust, Philip de Maleville (*y*). But, they were too feeble, for such an office, during difficult times. And, they were superseded, in 1243, by Alan, the Door-ward, an enterprising soldier, but a turbulent statesman (*z*). As justiciary of Scotland, he acted, corruptly, at the coronation of Alexander III, in 1249 (*a*). And, being accused of disloyalty by Henry III. of England, the justiciary was removed from his important office, in 1251 (*b*). Michael de Montealt, and Philip de Meledrum, were justiciaries of Scotland, in 1252 (*c*). Alexander Cumyn, the Earl of Buchan, was soon after appointed their successor. He executed this great office, for some years, during very factious times (*d*). He seems, however, to have had a coadjutor, in the northern parts of Scotland, where Fergus, who was probably his own brother, was the king's justiciary, in 1254 (*e*). In the meantime, Alan de Lundin, the Door-ward, was again appointed justiciary, in 1255, in the place of the Earl of Buchan (*f*). But, this appointment

(*u*) Fordun, lib. xii. c. 31.

(*x*) Fordun, lib. ix. c. 48; Wyntown, book vii. c. ix. Walter appears as justiciary in many charters from 1231 to 1240.

(*y*) Chart. Cupre, 43; Chart. Glasgow, 271.

(*z*) Alan, as justiciary, witnessed many charters of Alexander II, whose natural daughter he had married, from 1243 to 1249, as we may see, in the chartularies.

(*a*) Fordun, lib. x. c. i.

(*b*) Chron. Melros, 219-20; Wyntown, book vii. c. x.

(*c*) Rud. Index to the Diplom. Scotiæ.

(*d*) The disputed boundaries of the lands of Glencaryn and Kingoldrum, in Forfarshire, were settled before Alexander Cumyn, Earl of Buchan, *justiciarius Scotiæ*, in 1253. Chart. Aberbrothoc, 207. In 1254, the same justiciary, assisted by a jury, determined a controversy between the Abbot of Aberbrothoc and the Lord of Panmore, about the limits of Conan, and Tullach, in Forfarshire. Id.; Crawford's Off. of State, 468. In 1255, an inquest of Barons was, by command of the king, held before Alexander Cumyn, the Earl of Buchan, "*tunc justiciarius Scotiæ*" to decide a disputed claim between the king and the Abbot of Dunfermlin. MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 111.

(*e*) A precept of Alexander, dated in the fifth year of his reign (1254), is addressed to Fergus "*justiciario suo, ex parte boreali Scotiæ*." Chart. Aberdon, 221.

(*f*) In 1255, Alan, the Doorward, and other leaders of the English faction, were formally admitted into the protection of Henry III. Rym. Fœd. i. 559. Under this influence, they surprised Edinburgh Castle, obtained the possession of the person of the young king, and queen, and overturned the power of the rival party. The Cumyns, and the other leaders of the Scottish faction,

appointment did not last long: when the faction, with which he acted, was overpowered, in 1257, the Earl of Buchan, was restored to the office of justiciary, which he held till his death, in 1289 (*f*). He was succeeded in his offices by his son, John, as well as in his power, and misfortunes, during those terrible times (*g*). Edward I, by his memorable ordinance of the year 1305, appointed as justiciaries, for the country, lying between the Forth and *the Mounth*, William de Keth, and William Inge: and, for the region, lying on the north of *the Mounth*, he appointed Reynald de Chene, and John de Vaux, as justiciaries (*h*). This division, which seems to have existed, in prior times, was continued by Robert Bruce (*i*).

The overpowering influence of the Cumyns, during the factious reign of Alexander III, created the new office of justiciary, in Galloway, for John Cumyn (*k*). We thus see, distinctly, whatever the writer on the public law of Scotland may have seen, that there were, in North-Britain, during that age, three justiciaries; one in proper Scotland, with a coadjutor sometimes; one in Lothian; and one in Galloway, during the reign of Alexander III. (*l*).

In England, next in rank to the justiciary, was the constable (*m*). Such an officer appeared, in Scotland, as early as the beginning of the twelfth century.

tion, were dismissed from the king's councils. Alan, the Doorward, was one of the regents, in the new-modelled government, which was to last, for seven years; and he was appointed *justiciary of Scotland*, for the same period. Ib. 565 6-7; Chron. Meilros, 220-1; Fordun, lib. x. c. 5-9-10. Alan, the Doorward, appears, as *justiciary* of Scotland, in 1256. Chart. Aberbroth. No. 16. The faction, with which he was associated, being overturned, by the rival party, in 1257, he was deprived of the office of justiciary; and he fled to England. Chron. Meilros, 221; M. Paris, 644. He afterwards coalesced with the prevailing party of the Cumyns; and he was one of the ten regents, who were appointed, in 1258, for the government of Scotland. Rym. Fœd. i. 670.

(*f*) He was one of the regents appointed, in 1258, for the government of the kingdom. Rym. Fœd. i. 670.

(*g*) In 1299, there was a *replegiatio hominum abbatis de Aberbrothoc infra vicecomitatum de Aberdeen, & curia Dom. Johannis de Cumyn Com. de Buchan tunc Justiciarius ab privilegium de regalitatis de Aberbrothoc*. Chart. Aberbroth. 5. He probably acted as justiciary till 1305.

(*h*) Ryley's Plac. 504. 'The *Mounth*, or the Mount, is the eastern end of the Grampian range, in the Merns.

(*i*) In 1309, a dispute was settled between the abbot of Lindores and the burgesses of Newburgh, by a jury "Coram Dom. Roberto de Keth, Marescallo, et *justiciario tunc temporis ab aqua de Forth usque montes Scotiæ*." Chart. Lindores, 10. This is the same Robert de Keith, who was appointed by Edward I, in 1305, to the same office. There remains a charter of Robert Bruce, in the 20th of his reign, to the monastery of Scone, which is addressed *justiciariis ex parte boreali aqua de Forth, et vicecomitibus de Perth, et de Forfar*. MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 26.

(*k*) Rym. Fœd. 653. In 1297, Edward I. constituted Roger de Skoter justiciary of Galloway. Ayloffe's Calendar, 113.

(*l*) Pub. Law, 75-6: This writer supposes, that there never was but *one* justiciary, who acted as *viceroi*, in the king's absence!

(*m*) Madox Excheq. 39.

Edward was the constable, during the reign of Alexander I, and continued to execute this trust till 1140 (*n*). This great office now became hereditary, in the family of Hugh de Moreville (*o*). From Hugh Moreville, the office of constable descended to his son, Richard; and to his grandson, William. Upon the death of William Moreville, this office passed to Roland, the Lord of Galloway, who had married Elena, the sister of William, and the daughter of Richard Moreville (*p*). Roland, dying in 1200, this office descended to his son, Alan, the Lord of Galloway, who died, in 1234 (*q*). The office of constable now passed, by marriage, to Roger de Quinci, the Earl of Winchester, as the husband of Elena, the eldest daughter of Alan (*r*). And, after the death of Roger de Quinci, Alexander Cumyn, the Earl of Buchan, who had married his second daughter, Elizabeth, became constable; owing to the resignation of her elder sister, the Countess of Derby. And, from the Earl of Buchan, the office descended to his son, John Cumyn, who lost it, by forfeiture, during the contest for the crown (*s*). David, the Earl of Athol, exercised the office of constable, for some time under Robert Bruce (*t*). It was afterwards granted, by that king, to Gilbert de Hay, by a charter, which fixed the office, hereditarily, in a new dynasty of constables (*u*).

(*n*) Chart. Scone, 1; Dipl. Scotiæ, 16; Chart. May, 9; Chart. Glasg. 57; MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 108.

(*o*) Hugh Moreville, who was constable, under David I, and Malcolm IV, and the founder of Dryburgh Abbey, died, in 1162. Chron. Mailros, 168.

(*p*) Roland, the son of Uchtred, as the husband of Elena Morevill, succeeded, in 1196, to the office of constable, for which, as well as for his lands, he gave a relief of 700 marks of silver to K. William. Chron. Meilros; Hearne's Fordun, iii. 766.

(*q*) Alan, the constable, appears, frequently, in the chartularies, from 1200 to 1234.

(*r*) Roger de Quinci appears, as constable, in many charters, from 1234 to 1264, when he died.

(*s*) Alexander Cumyn, who appears in several charters, both as justiciary, and constable, died in 1289. His son John, after being defeated by Bruce, at Inverurie, in 1308, fled to England, when both his estates, and office, were forfeited.

(*t*) He was constable, in 1311. Chart. Aberbroth; Crawford, and Douglas's Peerages. Two charters of Robert Bruce, in 1313, are witnessed by David Com. Atholiæ, *constabularius* Scotiæ. Chart. Aberbroth. 199, 203. Failing in his allegiance to Bruce, he forfeited this office in 1314.

(*u*) In 1314, Robert I. granted to Gilbert de Hay, Knight, for his homage and service, the office of constable of Scotland, with its pertinents, to be held by him, and *his heirs, in fee and heritage*, with the "*hostilages*," belonging to the said office. Diplom. Scotiæ, 45. From this intimation, we may recollect that, during the days of the de Quincies, there belonged to this high office some hosteleries, gardens, and other easements, which seem to have come down to the accession of the Hays, in 1314. In the Frag. Scot. Hist. App. 6, there is a catalogue of all the great constables of Scotland, from the fourth year of Malcolm III, by Sir James Balfour, which may be regarded as a tissue of mistake, fiction, and falsehood.

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From the great office of constable, there branched out, during pretty early times, a subordinate office of constable (*x*). Each of the king's castles was *governed*, by a constable, who, while he discharged the duty of constable, seems to have acted, in a judicial capacity, over a circumscribed territory, around his fortress. From this intimation, we may perceive the obscure origin of those jurisdictions, in Scotland, which, from the constables, were called *constabularies*; several whereof continued to exist till recent times; many of those offices became hereditary, in particular families; others of those jurisdictions were granted, by the kings, to persons, during life: and, all those constables had assigned to them lands, and dues, for their salaries (*y*). The Bishops, and the Barons, adopted the same policy, in appointing constables, for their castles, who equally exercised authority over their peculiar districts (*a*).

To the constable, the next great officer, in England, was the mareschal (*b*). In Scotland, this office existed, as early as the reign of David I. Ewen,

(*x*) A charter of Earl Henry, the son of David I, is addressed to Unfraville, his constable. *Diplom. Scotiæ*, 20.

(*y*) Norman was constable of Inverurie, in the reign of William, the lion. *MS. Monast. Scotiæ*, 205; *Dugdale's Monast.* ii. 1052. Alexander de Strivelin was constable of Roxburgh Castle, *A^o 1241*; and Alexander de Chattun was constable of the same, in 1255. *Chart. Kelso*, 159; 238. William de Kingorn was constable of Edinburgh Castle, in 1278, and 1284. *MS. Monast. Scotiæ*, 112; *Chart. Newbattle*, 49. Robert I. granted to Hugh de Erth the office of constable of Cluny, in Perthshire. *Robertson's Index*, 19. David II. granted to Thomas Lipp the office of constable of Culan, with several lands, in Banffshire. *Ib.* 32. The same king granted to Fergus Macdougall, the constablership of Kirkcudbright, with a three merk land, in Dumfries. *Id.* Robert III. granted to William Lindsay of the Byres, the constablership of Haddington, *for life*. *Ib.* 142. In the reign of David II, the constablership, and the sheriffship, of Elgin, belonged, hereditarily, to the Earl of March, who conveyed those offices to William de Wallibus; and this alienation was confirmed, by the same king, in the 33d year of his reign. The Earls of Moray afterwards became hereditary constables of the king's castle, at Elgin; and had the customs of the town, the assize of ale, and several lands, for their salaries. They exercised jurisdiction to a certain extent around the castle, and they decided small offences. *Shaw's Moray*, 203. The Earls of Huntly were the hereditary constables of the king's castle, at Inverness; and had, for their salaries, several lands, in Inverness-shire, which were called the *Castle-Lands*. *Ib.* 204. The family of Calder were hereditary constables of the king's castle at Nairn, with similar emoluments, and judicial powers, which they continued to enjoy, till the abolition of heritable jurisdictions, in 1747. *Ib.* 204.

(*a*) In 1383, William de Landeles, the archbishop of St. Andrews, granted to John Wymes of Kirkaldie, and *his heirs-male*, the constablership of the castle, and city, of St. Andrews, together with some lands, and with a power to substitute constables, in case of minority. *Reliquiæ Divi Andreae*, 137.

(*b*) *Madox Excheq.* 43.

Mareschallus,

Marescallus, witnessed several charters of that king (*c*). Hervey de Keith acquired the office of mareschal, from K. William, before 1175; and it became hereditary, soon after, in his family (*d*). Hervey died between 1190, and 1196 (*e*). And he was succeeded by his grandson, Philip de Keith, who acted as mareschal of Scotland, during the last year of William (*f*). His younger brother, David de Keith, appears distinctly to have been his coadjutor, in the office of mareschal (*g*). Philip de Keith was succeeded by his son, Hervey, before the year 1220 (*h*). David, the uncle of Hervey, appears, plainly, to have acted as his coadjutor, in the office (*i*). Hervey de Keith was followed by his son, John, at the end of the reign of Alexander II. (*k*). John de Keith died about the year 1270; and was succeeded by his son, William, who appears but little in the chartularies (*l*). William de Keith was succeeded by his more vigorous son Robert de Keith, who acted, as mareschal, under John Baliol, as we have seen: and by a happy tergiversation obtained from Robert Bruce a grant of this office, to him, and his heirs, with many lands, which gave a new lustre to this respectable name (*m*). The bishops, and abbots, had their mareschals, as well as the king; as we learn from the chartularies (*n*).

In England, the *scheneschallus* was hereditary, as early as the conquest (*o*). In Scotland, this office was conferred, for the first time, on Walter, the son

(*c*) He witnessed the foundation charter of the monastery of Dryburgh. Dug. Monast. ii. 1054. And he was a witness to two charters of David I. to the monks of Dunfermlin. MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 105. Before Ewen, Malisius *Marescallus* witnessed a charter of David I. to the monks of Dunfermlin. Dalrymple's Coll. 393. But, it may be doubted, if either of them were the *Marescallus Scotiæ*.

(*d*) The Mareschal appears in various charters, between 1175 and 1196. In the charters of K. William, which Hervey witnessed, he is called "*Marescallus meus*." Chart. Arbroth, 48, 63. In Hervey's own charters, he calls himself "*Marescallus regis Scotiæ*." Chart. Kelso, 94-5-6.

(*e*) Chart. Kelso

(*f*) Philip, as Mareschal, witnessed a number of K. William's charters between 1196 and 1214.

(*g*) Chart. Arbroth; Chart. Cambuskeneth; Dalrymp. Coll. 393, and Pref. 77.

(*h*) Hervey, the Mareschal, and David, the Mareschal, attended Alex. II. to York, and witnessed his marriage-contract, with the princess Joan of England, in 1220. Rym. Fœd. i. 241.

(*i*) Rym. Fœd. i. 241; Chart. Ant. Bibl. Harl.; Chart. Cambuskenneth, 167, 280; Chart. Aberdeen, 23. Chart. of Scone, 16.

(*k*) John de Keth, *Marescallus*, the son of Hervey, confirmed the grants of his predecessors to the monks of Kelso. Chart. Kelso, 87. And he confirmed some grants to the hospital of Soltre. Chart. Soltre, 26.

(*l*) He witnessed a charter of the Earl of Lennox, about 1270; but he is not designed *Marescallus*. Dougl. Peer. 450.

(*m*) Robertson's Ind. i, 11, 16.

(*n*) Chart. Moray; Chart. Coldingham.

(*o*) Madox's Excheq. 48.

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of Alan, by David I. This office became hereditary, in his family, from a grant of Malcolm IV. The descendants of Walter, who acquired the name of Stewart, from their office, acted as conspicuous characters, in the most splendid scenes of their country, till they ascended, successively, the thrones of Scotland, in 1371, and of England, in 1603 (*p*).

To the *scheneschallus*, the next great office, in England, was the chamberlain (*q*). This office, which, during many years, supplied the place of a treasurer, appears early, in North-Britain, during the Scoto-Saxon period. While David I. was yet Earl, Adam *Camerarius* appears, as one of the witnesses to the charter of the monastery of Selkirk (*r*). Edmund, *Camerarius*, witnessed a charter of David I, granting Annandale to Robert Bruce (*s*). Herbert, who is mistakingly supposed to have been the first chamberlain, appears as a frequent witness, in the charters of David I. (*i*). He was succeeded by Nicholas, whom Malcolm IV. sent as one of his ambassadors to Rome, in 1159, A.D. (*t*). And Nicholas, who rose to be the chancellor, was followed by a long succession of less considerable persons, throughout the Scoto-Saxon period (*u*).

The next officer to the chamberlain, in England, was the chancellor (*x*). Yet, was this important officer, as ancient, as the Saxon times, though he did not thus early perform the same important functions, as in subsequent times (*y*). As to the antiquity of this great officer, in Scotland, it is not to be doubted, saith Crawford (*z*), but that our kings had their chancellors, as well as the British, and Saxon kings, had theirs: yet, reasoning from analogy, in principle, while there is no analogy, in fact, cannot be admitted, in fair discussion. It is altogether improbable, that Scotland, during the existence of her Gaelic government, should have had a chancellor, although England had the benefit of such an officer, during Saxon times. The charters of Edgar do not mention any chancellor. Herbert appears, as chancellor, in one of the charters of Alex-

(*p*) Crawford's Hist. of the Stewarts; Stuart's Genealogical Hist. of the Stewart Family; and the chartularies, throughout. The Bishops, and Abbots, the Earls, and Barons, had also their stewarts: *Dapifer* was the more early expression for this officer; *Scheneschallus*, after the reign of Malcolm IV, became the common term, for this dignified station.

(*q*) Madox's Excheq. 55. (*r*) Chart. Kelso, 4. (*s*) Chart. Antiq. Bibl. Harl. 65.

(*i*) Dalrymple's Coll. 388; Diplom. Scotiæ, 24; and the chartularies.

(*t*) Diplom. Scotiæ, 25; Chron. Mailros, 168.

(*u*) Crawford's Off. of State, 252-267. His list is both erroneous in its notices, and defective in its series.

(*x*) Madox's Excheq. 60.

(*y*) Dugdale's Origines Juridicæ, 16.

(*z*) Officers of State, 1: Crawford supports his conjecture, by appealing to the fictitious *Leges Malcolmi*, and to the modern *Regiam Majestatem*.

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ander I. to Scone (*a*). The charters of David I, exhibit several chancellors, in succession (*b*). This great officer, from the age of Alexander, to the union of the nations, continued, in Scotland, to instruct by his knowledge, and to influence by his wisdom. By the contract of marriage, between the son of Edward I, and the grand-daughter of Alexander III, it was stipulated, that the *chancellary* should remain, in Scotland; that the old seal should be used till the consummation of the marriage; that thereafter a new seal should be made, “*de consuetis armis*,” which should be circumscribed with the name of the king of Scotland alone (*c*). In 1291, Edward appointed six shillings and eightpence, a day, as an adequate allowance to the Keeper of the Great Seal of North-Britain (*d*). And, when Alan, the Bishop of Cathness, an Englishman, was appointed the chancellor of that country, in 1291, he was sworn “*faithfully to carry himself, according to the laws, and customs, of Scotland* (*e*).”

Earl

(*a*) Chart. Scone; Crawford's Officers of State, 4.

(*b*) Diplom. Scotiæ; and the chartularies, throughout.

(*e*) Rym. Fœd. ii. 483.

(*d*) Ayliffe's Cal. 289.

(*c*) Rym. Fœd. ii. 557. The account, as well as the series, of the *chancellors*, are both very defective in Crawford's Officers of State. It is of great importance, that a chronological list of the chancellors should be accurately stated; because it is the name of the chancellor alone, who witnesses the charters, which can clearly ascertain the dates of a thousand charters, during those times of general uncertainty. With a view to this important point, I submit to the curious reader a more precise series of the chancellors of Scotland, than is any where else to be found:

<i>Their Names.</i>	<i>The Reigns.</i>	<i>The Years.</i>
HERBERT, Bp. of Glasgow, d. 1164	- Alexander I. & David I.	1120.
W. CUMYN, Bp. of Durham, 1142, d. 1153	- David I. from 1133 to	1142.
JORDAN, the King's clerk	- David I.	1142-3.
EDWARD	- David I.	1143-4.
WALTER	- David I, and Malcolm IV.	1146-60.
ENGELRAM, Bp. of Glasgow, d. 1174	- Malcolm IV.	1160-64.
NICOLAS, the King's clerk, d. 1171	- Malcolm IV.	1164-71.
WALTER de BIDUN, Bp. of Dunkeld, d. 1178	- William, the lion	1171-78.
ROGER, Bp. of St. Andrews, d. 1202	- William	1178-89.
HUGH de ROXBURGH, Bp. of Glasgow, d. 1199	- William	1189-99.
WM. MALVOISIN, Bp. of St. Andrews, d. 1238	- William	1199-1200.
FLORENCE, Bp. of Glasgow, d. 1212	- William	1200-11.
WM. de BOSCO, d. 1231	- William, and Alex. II.	1211-26.
THO. de STRIVELYN, d. 1227	- Alexander II.	1226-7.
MAT. SCOT, d. before 1231	- Alexander II.	1227-31.
WM. de LINDSAY	- Alexander II.	1231.
WM. de BONDINGTON, Bp. of Glasgow, d. 1258	- Alexander II.	1231-2.
ROB. Ab. of DUNFERMLIN, d. 1271	- Alexander II, & his son	1232-50.
GAMELIN, Bp. of S. Andrews, d. 1271	- Alexander III.	1250-55.

RICHARD

Earl Henry, the son of David I, and Earl David, the brother of William, the lion, the presumptive heirs of the crown, had their several chancellors, as we know from their respective charters.

In England, next to the chancellor, was ranked the *Treasurer* (*f*). There was, however, no such officer, in Scotland, during the Scoto-Saxon period. In those times of scanty revenue, the chamberlain is said to have performed the various functions of the treasurer. Yet, William, the lion, had an *Expensarius*, who performed the various duties of the treasurer (*g*). It was James, on his return from England, where he had learned much of his policy, who established the office of treasurer (*h*). The Bishops, and Abbots, had their *Dispensators*; as we know from the chartularies.

The *Hostiarius* of the king appears among the officers of state, under William, if not under David I. (*i*). Malcolm de Lundin, who was *Hostiarius*, during the first part of William's reign, was succeeded by his son, Thomas, who enjoyed that office, through the remainder of William's life, and during the first part of Alexander II.'s reign (*k*). Thomas de Lundin was succeeded, as *Hostiarius*, before 1233, by his son Alan, whose various talents enabled him to perform profligate parts, during that factious period, till he died, in 1275 (*l*). This

<i>Their Names.</i>	<i>Their Reigns.</i>	<i>The Years.</i>
RICHARD, Bp. of DUNKELD, d. 1272	- Alexander III. -	- 1255-57.
WM. WISHART, Bp. of St. Andrews, d. 1279	- Alexander III. -	- 1257-74.
WM. FRASER, Bp. of St. Andrews, d. 1297	- Alexander III. -	- 1274-80.
SIR THO. CHARTERIS	- Alexander III. -	- 1280-85.
ADAM Bp. of CATHNESS	- Interregnum -	- 1291.
ALEX. KENNEDY	- John Baliol -	- 1296.
WM. de BEVERCOTES	- - - - -	- 1305.

(*f*) Madox's Excheq. i. 78.

(*g*) Michael, the *expensarius* of K. William appears, in the chartulary of Soltre, 22: he may have held the king's *privy purse*.

(*h*) Crawf. Off. of State, 356. Borthwick's Brit. Antiq. 113.

(*i*) Malcolm de Lundin is the first *hostiarius* of the king, who appears, in the chartularies, during the reign of William. Chart. Cupre, 51. The bishops of St. Andrews had their *hostiarius* before 1163. MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 103.

(*k*) Thomas de Lundin, "*Hostiarius domini Regis Scotiæ*," made several grants to the monasteries of Aberbrothoc, and Cupre, which were confirmed by K. William. Chart. Cupre, 51-2; Chart. Arbroth, 88-9, 94-5. He appears, as a witness, in several charters of Alexander II, whom he attended to York, in 1220, and witnessed his marriage contract with Joan the English princess. Rym. Fæd. i. 241.

(*l*) Fordun, lib. ix. c. 61, lib. x. c. 1, 4, 5, 9, 10, 35; Chron. Melros, 219, 220-1; Rym. Fæd. i. 59, 565-6-7, 670, 715.

office, when it was accompanied, in after times, by less talent, and opulence, became of much less respectability (*m*).

The master of the household, and the *panstarius*, came into use, during more recent times (*n*). Sir Andrew Moray was *panetarius Scotiae*, under Robert Bruce (*o*).

The Bishops, and Abbots, the Earls, and Barons, imitated the example of their sovereigns, in the several appointments of their officers; and these officers performed, respectively, the same functions, though they were circumscribed, within a narrower sphere (*p*).

It is said, however, by some of the lawyers of Scotland, that those offices were not anciently descendible to their heirs. They see the great offices of constable, of steward, of mareschal, and of doorward, transmitted from father to son, and even to daughters, who carried their rights of heritage to their husbands: yet, the Scottish jurists doubt, whether these offices were hereditary, as they equally doubt, whether lands were *descendible to female heirs*, under the ancient law (*q*).

The policy of sheriffdoms was introduced, gradually, into Scotland, as well as to Ireland, after the government of both had become Anglo-Norman: Celtic Scotland had not any of those divisions, any more than Celtic Ireland (*r*). In Ireland, shires were not universally adopted, till the reign of James I.: in Scot-

(*m*) David II granted to Ada Dispensa the office of "keeping the king's door." Robertson's Index, 47.

(*n*) Crawf. Off. of State, 355; Borthwick's Brit. Antiq. 114.

(*o*) Chart. Dryburgh, 187. In the letter from the *Magnates Scotiae* to the Pope, in 1320, which is printed, in Goodal's Fordun, lib. xiii. c. 2, Henry de Sancto Claro is designed "*Panetarius Scotiae*;" but, the genuine document gives him no such office. Diplom. Scotiae, li.

(*p*) Reliquiæ divi Andreæ, ch. viii. s. 2. A charter of Richard the Bishop of St. Andrews, from 1163 to 1173, is witnessed by his chaplains, his *Dapifer*, his *Pincerna*, his *Camerarius*, his *Marescallus*, and his *Hostiarius*. MS. Monast. Scotiae, 103.

(*q*) "A conceit has sprung up," saith the late Lord Hailes, "that females were excluded from the succession to lands, by the ancient law of Scotland: the examples to the contrary are numberless." Hist. Mem. Scottish Councils, 21. The conceit is true, if it was meant to apply to the *Gaelic* law of Scotland: but it is quite absurd, if the *ancient law* be extended back no further than 1200 A.D.

(*r*) There is some reason to believe, that Henry II. first appointed sheriffs, in Ireland; and, consequently, assigned them districts. Ledwich's Antiq. 216. It is, however, certain, that king John divided Ireland into shires, and assigned them sheriffs. See Serjeant Mayart's fine argument, in Harris's Hibernica, part ii. 66-70: but, he adds, that the Irish did so hate the English, that they would not have the counties called after their names, but turned them all into territories, and septs. The whole policy was so new, and so odious to the Irish, that they constantly opposed the laying out of shires, and the appointment of sheriffs.

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land, the present sheriffwicks were mostly settled, as early as 1305; but they were not completely established, till more recent times. Every intimation concurs to prove, that a revolution of policy took place, in North-Britain, at the commencement of the Scoto-Saxon period, when the children of Malcolm Ceanmore, imperceptibly introduced some of the laws of England into those districts, wherein a new people superseded the Celtic customs of prior times.

The epochs of the Scoto-Saxon period, of record, and of sheriffdoms, are the same (*s*). Sheriffs are mentioned, during the reigns of Alexander I, and David I. (*t*). Yet, we must not allow, that every place, which had a sheriff, in ancient times, was a proper sheriffdom; as the sheriffs of Scone, of Edinburgh Castle, and of other towns, and fortresses: during the Scoto-Saxon period, and perhaps, in after times, several of the parishes were called shires, from the Anglo-Saxon term, which merely imported a division (*u*). Yet, Galloway (*x*), Argyle, and the western isles, remained, till recent times, under their ancient policy (*y*). It is apparent, then, that sheriffwicks were gradually laid out, as the Scoto-Saxon people gained upon the Gaelic inhabitants, and as the modern law prevailed over past rudeness. Before the conclusion of the Scoto-Saxon period, however, the continent of Scotland, if we except Galloway, Argyle, and the western coast, had been progressively settled under the useful regimen of sheriffdoms, which were governed, according to the salutary rule of the Anglo-Norman law. Sheriffships had even then become hereditary, in particular families (*z*). The appointment of sheriffs was originally in the king, whose officers they were: but, in the progress of innovation, or refinement,

(*s*) Buchanan talks wildly of Scotland being divided into shires, as early as Even, who is supposed to have reigned a century before our common æra. Hope's Minor Practiks, 308. Wallace on Peerages, 112, in the same spirit of wildness, quotes, upon the same point, the fictitious laws of king Reutha, who never existed, of Kenneth II, of Malcolm II, who never performed a legislative act!

(*t*) Dalrymple's Coll. App.; Nicolson's Hist. Lib. App. 7; Diplom. Scotiæ, xii. to xxii; Chartularies of Scone, Dunfermlin, Kelso, and others. The first sheriff, who appears, in record, is Cospatric, *vicecomes*, in Earl David's charter to Selkirk, about the year 1120. Chart. Kelso, 4. There were sheriffs in Roxburghshire, and in Berwick, during the reign of David I. Nicolson's Hist. Lib. p. 363. Yet, I doubt, whether there were, during that reign, any sheriffs, in proper Scotland.

(*u*) Chart. Dunfermlin; Dalrymple's Coll. 383; Chart. Aberdeen. The parish of Bathgate, in Linlithgowshire, was formerly a real sheriffdom. Sibbald's Hist. Linlithgow, 21.

(*x*) Stat. Alexander II. c. 2; Skene, 14.

(*y*) Ja. IV. c. 59-60-61, enacted, that justices, and sheriffs, be made for the *Isles*; and Argyle was, in some measure, placed under the sheriffwick of Perth; and, in 1503, sheriffs were directed to be appointed for Ross, and Cathness.

(*z*) See the ordinance of Ed. I. 1305, for the government of Scotland. Ryley's Placita, 504.

when private rights had become fixed, and hereditary, an act of Parliament, equally became necessary, to divest privileges, as to establish jurisdictions (*a*). And the Barons, in those times, had their sheriffs, for similar purposes, as well as the king (*b*). But, of wapentakes, laths, tithings, rapes, ridings, or hundreds, Scotland knew nothing; as they all arose, in England, from Saxon customs, beyond time of memory.

Thus much, then, with regard to the higher ranks of men, in North-Britain. The middle stations, including the burgesses, were few; and they were only inconsiderable, even comprehending the Thanes, who are more dignified by fiction, than memorable from fact (*c*). We have already seen how impossible it was for the Saxon policy of Thanes to have existed, during the Celtic government of North-Britain (*d*). Thanes, and thanedoms, were unknown to Celtic Scotland, as they were equally unheard of in Celtic Ireland (*e*). In England, not long after the conquest, when so many juridical changes were made, not only the word *thane* was disused, but the office was discontinued (*f*). In Scotland, where the Saxon policy began to prevail, at the period of those changes, the office, and the name, of *thane*, were introduced. When the Anglo-Norman law came into North-Britain, with the Anglo-Saxon colonization, by a new dynasty of kings, the appointment of thanes probably took

(*a*) Wallace Peerages, 111; Statute Book: In 1300, it was enacted by 28 Ed. I. c. 8, that the inhabitants of every county should make choice of their sheriff; where the shrievalty is not of *fee*. This enactment, which appears never to have been the law of Scotland, was altered by 9 Ed. II. Stat. 2.

(*b*) Richard Moreville, the constable, had Henry de Sinclair, for his sheriff, who was also sheriff to William Moreville. Chart. Glasg. 163-5. Hugh Gifford of Yester granted to the monks of Newbotle, Cressewell, in Lothian, "*sicut Alexander vicecomes mihi per ambulavit*." Chart. Newbotle, 89.

(*c*) Like the words shire, and sheriff, the terms *thane*, and *thanedom*, were also derived from the Saxon language, and policy. See before, book iii. c. ix; Clarke's Connection, 445-8; Kelham's Domesday, 343; Whitaker's Manch. ii. 157, 174, 182-3.

(*d*) See before, book iii. c. ix.

(*e*) The silence of Ware, and of Ledwich, attests the fact, as to Ireland: it is a still more instructive fact, that the thanedoms of Scotland lay all on the east coast, the proper country of the Scoto-Saxons, and not on the western shores of Galloway, Argyle, and Ross, the appropriate districts of the Gaelic people, who, as they had not the *name*, of course, had not the *thing*. The Scottish historians, indeed, speak of the existence of thanes, in North-Britain, during the Celtic times of Macbeth: but, they are not to be believed, when they scribble of improbabilities, whereof, either as writers, or as witnesses, they knew nothing, but the name: yet, sober inquiry resists, in vain, the overpowering magic of Shakespeare, which will for ever convince the eye, and the understanding, that "the *thane* of Cawdor lives."

(*f*) Cowel in vo. *Thane*.

place.

place. Under David I, the thanes, and the thanages, appear, in the chartularies, to have been fully established (g).

Yet, the thanes were never officers of state, who attended the person of the king, if we may believe the silence of the chartularies, which never exhibit them, as witnesses of the king's beneficence. The thanes were, altogether, connected with land, which they managed, as bailiffs, with a just analogy to their ancient functions (b). And their numbers increased, in proportion, as districts were divided, and manors were settled (i). The Abthane, however, which is

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(g) Almost the whole kingdom, in the time of Malcolm II, [1003-1033 A.D.] saith Fordun, was divided into *thanages*. Lib. iv. c. xlviii. For this improbability, the fabler, who lived in the fourteenth century, has neither fact, nor authority, nor analogy, to support his assertion: he has not even the *Leges Malcolmi*, for his warrant. There is not the least evidence, that the great districts of Scotland were ever called thanages, or that there were ever thanes of Fife, or Ross, except in the fictitious histories of Boece, and the imitative chronicle of Holinshed. In none of the charters of Edgar, or Alexander I, are thanes, or thanedoms, or thanages, ever mentioned: but, they are noticed by the charters of David I. Diplom. Scotia, xvi. See the chartularies of Aberdon, and of Moray, and the recitals of the grants of William, his grandson. The first thanes, who appear, in proper Scotland, are Macbeth *Thane of Falkland*, and Malmure *Thane of Kellie*, in the reign of David I. Reg. of St. Andrews; Chart. May.

(b) See Cowel in vo. *Thane*, *thegne*, *theyn*: and the context of the charters of David I, before mentioned, of Hadington, and Clerkington, intimate, that he understood the word, and the thing, in the same sense, as *bailiff*, or land-steward. Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. 16; Antiq. Transac. of Scot. i. 116-17. But, there is a charter of William to the Bishop of Moray, "De decimis solvendis," which describes his *theynes*, so distinctly, as to admit of no doubt: "Si villanus fuerit qui decimam suam dare noluerit, *theynus sub quo rusticus est*, distringat illum decimam illam sive aliam rectitudinem." The king repeats the emphatical expression: "Si *theynus sub quo rusticus est*." Chart. Moray, 155. The *theynes*, however, were not employed in the collection of the king's aids, and customary dues: the sheriff was the officer, who was generally entrusted, and sometimes the *Earl*. Chart. Scone, 17. In two charters of Alexander II, the *firmarii*, and *thayni*, are put upon the same footing. Chart. Moray, 59-60. There is a charter of Walter de Berkeley, which was confirmed by William, the lion, renouncing to the monks of Aberbrothock, the dues, and services, which used to be paid by the people living on the lands of the *thayne* of Inverkeledor. Chart. Aberb. 85 6. In 1170, William granted to Mathew, the Bishop of Aberdeen, many lands, "cum omnibus *nativis* dictarum terrarum, *thaynis meis tantum exclusis*." Chart. Aberdon, 218. We thus see the connection of the *thaynes*, with the *villeyns*, and how little the *thaynes* were, as bailiffs, above the *villeyns*, who were under their management. Gillenevin, the *dapifer*, or steward of Duncan, was *thane* of Stirling, and was a witness to a charter by Gilbert Earl of Strathern to Malcolm, the son of Duncan, the Earl of Fife. Chart. in Brit. Museum. Wood of Balbegno, a younger son of the family, who carried the *oak tree*, in their escutcheon, added to his coat-armorial, for a difference, two *keys* appendant, to denote his office of *thane* of Fettercarne. Nisbet's Herald. v. ii. part iii. 19.

(i) The diligence of Robertson has collected the names of almost forty thanedoms. Index to the Records, 39. He has remarked, that only one of them is situated on the south of the Tay, and

so little understood, was peculiar to Scotland. The thane has been supposed to denote a bailiff of less, and the abthane, an officer, of greater dignity (*k*). Selden, by relying on the fabulous historians of Scotland, has shown how learning may be deluded by fiction. It is, nevertheless, apparent, from a consideration of the records, that the first was the thane of the king; and that the second was the thane of the abbot: the first was the *royal* bailiff, or steward; the second was the *ecclesiastical* bailiff, or steward (*l*). The distinction between the thane, and abthane, arose long after the office was introduced into Scotland, from a circumstance, which is distinctly marked in the chartularies: when the king granted lands to the bishop, or abbot, reserving particular rights, within the same lands, the royal thane attended to those lay rights, while the abthane managed the ecclesiastical rights.

and not one of them on the south of the Forth: Fife, and Kalentir, are admitted to be exceptions, to this rule, and perhaps Haddington might have been added to the exception. My researches have enabled me to add to the number; but not to the importance, of the *thanes*: their great numbers, within a few shires only, evince the insignificance of the thane, if the narrowness of the thanedom did not settle the fact. It is also a remarkable circumstance, that the thanages lay chiefly in the shires, on the eastern coast, and not in the shires, on the west: the reason may have been, that the kings, David I, Malcolm, William, and Alexander II, settled their manors along the eastern coast, with their thanes, and not in the west, where the royal authority was not fully established till recent times.

(*k*) Titles of Honour, 2 ed. 846.

(*l*) John, the Bishop of Dunkeld, confirmed to the monastery of Scone the church of Logy Mached in Athol, "cum pertinentibus, viz. le Rath que est caput comitatus et de toto *thanagio* de *Dulmonych*, et de toto *thanagio* de Fandufuith." This charter was confirmed by Galfrid, Richard, and Mathew, Bishops of Dunkeld. Chart. of Scone, 47-8-9, 51. John was Bishop of Dunkeld from 1211, to 1214, Galfrid from 1236 to 1249, Richard from 1250 to 1272, and Mathew from 1288 to 1309. Keith. Now; *Dul-monach*, both in the British, and Irish, signifies the *monks* Dul. There is a charter of Alexander III, granting certain easements to the abbots of Scone, which is addressed to his thanes, and other good men of Dull, and Ferterkill. Chart. Scone, 49. From these charters, it appears, that the *Abthanes* of *Dull* were not known, in those early times. The district of *Dull* comprehended an extensive country, the whole, or part whereof, belonged to the monastery of Scone; and, for this reason, became distinguished by the name of *Dul-monach*: and, as this was a thanage, as we have seen, before the demise of William, the thane thereof, naturally, acquired the appellation of ab-thane, the abbot's thane of Dull, *ab*, in the Gaelic, signifying an *abbot*. The *Dul-monach* of those confirmations is denominated, in three charters of David II, the *ab-thanerie* of Dull. Robertson's Index, 46-53-90. MS. Harl. No. 4609-4620. There are other *abthaneries* mentioned among the lands of the bishoprick of St. Andrews. Rel. Divi Andreæ, 117-121; Dal. Col. 119, 121-2. There is a very mistaken account of the offices of thane, and abthane, by a person, who was a lover of antiquities, without being an antiquary, in the Transactions of the antiquaries of Edinburgh, i. 185: and see the Frag. Scot. Hist. 1798, p. 39-41. Crinan, who married Bethoc, the daughter of Malcolm II, is erroneously said to have been *abthane* of Dull. Fordun, lib. iv. c. xliii.

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The thanes, then existed, at the demise of Alexander III, and at the accession of Bruce; and the abthanes equally existed at the same epoch. Robert I. granted to the abbot, the thanage of Scone, which was confirmed by Innocent VI. (*m*). This great prince confirmed to the prior of Restenot the pecuniary dues, which the monastery was entitled to receive from several thanages of former times (*n*). David II. equally continued the policy of thanages, as we may learn, from his charters. And this policy continued a century and a half, after the demise of David II, although the thanes became still more inconsiderable, as the other orders of men rose in consequence.

Whether the office of thane were hereditary is doubtful. The thanage of Fordel, in Fifeshire, is said to have descended from the father to the son (*o*). This observation applies, with still more propriety, perhaps, to the thane of Calder, whose thanedom seems, indeed, to have been hereditary (*p*). Whatever there may be in this conjecture, the thane of Calder will live, while the dramas of Shakspeare shall continue to astonish, and delight. The dimness of fact pretends not to emulate the splendour of fiction. Yet, Boece, as we have seen, had some foundation, in the realities of his age, for the fables, which he conveyed to the English chronicler, who exhibited their attractions to the keen eye of that immortal dramatist.

Nearly connected with the thanes, as we have observed, were the *villeyns*, the bondmen, the nativi, who were scarcely, for ages, recognized by freedom. This sad condition of the lower orders, arising frequently from war, mostly from birth, and often from consent, certainly came down from the strenuous Malcolm III, and the pious Margaret, to their children (*q*). From them, Edgar,

(*m*) Chart. Scone, 31, 67-8, 112.

(*n*) Robert I. confirmed, in 1322, the verdict of an inquest, finding the prior and canons of Restenot entitled, during the reign of Alexander III, “viginti solidos et decem denariis percipientes per annum de thanagio de thaynathayis, [Tanadice], et secundis decimis omnium thanagiorum subscriptorum, viz. de Veteri-Munross, Glaimes, Kingalveny, & Aberlemenach.” MS. Monast. Scotiae, 31. The above rights were confirmed by David II.

(*o*) Chart. Dunferm.; Frag. Scot. Hist. 40.

(*p*) See the family of Calder, in Shaw's Moray, 113-394; and Chart. Morav. 390; wherein William, *thane of Calder*, and John, *thane of Brody*, appear conspicuous among other respectable men, in 1492. MS. Harl. No. 4620.

(*q*) We have already seen how many of the wretched Northumbrians, Malcolm, during his frequent incursions, carried from the north of England into Scotland. Such was the practice of war, in those times, that the prisoners who were not ransomed, remained in bondage. Malcolm, and Margaret, gave certain *villeyns* to the monks of Dunfermlin. Dalrymple's Col. App. See the declaration of David I, “De Fugitivis qui vocantur *Cumerlach*.” Fragments of Scot. Hist. App. 2. The name of *cumerlach* was given by the Northumberland Saxons to those unhappy people, from their common cry of extreme wretchedness.

Alexander I, and David I, possessed, with their innumerable manors, a numerous peasantry, who were denominated *their proper men*, and who were vendible at will, as their peculiar chattels (*r*). To David's manor of Horneden, in Berwickshire, there were annexed certain tenants called Drengs (*s*). Among the old writers, there appears to have been some difference of judgment, about the real meaning of *drenches*, *drenches*, or *drengi*, in our juridical customs: the better opinion, however, seems to be, that they were tenants in pure villeynage, who held their tenements in *drengage* (*t*). The chartularies are full of similiar descriptions of servitude, under the dissimilar names, of *villanes*, *homines*, *nativi*, *servi*, *cottarii*, *captivi*, *bondi*, *bondagii*, *tenandii*, *husbandii*, who might all be bought, and sold, with the glebe.

This melancholy truth will distinctly appear, if we run over the circumstances, attending those unhappy people, under the several kings of the Scoto-Saxon dynasty. Under David I, one of the most liberal of those kings, that wretched practice of enslaving an oppressed race, existed in full force, as we have, indeed, seen (*u*). The youthful grandson of David followed his example, as to the condition of his people: Malcolm IV. granted to the monks of Newbotle a salt-work, in Kalentyr, with all its arable land there; “reddendo “inde *bondis meis annuatim* quatuor solidos (*x*).” William, the brother of Malcolm IV, enforced those villeyn services, during his extended reign (*y*). The brother of William, David, the Earl of Huntington, granted to Gartnach, Earl of

(*r*) Frag. Scot. Hist. App. 1; MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 107. A charter of David I, giving to the church of Dunfermlin three *servi*, *Rageswin*, *Gillepatric* et *Ulehil*, for ever. The grants of Edgar, and Alexander, to the church of Coldingham, include *the men*. Smith's Bede, App. 20.

(*s*) Id. Waldeve, Comes, who succeeded Gospatric, in 1166, gave to the monks of Kelso “Halden, et Willielmum fratrem ejus, et omnes liberos eorum, et omnes sequeles eorum.” Chart. Kelso. 127.

(*t*) Burn's Westmoreland; Kelham's Domesday, 200: and Spelman's Glos. in vo. *Drengage*, and Ducange, in vo. *Drenches*.

(*u*) David granted to the monks of Scone, “*Cambusmichel cum hominibus, terris, et aquis*,” &c. Chart. Scone, 16. This charter was confirmed by Robert I. In 1144, David granted to the abbot of Kelso, “*ecclesiam de Lesmahago et totam Lesmahago cum hominibus*.” MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 33. In an agreement between the churches of Eccles, and Stirling, which was made before David, his son Earl Henry, and his Barons, mention is made “*de Hurdmannis, et bondis, et Gresmannis, et mancipiis*.” Ib. 106.

(*x*) Chart. Newbotle, 183.

(*y*) K. William granted, in 1170, to the Bishop of Aberdeen, various lands in Aberdeenshire, “*cum omnibus nativis dictarum terrarum, Thaynis meis tantum exclusis*.” Chart. Aberdon, 219-20. During the reign of William, Fergus, the Earl of Buchan, granted to John, the son of Uthred, several lands in Buchan, “*cum nativis et incolis*.” K. William issued a precept, in favour of

of Mar, and his heirs, Gillechrist, the son of Gillehuysgal, and two Gillechrists, and Gillen, and Gillemart, four sons of Het (z). Richard Morville, who was constable under William, and his principal minister, granted to Henry de Sinclair, and his heirs, Edmund, the son of Bonde, and Gillemichel, his brother, with their progeny, for three marks, on condition, however, that those bondmen should not be removed from Moreville's lands (a). During the reign of Alexander II, this common practice was carried to a great extent, as we may learn from many charters (b). Richard Germyn, lord of Limpetlaw, conveyed to the hospital of Soltre, Allan, the son of Tock, with his progeny (c). In a chamberlain court, which was held, "in castrum puellarum," before Alexander III, in 1278, John de Stratechen resigned into the king's hands his lands of Bethwald, with all the *men*, and cottars, who were then thereon (d).

Whether any of those degraded men regained their freedom, during the long

of the prior of Lesmahago, "super nativos, homines, et fugitivos." Chart. Kelso, 399. William granted to the monks of Coldingham, "ne quis manu teneat *homines* monachorum." He enforced this, by another charter; "de fugitivis et nativis de Coldinghamshire ut eas juste habeat prior et servientes ejus." Chart. Cold. 5. Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, gave an order, "seneschallo suo ad deliberandum servos, nativos, prioris de Coldingham." Ib. 14. Among the charters of this ancient monastery, there are, "manumissiones, donationes, venditiones, et clamationes *nativorum*, cum sequelis suis." Ib. 28.

(z) Chart. Ant. Bibl. Harl.

(a) Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. 75.

(b) Alexander confirmed the liberties of Hugh, abbot of Kelso; "et ubicunque extra dominia nostra in tota terra nostra *nativos* et *fugitivos homines suos* invenerit illos sive dilatione injusta habeat." Chart. Kelso, 7, 391. In 1232, Alexander granted to the monastery of Jedburgh two bovates of land "cum uno *villano*." MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 29. Alexander confirmed, in 1231, to the knights of Jerusalem, at Torphichen, all their lands, and liberties, with their *men* and *tenants*. Ib. 71. In 1225, an agreement was made between the monasteries of Cupre, and Scone, whereby the latter granted to the former, "omnes minutas decimas et obventiones *villanorum* et *servientium* de Benchori, et de Kynclatyn, et de Crochin," on condition of administering the sacrament to the parishioners. Chart. Scone, 53. In the charter of Cupre, No. 16, there is a grant of Alexander to the monks "ut quis invenerit fugitivos nativos suos de Glenylif qui sui sunt et esse debent de jure et ratione." In 1270, Alexander granted to the Bishop of Glasgow, that his men, *nativi*, et *servi*, should be free of toll throughout his realm. Chart. Glasg. 239. In a convention between Andrew the Bishop of Moray, [1222 to 1242], and Walter Cumyn, it was agreed "quod episcopi et successores sui habebunt omnes *clericos* et *duos Laicos*, viz. Gillemalovock Macnakengello, Sythach Macmallon: hos autem *Clericos* et *Laicos nativos* habebit episcopus Moraviensis et successores sui cum Catallis suis et possessionibus omnibus et liberos eorum cum omni posteritate sua et Catalla eorundem liberorum: dominus autem Walterus Cumyn habebit omnes captivos *Laicos* aliquos ejusdem terre de Logykenny et de Inverdrumyn et de omnibus aliis terris, apud Badenach, que ullo tempore ad episcopum Moraviensem spectare videbantur cum omnibus sequelis suis et Cattalis eorundem." Chart. Morav. 52.

(c) Chart. Soltre, 51.

(d) MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 112.

wars, for the independence of Scotland, cannot now be ascertained. The former law, and ancient practice, certainly continued. Robert I. granted to the monastery of Melros a part of the barony of Westerker, “cum hominibus tam
“tenentibus quam servientibus eorum religiosorum (e).” On the other hand, Robert I, confirmed, in 1320, the verdict of an inquest, which had been held before the chamberlain, and justiciary, finding the freedom of Ade, the son of Adam (f). During the long, and feeble reign, of David II, the practice of bondage seems not to have been relaxed, amidst many struggles, for the freedom of the nation. Yet, many *free tenants* there were, during that age, in North-Britain (g). Many of the peasantry were *bondmen*, within the *English pales*, but not in the practice of the Gaelic people. The example of the king, in transferring men, and women, and their issue, with the soil, whereon they dwelt, incited the practice of his nobles, and clergy. David, in the second year of his reign, granted to Sir Alexander Lindsay the thanage of Dounay, in Forfarshire, “cum bondis, bondagiis, nativis, et eorum sequelis (h). Robert, the Steward, and Earl of Strathern, granted to Sir Robert Erskine, and Christian de Keth, his wife, all his lands of Nisbet, and Edinham, “cum tenandiis et
“serviciis libere tenentium cum bondis, bondagiis, et nativis, ac eorum sequelis (i).” In 1364, Alexander, the Bishop of Moray, repledged two of his *nativi* before the sheriff of Banff (k). This severe system does not seem to have been relaxed, during the reign of Robert II. In the second year of his reign, he granted to Marion Cardney, and to the issue procreated, or to be procreated, between him, and her, Weltown, and Watertown, in Aberdeenshire, “cum nativis et eorum sequelis (l).” In 1388, Adam, the Bishop of Aberdeen, granted for life, in consideration of ten marks yearly, his barony of Murthyl, to William de Camera, “cum bondis, bondagiis, nativis, et eorundem
“sequelis (m).” It is certain, that Gilbert, the Bishop of Aberdeen, granted,

(e) Ib. 38. (f) Robertson's Index, P. S. liii; Ib. 16. (g) Chart. Aberd. 807.

(h) Robertson's Index, 96-89. He also granted to the same Sir Alexander Lindsay the barony of Inverarity, in Forfarshire, cum bondis, bondagiis, nativis, &c. Id. David granted for life to Brice Wych the lands of Ballech, in Kinross-shire, “cum bondis, bondagiis, et nativis, dicte terre.” Ib. 85. He made similar grants, in Dumfries-shire. Ib. 81-91.

(i) Chart. Aberdon, 807.

(k) Chart. Moray, 240: In the Quoniam Attachiamenta, c. lvi. there is “the Breive of Bondage,” with the doctrines of *Bondage*, in that age.

(l) Robertson's Index, 134.

(m) Chart. Aberd. 387: When this assedation was prolonged by Bishop Gilbert, in 1402, to Thomas, the son of William de Camera, the words conveying the bondmen, and their issue, were omitted either by design, or accident. Ib. 577.

in 1392, to William Lange, one of his canons for life, his lands of Breness, in Buchan, with the huntings, fishings, and the *nativi* (n).

I have thus traced, through the chartularies, the degrading practice of *villeynage*, to the commencement of the fifteenth century. Yet, the Scottish lawyers, who were not, as we have seen, in the habit of dipping into records, write, on this curious subject, as if such a practice had never existed (o).

It is a much more pleasing task to trace the progress of refinement, or the sense of justice, or the notion of propriety, which led to the emancipation of those villeyns, and other bondmen. In those ancient times, a similar state of bondage existed, in every district of Europe. In some of those countries, laws were made, very early, for abolishing the state of villeynage, or alleviating the condition of the bondmen. In France, an edict, for a general enfranchisement of *serfs*, was passed, by Louis le Gros, in 1130 (p). In England, we see nothing like that anxiety for individual freedom. Wicliff, following the example of Constantine, the great, was the first to declare the practice of villeynage to be antichristian. A bill, *concerning bondmen*, was rejected by Parliament, in 1536 (q). As late as 1574, there were bondmen, and bondwomen, on the royal manors, in several shires of England: and, Elizabeth then issued a commission, for manumitting those wretched people (r). The national spirit put an end to the odious remains of slavery, without any legislative declaration. In Scotland,

(n) Chart. Aberd. 477: In 1413, the baronies of Cowie, and Durris, in Kincardineshire, were sold, with the *tenants* and *tenandries*. Crawf. Off. of State, 192. From the many charters, which have been minutely quoted, under this head, we may see clearly how little foundation there was, for the belief, “that no example appears, in the *Scottish* records of an estate sold, with the farmers, labourers, and families, attached to the soil.” Hist. of Scot. from the Access. of the House of Stewart, i. 127: this was said, in the face of one of the oldest records: Edgar granted to the monks of St. Cuthbert, “Paxtun, cum *hominibus*, aquis, et terris.” Smith’s Bede, 701. In an inedited charter of Alexander, the Stewart of Scotland, dated in 1284, he granted to John Preston his lands in Travernent, “cum *nativis* et *eorum sequela*.” On the 26th of April 1364, in a lawsuit, between the Bishop of Moray, and *three of his bondmen*, before the sheriff of Banff, who held his court under the king’s precept, it was decided, by the *best, and most lawful men*, of the country, that the said three men were “the *nativos* and liege men of the bishop.” Chart. Morav. 240.

(o) Craig’s Jus Feudale, lib. i.; Stair’s Institutes, lib. i.; MacDowal’s Institutes, i. 68.

(p) Henault.

(q) There is, in the *Formulare* of Madox, a curious series of “grants, and manumissions of *villains* :” there is among them, the enfranchisement, by Lord Abergaveney, of Andrew Borde, and his son, John, *villains regardant*, who belonged to his manor of Dychelyng, within the county of Sussex, in 1510.

(r) Barrington on the An. Stat. 247-251. This practice continued longer, in England, than in Scotland.

neither any canon of the church, any assize of the king, nor any act of Parliament, appears, in favour of freedom (*s*). Throughout the thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, there appear several distinct manumissions, by particular kings (*t*). But, these releases from slavery only show the general principle. The courts of justice appear to have been sufficiently favourable to the claims of liberty. But, it was the superior ecclesiastics, who undoubtedly granted the greatest number of manumissions, upon salutary terms, to both parties (*u*). It is, indeed, apparent from the chartularies, that many of the villeyns were admitted by the Bishops, and Abbots, to be their tenants, yielding specified services, and paying certain rents: This favourable change gradually took place, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Even Barbour, like Wicliff, could cry out, in his life of Bruce, "How FREEDOM is a nobil thyng." Long before the days of Craig, the feudist, who died in 1608, *bondage* had become obsolete, in the law of Scotland (*x*) All vassalage, and servitude, in

(*s*) The statute of William, c. viii, indeed, ordains the pain of him, who detains another man's "bondman." The laws of the Burrows are more favourable: by them, ch. xvii, any bondman, except the king's, who dwelt, for a year, and day, within a burrow, was entitled to freedom. In the *Regiam Majestatem*, which I have shewn not to be so old as the accession of Robert Bruce, there are four chapters, respecting bondmen: "Of native bondmen proclaimed to liberty." B. ii. ch. ii. "Be what way ane man may come fra servitude to libertie." Ch. xii. "Bondmen sould not be promoted to halie orders." Ch. xiii. "Of the manumission of bondmen." Ch. xiv. In the *Quoniam Attachamenta*, ch. lvi, which is still more modern, we may see, "the breive of of bondage," which shows the law on this subject, during the reign of James I.

(*t*) David II. granted freedom to William the son of John, a bondman, on his thanedom of Tannadyce. Robertson's Index, 89. The same king granted liberty to his bondman, Maurice Miller. Ib. 47. And he also manumitted John Latoren, his bondman. Ib. 66.

(*u*) Mathew the Bishop of Aberdeen, not only granted freedom to William de Tatnell, *his man*, but leased to him in heritage, two carucates of land; paying one pound of incense, and one mark of silver. This was confirmed, by William, the lion, and by Hugh, the successor of Mathew. Chart. Aberd. 283-99. Walter, the Bishop of Glasgow, released the servitude of Gille-michael, the son of Bowen, and Gillemor his son, and Bur. and Gillys. the son of Eldred, whose freedom he recognized before honest men. This release was confirmed by Alexander II, in 1200. Chart. Glasg. 237. John, who became Abbot of Kelso, in 1160, and possessed many bondmen, and bondwomen, in right of his house, granted half a carucate of land in Middleham, to *his man* Hosbern; he having become his man, and agreed to pay yearly eight shillings. The same Abbot granted to *his man*, Walden, the eighth part of Currokis; he paying for it half a mark yearly. The same Abbot granted to the same Walden, *his man*, the third part of Auchenlec; paying for it, yearly, two shillings and three-pence. Chart. Kelso, 110-14-16-467. Villeyns were sometimes permitted to change their masters, by a formal grant. Robertson's Index, 53; Frag. Scot. Hist. The practice of villeynage was more general in South, than in North-Britain. Walsingham says, that some of the greater Abbeys, in England, had about 2000 villeyns. Hist. 258.

(*x*) Yet, the bondage of colliers, and salters, was enforced, by the 11th Parl. James VI. c. 11, in 1606.

North.

North-Britain, were roughly abolished by the legislative usurpation of Cromwell's Parliament (y). Of that sort of *bondage*, which was called *manrent*, in the law of Scotland, I have not seen an instance, during the Scoto-Saxon period. It arose, probably, during the anarchical reign of David II, and continued, notwithstanding the prohibition of several acts of Parliament, even below the restoration (z).

Thus much, then, with respect to persons. It is at length time to advert to *things*, as they were regarded by the laws of North Britain, from the demise of Donal-bane, to the accession of Robert I. In England, a little code of written law was handed down by Alfred to *the Confessor*, was confirmed by *the Conqueror*, and was restored by Henry I. (yy). In Scotland, nothing like a code of *written* law was transmitted, by the progenitors of Malcolm III. to him, or by the latest of the *Celtic* kings to their children, if we except the fictions, and impositions, of the middle ages (zz). Neither Edgar, nor Alexander I. appears to have left any written laws. Their immediate successor is the first of the Scottish kings, who transmitted *assizes* (a), and other written laws, which were long remembered by the people, as beneficial legacies; and which, perhaps, the Scottish nation, even to this day, regard with veneration. We have no intimation, that Malcolm IV. added any written laws to the assizes of his grand-

(y) Scobel, 1654, ch. ix.

(z) Lord Stair's Inst. 19.

(yy) Hale's Hist. Com. Law, ch. i; Blackst. Com. iv. 412; Kelham's Laws of the Conqueror, Prel. Disc. p. 5.

(zz) See proofs of the spuriousness of the Macalpinelaws, of the LL. Malcolmi, of Mac-Beth's laws, of the Code, which is attributed to Malcolm-Ceanmore. Book iii. ch. 9. The late Lord Kaims, improperly quotes the LL. Malcolmi, in his *Statute Law Abridged*, though he showed in his *Essay on British Antiquities*, that those laws must be referred to some late æra. Spelman had delivered the same opinion before him. The late Lord Hailes, subsequently, demonstrated, that the *leges Malcolmi* are a despicable forgery. The late Dr. Gilbert Stuart, after making use of the LL. Malcolmi, as genuine, pronounces them to be spurious. Pub. Law, p. 152. They are still more strongly condemned, by their own anachronisms, and absurdity. How unfit, then, to introduce such despicable forgeries into the *Statute* law!

(a) The earliest name of an English statute was *Assiza*, or an *Assize*, as we may learn from Madox's Epist. Disc. to the Dialogue of the Exchequer, 6. The statutes of David I. were called *Assizes*. There is an *Assize* of David, in the Chartulary of Moray, as Lord Hailes has shown. Examin. of Reg. Majest. p. 15. The charter, which William, the Lion, conferred on the Burgh of Inverness, speaks of the *Assize* of David, his grandfather. Wight on Elections, p. 411. The statutes of William were called *Assizes*. Skene's Old Laws. We see, then, that this term *Assize*, was borrowed from the English practice. The statutes of King William refer to "the custom, and law, made by King David." Id. The Ordinance of Edward I., in 1305, calls for the laws of David. These facts, therefore, are full proof, as far as we can trust the supposed statutes of William, that David I. left written laws. The *leges Burgorum* are undoubtedly the legislative acts of David I., as we may learn from records.

father. William, the lion, as he lived long, transmitted many statutes, if we may determine from the inaccurate publication of Skene, from older collections (*b*). The *Forest Laws* are also attributed to William, by the same unfaithful publisher of those ancient capitularies (*c*): Yet, anachronism seems to claim them, for a less dignified author of later times. The statutes, which the same publisher has assigned to Alexander II., are equally suspected of unfaithfulness (*d*). Jurisprudence, and history, have both sufficient cause to lament, that inaccuracy, and interpolation, should have so much mingled with those ancient compilations, which have been made to assume the place of positive statutes.

There is, however, a collection of laws, entitled the *Leges Burgorum*, which have been attributed to David I., on surer grounds (*e*). Yet, those laws are declared by Lord Hailes not to be altogether free from the doubts, which involve the ancient laws of Scotland, as they have been published by Skene, in a suspicious cloud of unconquerable scepticism (*f*).

In

(*b*) Lord Hailes declares, "there is reason to believe, that the laws of William are not altogether genuine, and without interpolation." An. i. 142. The statutes of William have, undoubtedly, in their context, and detail, a very suspicious appearance of more modern compilation. The Berne collection of the *leges Scotiæ* contains some of the assizes of William, which are in Skene, and some, which are not. The statute of Alexander II., ch. 14, as it is assigned to that king, by Skene, was certainly made by William, in 1180. Berne Collection.

(*c*) Skene's Old Laws. (*d*) Lord Hailes's An. i. 161. And there is a cloud of suspicion, which hangs over the whole statute laws of Scotland, previous to the acts of James I.

(*e*) There is a charter of William, 1176 A. D. to the Burgh of Glasgow, which speaks of the *Assizes* of his burghs, Chart. Glasg. 73. This charter proves, that the *LL. Burgorum*, were then in existence. Malcolm IV. does not claim any legislative honours. And those *Assizes* of the burghs were, consequently, enacted by David I. See the charters of Inverness in Wight on Elections. The Berne collection of the "*Leges et consuetudines quatuor Burgorum*," which contains 54 chapters, may have contained a few more, when it was perfect. Among the records, which were carried away by Edward I., there were several rolls "*de legibus et assisis regni Scotiæ*" "*et de legibus et consuetudinibus Burgorum Scotiæ & de quibusdam statutis editis per reges Scotiæ*." Ayloffe's Cal. 335.

(*f*) An. i. 89: The *Burgh Laws* are said, by the publisher, in A. D. 1609, to have been made by King David I., at the Newcastle upon the water of Tyne. Skene's Old Laws, p. 118. But, this position cannot possibly be true; as David never possessed Newcastle. That David I. made some *Burgh Laws* seems pretty certain: But, the *Burgh Laws*, which are assigned him by Skene, bear upon the face of them a much more modern air, than the early age of David I. could properly exhibit. In several of the law collections, in the Advocate's library, at Edinburgh, which are entitled *Regiam Majestatem*, the *Burgh Laws* are called "*Leges quatuor Burgorum*," "*Berwick, Roxburgh, Edynburgh, et Stryvelin*," constitute per regem David *primum*. W. 4, 5; A. 1.

In this cloud, and in those suspicions, are peculiarly involved the well-known code, which is entitled *Regiam Majestatem*, from the two first words of this juridical tract. It is an undisputed proposition, that this treatise, and the book of *Glanvill*, are not both original works (g). The greatest of the English antiquaries, and lawyers, Spelman, and Hale, have insisted, that the Scottish code was copied from the English. Some of the most judicious of the Scottish jurists, such as Craig, and Lord Stair, have given it, as their opinions, that “the *Regiam Majestatem* is *not* a book of the Scottish law.” (h). Other Scottish antiquaries, and lawyers, have said, indeed, that the *Regiam Majestatem* is a book of the Scottish law, and was compiled, if not by the pen, at least in the age, of David I. The late Lord Bankton revived the controversy, on this curious subject, by insisting, in an elaborate argument, that the *Regiam Majestatem* is certainly a book of Scottish law (i). This produced, though not professedly, “The Examination of some of the Arguments for the High Antiquity of *Regiam Majestatem*,” by the late Lord Hailes (k). This Dissertation, which was intended to prove, that the disputed treatise is a modern fabrication, brought other disputants upon the stage, who did not always controvert what they were unable to confute. The charge of frequent anachronism, as it must for ever remain unanswered, will always consign the *Regiam Majestatem* to modern fabrication, as peculiarly its own.

It will be found, perhaps, that none of the opinions, which have been given, on either side, are perfectly correct. Of the *Regiam Majestatem*, there are several manuscript copies of the fifteenth century, though not one manuscript, which, perhaps, contains this treatise alone (l). The *Regiam Majestatem* was first published by Sir John Skene, in 1609, as it has always appeared, in manuscript, as one Tract of a Collection of several Treatises, on the Scottish Law.

A. 1. 28, &c. The word *primum* is an obvious interpolation. The numbers of the chapters also differ. In the MS. collections, the list of chapters extend to one hundred and sixteen; but the list is extended, in Skene’s publication, to one hundred and forty-three chapters. Lord Hailes’s Exam. 5. The *Leges Burgorum* cannot be doubted as a genuine code. In a law-suit before the Keepers of the realm of Scotland, at Edinburgh, in 1291, it was held that, according to the custom of the burrows, dower was a preferable debt. Ryley’s Placita, 146-7. Nothing, then, remains, but, by collation of various copies of the *Leges Burgorum*, to ascertain the true text.

(g) Lord Hailes’s Exam. p. 1.

(h) Craig. b. 1. tit. 8, s. 7; Stair’s Institute, p. 13; and also Profess. Bayne’s Notes, p. 3.

(i) Lord Bankton’s Institutes.

(k) It was printed, at Edinburgh, in 1769.

(l) I have before me very full, and accurate, MS. notes of no fewer than eleven copies of the *Regiam Majestatem*, which are preserved in the Advocate’s library, at Edinburgh.

Lord

Lord Hailes has demonstrated, that Skene was a careless, and unfaithful, editor (*m*).

But, accuracy was not the passion of that age. Abacuk Bisset, who, as he was secretary to Skene, was bred at the foot of Gamaliel, has given an account of the manner, time, and place, of the compilation of *the Regiam Majestatem*, with all the precision of certainty, and all the confidence of conviction (*n*). According to Bisset's representation, David I., like another Justinian, sent out messengers to collect from the jurists of every nation materials for an institute, which he dictated at Newcastle. The first part of this account is confuted by its own folly; the second is exploded by the context of the code: The *Regiam Majestatem*, in speaking of those, who dwelt in Lothian, considers them, as living *beyond* the water of Forth (*o*): It speaks also of any one, dwelling *beyond* the water of Spey, in Moray, or in Cathness (*p*). From this mode of speaking, it appears to be certain, that this work was composed somewhere, in the very heart of proper Scotland; and the place of its compilation was probably Perth, the town, where a convention met, in 1305, to choose delegates to enable Edward I. to give laws to the Caledonian countries (*q*).

David I., however, was a law giver. Like other contemporary kings, he, certainly, made assizes, with whatever assent, and assistance. He is said to have enacted the *Statuta Burgorum* (*r*). Like the laws of Edward, the Confessor, the laws of David I. were remembered, and called for, at the conclusion of this period, one hundred and fifty years, after his demise (*s*).

(*m*) Examin. p. 1-10. Sir George Mackenzie had before shown the unfaithfulness of Skene, as an editor of the Scottish law. Observ. on the Acts of Parliament, p. 94.

(*n*) MS. Rollment of Courts, Pref.

(*o*) Skene's Old Laws, p. 14-75.

(*p*) Ib. 9-14.

(*q*) Ryley's Placita, 279.

(*r*) In the interpolated work, called *Fordun's History*, i. 301, it is said, on the authority of Aildred, who wrote the contemporary panegyric of David, that this monarch made the *Statuta Burgorum*: This position, however, must be deemed an interpolation, whether we consider the work of Aildred, or the Chronicle of Fordun, as it was published by Hearne. Lord Hailes's Examin. p. 11-18.

(*s*) Ryley's Placita, p. 506. Edward I, who mentions the laws of David, in his ordinance, for the government of Scotland, did not himself know any thing of the laws of David: He was, no doubt, instructed, in that point, as he was in many others, by the Bishop of Glasgow, Robert Brus, and John Moubray. Ib. 243. It appears by the Calendar of ancient charters, p. 329-335, that there were carried away by Edward I., among other records, several rolls of the laws, and *assizes*, of the kingdom of Scotland, several rolls of the laws, and customs, of *the Burghs*, a roll of ancient *statutes*, which had been made by the kings of Scotland: Yet, nothing more can be inferred from those facts, except that, in 1292, there existed several rolls of assizes, statutes, and customs, which had been enacted by the kings, and their councils, in Scotland.

Yet,

Yet, it does not follow, from the foregoing facts, that David I., any more than Henry II., or Edward I., ever compiled a code, or formed a system of laws. Neither Aildred, the panegyrist of David, nor any writer of that age, allude to the *Regiam Majestatem*. It is never mentioned in any of the juridical proceedings, with regard to the competition for the crown. It is not alluded to by the estates of Scotland, when they studiously reserved their rights, liberties, and laws, in the marriage contract of *the Maiden of Norway*: Nor, is the *Regiam Majestatem* ever recollected, during the parliamentary proceedings of Edward I., when he acted, as paramount legislator of Scotland (*t*).

From

(*t*) See Rym. Fœd. and Ryley's Placita. Owing to the liberality of the Curators of the Library at Berne, in Switzerland, and to the friendliness of M. F. Frendenrich, one of the nobles of that city, I have been favoured with the inspection of a manuscript collection of ancient laws, which has been preserved, in that valuable library, since the age of Cromwell, when that juridical treasure was purchased, in England, and transferred to Berne. It contains a very good copy of Glanvill de legibus. It preserves a copy of the Border Laws, in 1249, which were published by Bishop Nicholson, under the title of *Leges Marchiarum*. It contains the *Brevia*, or English writs. It also comprehends a fine copy of the *Statute of Merlebridge*. These occupy the greatest part of the volume. Then, "Incipiunt leges Scotie; et primo, de catallo furato, et calumniato, de calumpniatoribus et calumniatis, de warrantis, et diversis lacis ubi calumniatores et calumpniatos et warranti debent convenire et conveniri; et quid juris sit, si warrantus noluerit convenire ad warrantizandum, et si warranti fuerint in Ergadia vel in Kentire, quid faciendum fecerit." That intelligent lawyer, Mr. Luders, who has carefully inspected this collection of laws, informs me, that this very valuable MS. appears, from internal evidence, to have been written in the reign of Henry III. From a comparison with the specimens of ancient hands, in Casley's Catalogue, and in Ayloffe's Calendar, the manuscript seemed to me, to be of the reign of Edward I. There is positive proof, that it is older than the year 1306: Between the *Leges Scotie*, and the *Leges Burgorum*, there had been originally left a vacant space; and into this space, there appears to have been written, subsequently, in a different hand, the following insertions: "Memorandum—quod Wilhelmus Bercator reddidit compotum die dominica proxima ante festum sancti Andreæ, anno gracie mcccvi et eodem die . . . et vii oves matrices de quibus debet ad compotum suum."

Item—eodem die Johannes Bercator de Malk . . . reddidit compotum suum et eodem die capit xl dynmuerdys et vi oves et centum hoggys et; de quibus debet ad proximum compotum suum. Here, then, is the date of the above memoranda, when they were made by some steward of a manor, in A. D. 1306: Now, this date, with the accompanying circumstances, fix the writing of that MS. Collection to have been *before* the demise of Edward I. and the accession of Robert Bruce.

Yet, although the collector had copied *Glanvill*, and had brought together the *Leges Scotie*, there is not an intimation of his having had any knowledge of the *Regiam Majestatem*, as a code. The compiler has, however, collected no fewer than thirteen distinct heads of law, though not in any regular series, which correspond, though not accurately, with the following chapters, in Skene's *Regiam Majestatem*; namely, Book i. ch. 16, 17, 18, 19, 20; Book iv. ch. 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, and 36, with regard to *Cro*, which Skene declares, *not to be genuine*: The former are all in the Latin language; the last chapter is in the law French of that age. This interesting MS.

From those intimations, it seems to be sufficiently evident, that the *Regiam Majestatem* was the work of a subsequent age to the reign of David I. Some of the manuscripts of that code refer expressly to Richard de Lucy, who died, the Chief Justice of England, during the year 1179: The text of almost all those manuscripts speaks loudly of Glanvill, who lived after David, although Skene transferred that fatal name from the authentic text to the supposititious notes (*u*). The composition of the *Regiam Majestatem* appears to have been of a later age, than either Glanvill, or Lucy. The loquacious text speaks several times of the *Decretals* of Gregory IX., who died in 1241; yet, Skene attempts to suppress the instructive voice of truth (*x*). The genuine text quotes the *Decretals* of Boniface VIII., which were not published till 1298 A. D.; yet, Skene tries to perplex what he cannot conceal (*y*). Thus, anachronism fixes the true date of this interpolated Code to the late commencement of the fourteenth century. The whole context of the *Regiam Majestatem*, indeed, represents the law of Scotland to have been, in the uninformed age of David I., what the law undoubtedly was, in England, during the enlightened reign of Edward I. (*z*). Among fair inquirers, who love truth better than system, these

volume contains the “*Leges et consuetudines quatuor Burgorum, Edinburgh, Rockisburgh, Berwic, Strivelin, constitute per dominum David regem Scotie.*” There is a pretty regular series from ch. 1 to 54 of Skene’s Collection, which has some interpolations. The MS. seems to have lost two or three folios, or more, at the end. It contains, also, some very curious laws, which are not in Skene, and it corrects several of his mistakes, and interpolations. The notices of this MS. collection furnish additional proofs, that the *Regiam Majestatem* was unknown, in the age of this manuscript, at least to that curious collector. The very first head of the *Leges Scotie*, in the Berne collection, says, “*Statuit dominus rex quod catallum adducatur ad locum in quolibet comitata ubi Rex David constituit,*” &c. The law of David is again referred to by the constituent *Dominus Rex*: David, then, could not have been the enactor of this *capitulary*.

(*u*) L. Hailes’s Examin. p. 7-9.

(*x*) Ib. 9.

(*y*) Ib. 10.

(*z*) It were easy to prove, that the law of Scotland, during the Scoto-Saxon period, was different, in fact, from the theory of the *Regiam Majestatem*. (1.) *Heritage* cannot be devised by testament, saith the Reg. Maj. B. ii. ch. 18, 37. s. 5: Yet, William de Moreville, the Constable of Scotland, who died, in 1196 A. D. devised *heritage* by testament. Chart. Melros, 133. I did also see, saith Sir James Dalrymple, Col. 348, a confirmation by P. Alexander III., to Gervase Riddel, of the lands, which his brother had left him by testament. And see to the same purpose, Chart. Kelso, 323-4, and 282; Chart. Cupre, 36; Chart. Balmer. 7. (2.) John Comyn, Earl of Buchan, and Justiciary of Scotland, presented a petition to Edward I. in parliament; stating that, by the law, and usage of Scotland, the overlords had a right to the keeping of the lands of idiots, who were their vassals; and, therefore, praying, that the lands of Rauf de Lasceles, an idiot, who held of him, should be delivered to his charge, as the idiot’s superior. The king referred this petition to his *locum tenens*, in Scotland, to report the law, and usage. Rolls of Parliament, i. 471. In that age, the law of England was laid down by Fleta, exactly as it was stated

to

these apparent anachronisms must fix the true epoch of the *Regiam Majestatem* to the fourteenth century. Accurate reasoners will not easily believe, that a country, which did not enjoy the help of lawyers, could have given a juridical volume to a people, who enjoyed the benefit of law, as a science (*a*).

But, though the date of the compilation may be thus settled, the hand of the compiler is still uncertain. Intelligent men, who may have been convinced of those truths, have supposed the *Regiam Majestatem* to be the unauthorized production of a private lawyer; to be the mere copy of a despicable plagiarist (*b*).

But,

to be, in Scotland, by the Earl of Buchan. Blackst. Com. Ed. Christian, i. 302; Jacob's Dict. Ed. Tomlins, in vo. Idiots. Now, the Reg. Maj. B. ii. ch. 46, states the law of Scotland, in contradiction to the Earl of Buchan, and as it was, subsequently, altered in England, by 17 Ed. II. ch. 9. The Chartularies show the law to be very different from what it is stated in the *Regiam Majestatem*, B. iii. 25, Anent Kirklands before the judge ecclesiastical; and anent the lands of vassals, which should not be adjudged in the courts of their overlords. Chart. Aberdeen, 407-420.

(*a*) During the age of Glanvill, the law of England had been already formed into a system. That clause of the great charter, which required the courts of justice to be stationary, was of great importance to England; because this circumstance soon produced a body of lawyers, who elaborated the law into a science. I have looked, unsuccessfully, for lawyers, in Scotland, during the Scoto-Saxon period. The pleadings of the competitors, for the crown of Scotland, were plainly drawn by English lawyers. The bishops, and other dignified clergy, in Scotland, were, no doubt, canonists, and civilians; but, they were not municipal lawyers. At the recent establishment of the court of session, they had not in Scotland a regular body of municipal lawyers. See the printed catalogue of the Lords of Session, p. 1—3, whereby it appears, that most of the earliest lords were, what the English judges once had been, mere churchmen. There was, indeed, a Dr. John Gladstaines appointed a lord of session, in 1542, who was entitled *Licentiatu in legibus*, and is called *my Lord Doctor*.

(*b*) Sir George Mackenzie declares the *Regiam Majestatem* to be the work of a private lawyer. Institutions, p. 4. The late Mr. John Davidson, the intelligent deputy keeper of the signet, gave it as his opinion, that the *Regiam Majestatem* is an inartificial copy from Glanvill, by a plagiarist pen. Observations on the *Regiam Majestatem*, p. 15. The notions of Mackenzie, and of Davidson, are too narrow. Glanvill was, undoubtedly, in the view of those, who made the first sketch of the disputed treatise: But, the lawyers, who assisted, in that work, had before them the whole code of English law, as it stood enlarged, and improved, at the conclusion of the long reign of the law-giving Edward I. The oldest manuscripts of the *Regiam Majestatem*, which are, at present, known, are not older, than the beginning of the *fifteenth* century, according to the opinion of the late very skilful Mr. William Robertson, one of the intelligent keepers of the Records in Scotland. Note on the Introduction to an Index of the Records, p. xxxvi. The MSS. of the kindred tracts of Scottish law, which were published, in the same volume, by Skene, are still more recent; and were all compiled, after the accession of Bruce, within the period of record; and, consequently, within the time of memory. The oldest of those MSS. then, were written a century after the date of the ordinance of Edward I., for the government of Scotland. Erskine, indeed, in his

But, plagiarism did not, in that age, exist: There was not, in North-Britain, at that epoch, any lawyer, who could have compiled a juridical treatise, containing so much Scottish, and English, and Canon, and Civil, law, as appears in the *Regiam Majestatem*: And we must, therefore, look for some more adequate compiler, who might gain the public suffrage, by his more probable pretensions.

To the genius of Edward I., rather than to the pen of David I., may be more justly referred the juridical compilement of the *Regiam Majestatem*. It was Edward I. who, in 1305, A. D. made the *Ordinatio super stabilitate terre Scotiæ*. It was, in this memorable ordinance, that the English Justinian ordained: "That his Lieutenant should, immediately, on his arrival in Scotland, assemble
"the good people of the land, in some convenient place; and that in their
"presence, he should read the laws, which King David had enacted, and also
"the amendments, and additions, which had been made, by his successors;
"that the Lieutenant, with the assistance, which he shall then have, as well
"English, as Scottish, shall amend such of those laws, and usages, as are
"plainly against the dictates of God, and reason, as they best may, in so short
"a space, without consulting the king; and as to such matters, as they cannot
"correct of themselves, that they put them into writing, by the common assent
"of the Lieutenant, and the good men assembled, to be laid before the king,
"at Westminster, under the Lieutenant's seal." In that famous ordinance, then, we may perceive the true origin of the *Regiam Majestatem*! A sketch of the old laws of Scotland was drawn by the Lieutenant, with the assistance of the English lawyers, who then accompanied him (c); it was, no doubt, corrected by some of the Scottish clergy, who then attended the assembly; and the

Institutes of the Law of Scotland, p. 6, says, that the *Regiam Majestatem* was written by a private lawyer, at the command of David I. If he had been asked, for his authority, he must have answered that, for such a position, he had none. In fact, we have now seen, in the Berne collection, that a dozen chapters of the *Regiam Majestatem* did exist, before the year 1306, at least, as distinct heads, without reference to any code.

(c) By the ordinance of Edward, Scotland was divided, for the administration of justice, into four districts, with two justiciaries, in each; and of these two, one was an English lawyer: John de Isle, who was appointed one of the justiciaries of Lothian, had been a judge of assize in 1292, and a baron of the Exchequer, in 1298; William Inge, who was appointed one of the justiciaries between the Forth, and the Mountains, had been Attorney General, in 1292, Justice of Assize, in 1293, and became Judge of the Common Pleas, in 1315, and Chief Justice of the King's Bench, in 1317; John de Vaux, who was appointed one of the Justiciaries beyond the Mountains, had been a Baron of the Exchequer, in 1298, and became Judge of Assize, in 1311. See Dugdale's Chron. Series, and L. Hailes's An. i. 284. Such were the English lawyers, who assisted, in compiling the *Regiam Majestatem*!

compilation,

compilation, thus corrected, and enlarged, was afterwards transmitted to Edward I., as the formal return to his legislative precept: A copy was, probably, retained in Scotland, by some of the Scottish clergy, who were active in its compilation: And, this copy, as it was preserved, in some of the monasteries, was discovered, in subsequent times, when it was, doubtless, new-modelled, by innovating zeal, and interpolated, by unfaithful transcription (*d*). During the effluxion of a hundred and twenty years, the *Regiam Majestatem* came to be considered, by the Parliament, as one of the books of the Scottish law (*e*). In 1469, the Parliament again directed, that the king's laws, the *Regiam Majestatem*, the acts, statutes, and other books, should be put into a volume, and authorized, and all other collections of law destroyed (*ee*). Yet, those directions of Parliament could not convert fiction into fact, though the legislature might have declared such a volume to be law.

The only genuine sources of written law, in Scotland, during the Saxon period, are to be found in the charters of the kings, in the chartularies of the monasteries, and in the Berne collection. The charter of David I., which granted Annandale to Robert Bruce, conveyed to him the *jus gladij* over that extensive country. By this grant, we see, that a supreme jurisdiction was conferred on that powerful baron: yet, this sort of holding is scarcely noticed, by the writers on the law of Scotland. The charter of David was confirmed by his grandson William, with a reservation, however, of the four pleas of the crown (*f*). The origin of *Tenures*, in North-Britain, may be traced in the

(*d*) (1.) The First Chapter of the *Regiam Majestatem* is obviously an interpolation. (2.) In Chapters 1—5, &c. it speaks of the king's *Justiciar*, in the singular; but, from the records it appears, there were two Justiciaries; one in Lothian; and one in Scotland; and for a while, one in Galloway: Neither was there any *Justiciary*, in North-Britain, during the reign of David I. (3.) In B. i. ch. 17, it speaks of the *Abbot of Glendocheroch*; the zeal of Abacuk Bisset tried, in vain, to discover such a personage, or place; there is, in Perthshire, indeed, a valley, called *Glendochart*, which is an elongation of Glenlion, and is the great passage from Perthshire into Argyle. But, there never was any Abbot of Glendochart. The Berne Collection also speaks of the Abbot of *Glendrochart*. The very different statements of that collection show the interpolations of Skene's publication.

(*e*) 1425 A. D. 3 Parl. James I. ch. 54.

(*ee*) Robertson's Parl. Record, 157. The compilers of the Statutes seem not to have regarded this direction, as an act of parliament. This direction seems, however, to have been obeyed. And from this epoch of 1469, many copies of such a volume appear to have been made, which still remain in the Advocate's library, in the British Museum, and in the Lambeth Library. In 1487, the parliamentary direction of the year 1469 was enforced by 14 Parl. Ja. III. ch. 115.

(*f*) The original charter of David is in the British Museum; the charter of confirmation is published, in Ayloffe's Calendar. See Cowel, in *vo. gladius*, for the legal meaning, and effect, of the *jus gladij*.

charters

charters of the kings, and of their *subjects-superior*, during the Scoto-Saxon period. In the chartularies of religious houses may be seen the nature of the royal revenue, which arose, incidentally, from the proceedings of the courts of justice, and also from ancient custom. From those chartularies also may be learned the ecclesiastical law of Scotland, during that age, much more accurately, than from the juridical tracts of the Scottish writers (*b*). Some of the *assizes* of the ancient kings may be gleaned from the Chartularies, and still more from the Berne collection, which also corrects the *auld laws* of Skene (*i*). From those intimations, it is apparent that, were the juridical notices arranged, which might thus be collected, they would furnish a satisfactory account of the written law of Scotland, as it existed from 1097 to 1306 A. D., without any reference to the collections of Sir John Skene, and Sir James Balfour, whose inaccuracies, and prejudices, render them unworthy of trust.

It was the original penury of the written law of Scotland, which made an opening for the canon, and civil, laws (*k*). It was the common law, which successfully resisted the introduction of the civil, and canon laws, into England. But, in Scotland, the common law had no existence. The year 1236 forms the juridical epoch, when the English barons declared, that they would not change

(*b*) Hope states, mistakingly, in his *Minor Practicks*, p. 88, that, before the Reformation, the Pope was counted the universal patron of all the kinks of Scotland. Even Prynne, iii. 667, and Ryley's *Placita*, 613, might have shown the intelligent Hope, and his learned Commentator, that the law of Scotland never was, as they state it to have been, before the Reformation, in 1560.

(*i*) The Berne Collection contains the assize "de aquis et ut filium cujuslibet aque sit liberum," which Skene, ch. 16, attributes to Alexander II., and which the late Lord Hailes has honoured with a Commentary. Ann. i. 340. But, this copy of the assize does not mention the name of the king, who enacted it. In the same Collection, there is an assize, "ut nullus eat de nocte nisi tribus de causis," which was made, at Aberdeen, forty days after the coming of Vivian, the legate, into Scotland, [1177:] This, therefore, is an assize of William. There is in the same Collection, an assize, which was made, at Stirling, on Monday next, before the feast of St. Margaret, the Virgin, next after the first coronation of Philip, King of the French, [1179-80 A. D.] This, then, is an assize of William, which is transferred, by Skene, to Alexander II., ch. 14. See Lord Hailes's An. i. 161. In the same Collection, there is an assize "de calumpniatoribus et calumpniatis," which was made, at Perth, on Thursday next before the feast of All Saints, in the year, wherein the Duke of Saxony first came into England, [1184]: This, therefore, was an assize of William, who therein refers to the *usage*, and *assize*, of David. This Collection also contains some very curious adjudications, during the reign of William, the Lion.

(*k*) Mr. Prof. Bayne's Notes, p. 2: It appears, he adds, that the civil law was known here, in 1234, from an authentic proceeding, which is recorded in the Chartulary of Paisley. He alludes to the article No. 274, in that Chartulary, "*Inquisitio terrarum de Monachkerran*:" And it was the claim of the abbot to the lands, which belonged *de jure* to the church of Kilpatrick: We see, then, that it was an *ecclesiastical* cause.

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the laws of England, which had been hitherto used, and approved. In Scotland, the penury both of written, and unwritten, law supplied the nobles with no municipal system, whereon to place their jurisprudential confidence. The canon law, which was interwoven into the same web with the civil law, was introduced into North-Britain, as early as 1242 A.D.; and before the year 1269, was formed into a regular code (*l*). In subsequent times, the *civil law* was declared, by several Parliaments, to be *the common law* of the realm (*m*). The year 1249 may be deemed the memorable epoch, when the barons of Scotland formed the design of opposing the encroachments of the Scottish clergy, and of incidentally resisting the intrusion of the laws, which the ecclesiastics delighted to study (*n*).

In England, the Saxon people transmitted to their posterity the common law, which stood the shock of the Norman innovations, and came down, through the favour of the people, to the present times. In Scotland, the mixed inhabitants have never enjoyed the benefit of *the common law* (*o*). In England, there have always prevailed special customs, in particular districts; such as the customs of *gavel kind*, and *borough English*. In Scotland, similar customs have never existed (*p*): The usages of the Scots and the Britons, which Edward I. endeavoured to abolish, by a legislative ordinance, gave place, in the slow progress of revolutions, to the change of manners. A similar observation may be made, with regard to the usages of the Flemings, who colonized Scotland, during the twelfth century. They settled chiefly along the east coast, in such numbers, as to be found useful; and they behaved so quietly, as to be allowed the practice of their own usages, by the name of *Fleming-lauche*, in the nature of a *special custom* (*q*).

(*l*) Lord Hailes's Publication, in 1769.

(*m*) Ja. IV. Act 79; Ja. VI. Parl. 8. ch. 131; these statutes are sufficient proofs of the penury both of the written, and unwritten, laws of Scotland, in those times.

(*n*) Lord Hailes's An. i. 163-342; Canons, No. xliii.

(*o*) For proofs of this position, see Book iii. ch. ix. Hales's Hist. of the Common Law, p. 60; and, yet, the canon, and civil, laws continued to be quoted in the English courts of justice, as late as the demise of Edward I.; as we are assured by Selden, in his learned *Dissertation on FLETA*. Kelham's Edit. ch. 8. s. ii.

(*p*) There did exist, in Scotland, a sort of *copyholders*, till the estates of the church, and the church herself, were swept away by statute, after the Reformation. The tenure of lands, under the church, was very mild, and very liberal; as we may learn from the Chartularies. In the bishoprick of Glasgow, according to *the custom of St. Mungo*, the widow of a tenant; *on the bishop's rental*, was entitled, while she remained single, to hold her husband's lands, for life: *This custom* was sustained by the Court of Session, as late as 1633. MS. Bisset's Rollment of Courts; Balfour's Practiq. c. 44.

(*q*) See the charter of David II. to John Mar. Robertson's Index, p. 61.

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We have thus seen, that there is an equal *penury* of the unwritten, as of the written, laws, in North-Britain (*r*). “The introduction of the *Feudal* law into Scotland, says Lord Kaims, is an event, which makes not such a figure, in our history, as it ought to do” (*s*). But, it could not make any figure till it existed. Its origin was obscure; and its progress was slow, and imperceptible: Nor, is there any trace of any proclamation, assize, or statute, for introducing the notion of *tenures* into the law, or practice, of Gaelic Scotland (*t*).

It is pronounced by Lord Kaims, as a certainty, “that the feudal customs, in England, and in Scotland, were precisely the same, for a century, or two, after the days of William, the Conqueror” (*u*). This position requires stronger proofs, than hardy assertion, to support it, as probable. It was as late as 1085 A. D., that William, the Conqueror, obtained the consent of his great council to an act; requiring, that all lands should be placed under the yoke of a military tenure (*x*). From this legislative act, there resulted, as a necessary consequence, which became a fundamental principle of English tenures, that the King is the original proprietor of all lands; and that of course, every legal title must be derived from him (*y*). In Scotland, there cannot any

(*r*) The late Dr. Stuart attributes that *penury* to the want of *antiquaries*, more than to the defect of *records*. Pub. Law, 2. It did not consist with his system to attribute *that penury* to the recent existence of the municipal law, in North-Britain.

(*s*) Essay concerning British Antiquities, p. 1. When Edward I. conquered Wales, he insisted, that it had always belonged to England *jure feudale*. Barrington, thereupon, expressed his belief, “that no instance could be found, in any record; or ancient historian, of a *jus feudale* prevailing in England.” Observ. on the more Anc. Stat. p. 93. This remark applies still more strongly to Scotland. In the Scottish law, we hear of *fees*, of *feudal* jurisdictions, and of *feudal* property: But, of a *regular system of feudal law*, there are but very slight traces. The agents, with Baldred Bisset at their head, whom the Scottish nation sent to Rome, to vindicate the national rights against the unjust claims of Edward I., recognized *the FEUDS*, as a sort of law of nations, which the Scottish people would have been bound to obey, if the English king had been their superior lord. Hearne’s *Fordun*, p. 869. Madox had begun to make *Collections*, for a *feudal history of Scotland*, which may be seen, in the British Museum, No. 4532. These *Collections* consist of a very few notes, indeed, from the English Records; and furnish no illustration of the obscure annals of the Scottish tenures.

(*t*) Lord Kaims conjectured, that the feudal law was introduced into North-Britain, by degrees: And, he supports his conjecture, by what he had often heard, as a fact, “that as late as the reign of James VI., there were landed gentlemen, in Scotland, who never had accepted of a charter.” Ess. on Brit. Antiq. p. 23. We may easily suppose, that those gentlemen were *Gaelic Highlanders*. In fact, there was a statute of that reign, 15 Ja. VI. ch. 262, compelling all heritors, and landlords, in the highlands, “to produce their rights, and titles.” (*u*) Essays, 6—13.

(*x*) Kelham’s *Laws of the Conqueror*, p. 81—2; Blackst. Com. ii. 489; Hales’s *Hist. Com. Law*, i. 7. Wright’s *Tenures*, 52. (*y*) Blackst. Com. ii. 50.

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where be traced such legislative proceedings, if we except that despicable fabrication, the *leges Malcolmi* (2). Yet, the whole Chartularies of Scotland, in fact, establish the same legal fiction, as a fundamental principle, that the king is the royal fountain, whence flow the hereditary possessions of his people; and to which must be traced every title to heritable rights. The most ancient charters, which were given by the Scoto-Saxon kings, ascertain the real existence, in fact, of that fictitious principle of law. The children of Malcolm-Ceanmore, Edgar, Alexander, and David, seeing the contemporary sovereigns of England acting as the original proprietors of all lands, within their kingdom, adopted a similar practice, as a commodious policy: Their followers, who were equally acquainted with this policy, and that practice, in England, willingly accepted the gift of lands, on such terms of service, as the Scottish king thought fit to annex, and as the English barons readily paid.

The first time, that the name of *fief*, or *feodum*, appeared, was in an assize of Charles le Gros, who was recognized King of France, in 885 A. D. The names of *feudum*, *feodum*, *feium*, succeeded the term *beneficium*. Both the name, and the thing, came into England with the Normans, who had derived

(2) King Malcolm distributed all his lands among his men; reserving nothing, in property to himself, but the royal dignity, and the *Mutehill of Scoon*: And his barons granted to him the ward, and relief, of the heir of each baron, for the king's sustentation. Such was the conduct of Malcolm, and his barons, according to that juridical legend. In a charter of David, the Earl Palatine of Strathern and Cathness, to John Rollo, dated at Methfen the 13th of February, 1380, which was confirmed by a charter of Robert II., dated the 4th of February, 1381, the lands of *Fyndon* were granted with this remarkable reservation: "Salvis nobis et heredibus nostris *Cathedra comitis* " et loco domus capitalis dicte terre de *Fyndon*." Thus, was the chair of justice, wherein the Earl sat to decide causes, which was placed to the westward of the mansion house, reserved, though the lands were conveyed. Astle's MS. Dipl. Scotiæ. This is a proof, that authority, which was annexed to property, might be retained after alienation. Wallace's Peer. p. 72; and the Sutherland case. In those charters, we may perceive the practice, which gave rise to the fiction of Malcolm's reservation of the Moothill of Scoon. In fact, there was a *Moothill*, in every district of North-Britain, during an age, when justice was administered to a coarse people, in the open air. The Chartularies are full of intimations of this kind. A regality court was held by Alexander Steuart, lord of Badenach, a° 1380, "Apud le Standand Stanes de le Rath de Kingusy." Chart. Moray, fol. 51. A court was held before the Bishop of Moray, on the 3d of February, 1398, "Apud pontem episcopi." Ib. fol. 53. In 1382, Ade, the Bishop of Aberdeen, held his court, "Super monte St. Thomæ Martiris juxta canoniam de Aberdon." Chart. of Aberdon: This appears to have been the usual place, for holding the bishop's courts. Id. The canons of the church of Scotland, indeed, prohibited the laity from holding their courts in the churches. Id.; And Lord Hailes's Canons, 1269, p. 46; "Quod laici non teneant placita in ecclesia." The abbot of Kelso held his court, at the *bridge of Etterick*. Chart. Kelso, 217. John Cumyn, the justiciary, held his court at a place called *Castleside*. Chart. Aberbroth. No. 5.

both, from a German source (zz). Yet, Muratori could not find the word *feudum*, in any authentic charter, till the eleventh century. Neither the word, nor the thing, was known, in Scotland, till the beginning of the subsequent age. In the practice of North-Britain, the grants of David I., of Malcolm IV., and of William, were made “in *feodo* et hereditate,” or, “in *feudo* et hereditate,” for a special service (a).

From those intimations, we may infer that, in the law of Scotland, there is no foundation, for those theories, which system is continually asserting upon surmise, rather than authority. We have already seen how often the *Regiam Majestatem* is contradicted by the fact. Property in land is said not to have, originally, involved a power of alienation (b). Yet, is this theory contradicted by the oldest charter of alienation, which has hitherto been produced, or perhaps will ever be found. It is the charter, which Thor-Longus made, during the reign of Edgar, to the monks of St. Cuthbert (c). During the subsequent reigns, it is even asserted, that land could not be sold, in case of necessity, without making the first offer to the heir (d). Yet, is this position contradicted

(zz) See the word *Pheodum*, in a charter of William I. or William II. Madox's *Formulare*, 291.

(a) See the *Diplom. Scotiæ*, pl. xiv; pl. xxii; pl. xxviii; pl. xxv. In 1158, Malcolm IV. granted a confirmation to Walter, the son of Alan, in which he repeats the expression “in *feodo*,” and declares that Walter shall hold of him his estates, as freely, “Sicut aliquis ex baronibus meis liberius et quietius feudum suum de me tenet.” *Chart. Antiq. Bibl. Harl.* 9.

(b) Lord Kaimes's *Stat. Law Abridged*, p. 407—19.

(c) It was first published by Anderson, in his *Independence*, Ap. No. VI.: Thor recites, that Edgar had given him Ednaham, a *waste*, which, with the king's help, and his own money, he had cultivated, and had built thereon a church: This church, with one carucate of land, he now gave for ever to the monks of St. Cuthbert, to whom the church had been originally dedicated. He indeed asked the confirmation of David, his most dear lord. In this charter, he exercised the most perfect right of sovereignty. *Dipl. Scotiæ*, pl. lxix. See the charter of Earl Gospatrick, who exercised a similar right, in favour of the monks of St. Cuthbert. *Ib.* pl. lxxi. And, see several other charters, of the same tenor, in the *Diplomata*, pl. lxxiii to lxxx, and in the chartularies. Robert Avenel gave to the monks of Melros his lands in Eskdale, which David I. granted to him, “*pro servicio suo*.” *Chart. Mel.* 91. If we might reason from a statute of William, the Lion, ch. 31, in Skene's Collection, it would appear, as an undoubted inference, that during the reigns of Edgar, Alexander, David, and Malcolm, freeholders might sell their lands: For, it enacts; “Gif any Freeholder gives, or sells, any part, or portion, of his lands; he sould leave as meikil of the land, as may pay to the overlord the service aucht to him furth of the land.” As early as the reign of William, I see an instance of *subinfeudation* very accurately marked, in the charter of David de Lyndsey, confirming the charter of his father, William; “Salvo servicio domino regis et servicio quod ad Swan filium Thor et ad heredes ejus pertinet.” *Chart. Newbotle*, 144-5-6. One of the records which Edward I. removed from Edinburgh, was, “*Litera Willielmi de Moravia, quod non alienabit terras*.” *Ayloff's Cal.* 342.

(d) Lord Kaimes's *Stat. Law Abr.* p. 419. This was the custom in some of the boroughs.

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by the Chartularies. The abbots, frequently, advanced money to necessitous individuals, and obtained their lands, as payment of the loan (*e*). The law of Scotland appears, however, to have undergone a change, before the reign of David II. (*f*). It is laid down, in the exploded treatise of the *Regiam Majestatem*, that lands, could not be devised by will, during the early ages of the Scottish law (*g*). Yet, does the fact, as it is demonstrated, by the Chartularies, contradict the theory, as it is stated, by systematic writers (*h*).

The inferences, which were drawn by lawyers, from the feudal principle of yielding services, for the lands, were what have been called, in the Scottish law, *Ward, Non-Entry, Marriage, and Relief* (*i*). The common opinion was, that all those feudal inferences, necessarily, resulted from the *leges Malcolmi* (*k*). Craig, the feudist, sought for their origin in the *book of feuds* (*l*). On these technical points, there are not many notices, in the Chartularies. And from this circumstance, it may be inferred, that those feudal deductions were not carried into strict practice, till the late conclusion of the Scoto-Saxon period.

The Chartularies are full of grants to the religious houses, during that period, in *libera elemosina*, the *Frankalmoin* of the Anglo-Norman law. For lands ac-

(*e*) Cecilia, the widow of John de Perthic, sold her lands, in Ruthglen, to the Abbot of Paisley, in consideration, that he had supplied her with three chalders of oatmeal, during her necessities. Chart. Paisley, 85. She sold the rights of herself, and *heirs*, without any offer to her heir. See also Ib. 108. Lands were exchanged, without any consent of heirs. Ib. 95. It is to be observed, however, that David I., and other kings, of Scotland, as well the barons, and other landholders, sometimes enrolled, in their charters, the assent of their sons, and often of their wives.

(*f*) In 1357, David II. granted to Alexander de Cokburn the barony of Careden, in Edinburghshire, “Que nos contingit ratione escaetæ, pro eo quod Johannes de Vetereponte dictam baroniam injuste alienavit nostra licentia non obtenta.” Robertson’s Index, 76.

(*g*) Walter de Ridal left all his lands, and goods, by will, to his brother Ansketin: This will was confirmed by a bull of Pope Adrian IV., from 1154 to 1159. Dalrymple Col. 348. David Ruffus constituted the monks of Cupre his heirs to the lands of Kincrefe. Chart. Cupre, 21. Adam, the Abbot of Forfar, by charter, constituted the monks of Forfar his heirs, if he should die, without issue. Ib. 36.

(*h*) Lord Kaimes’s Stat. Law Abr. 369.

(*i*) Those feudal inferences, however, of *ward, non-entry, marriage, and relief*, appear in the Chartularies, as objects of royal revenue, as early as the reign of William, the Lion, perhaps, as soon as the age of David I. MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 31—33. The barons, undoubtedly, enjoyed the wardship of the heirs of their vassals: And we have seen John Cumyn, the Justiciary of proper Scotland, claim, in Parliament, the wardship of his *idiot*. The abbots, and other ecclesiastical lords, claimed the same privilege, which carried with it patronage, and profit. Hugh, the abbot of Kelso, from 1236 to 1248, granted to Emma, the widow of Thomas de Bosco, the custody of her son, and heir, till he should come of age: “Cum maritagio” of her son; she paying twenty pounds of money. Chart. Kelso, 455.

(*k*) Hope’s Min. Practicks, 180.

(*l*) Craig, b. ii.

quired, by such grants, no services were done: But, the Chartularies equally show many gifts of lands, in consideration of divine service to be done: And, this retribution, reasonable as it was, gave rise to many disputes, which were ended sometimes by composition, and often by law-suits.

There was another tenure, in that age, of an analogous nature, and of which the Scottish lawyers take little notice. It arose from grants in *liberum maritagium*. In 1160, Malcolm IV. conferred on Duncan, the Earl of Fife, who took to wife Ada, the king's niece, many lands, in *liberum maritagium* (*m*). Of this marriage, was Malcolm the seventh Earl, who married Matilda, the daughter of the Earl of Strathern. With her, he received many lands in *liberum maritagium*, by the grant of Earl Gilbert, her father (*n*). The making of such grants, which conveyed a right, without a service, evinces that, in those times, tenures had become familiar, in the *English pales*, or Scoto-Saxon districts of North-Britain.

There were other kinds of services, in North-Britain, which were quite different, from the Anglo-Norman tenures; and which are not noticed, by those Scottish jurists, who speculate about the feudal law. This allusion is to the *Scoticanum Servitium*, which is so distinctly marked, in the Charter of Moray (*o*). After reserving, for the county, the service of eight knights, the king adds, "*et Scoticanum Servitium, et auxilium debitum et consuetum.*" There are but very few charters, in which these *Scotican Services* are so clearly mentioned (*p*). And, these are very nearly allied to "*l'usage de Scots & de Brets,*" which Edward I. attempted to annul, by his ordinance, for the government of Scot-

(*m*) See this curious charter in Sibb. Fife, 95.

(*n*) Ib. 96. Ada, de Curtenay, the daughter of Patrick, the Earl of Dunbar, granted to the monastery of Kelso, "*quandam partem terre de libero maritagio meo, in territorio de Home.*" Chart. Kelso, 128. Hugh de Reveden granted certain lands to Galfrid de Eckford, with his daughter Matilda, in "*liberum maritagium.*" Ib. 543. Robert II. gave the castle, and lordship of Kinghorn, to John Lyon, knight, Lord Glamis, in *liberum maritagium*, with Janeta Stuart, "*ex filia Ade Mure regina prognata.*" Sibbald's Fife, 124. In the contract of marriage, between James Douglas, lord of Dalkeith, and Agnes Dunbar, the sister of George Earl of March, the earl was bound to give in *liberum maritagium*, with his sister, a hundred pound land, in the Isle of Man, as soon as it could be recovered, by war, or by peace. Robertson's Index, 131.

(*o*) From Robert I. to Ranulph, creating him Earl of Moray. Lord Kaimes's Ess. 100, 101; Shaw's Moray, App. No. 1. In 1286, the *servitium Scoticanum* were covenanted to be paid, for the lands of Duffus, in Moray, and of Strathbrock, in West Lothian. Chart. Moray, 141.

(*p*) In the supposed charter of K. William, to Morgund, the son of Gillochar, Earl of Mar, which Selden published in his *Titles of Honour*, from a copy in the hand of the time, the *servitium Scoticanum* is distinctly stated. But, there are objections to the genuineness of this document, which Selden regarded as genuine. This service is pointed at, in a real charter of King William to John Waler, of the land of Ballebotle. Astle's MS. Diplom. Scotiæ, No. 4.

land, in 1305. And, those *Scotican Services* were, no doubt, *Gaelic Customs*, though somewhat different, perhaps, from the *Can*, and *Conveth*, which are so often mentioned, in the charters of the kings, and bishops, as their ancient dues, throughout the realm, during the whole Scoto-Saxon period. Both those taxes, or duties, are properly Celtic, as the words imply; and came down from the Celtic Kings to the Scoto-Saxon dynasty, as legal rights, by lawful transmission (q).

The Constitution of Parliament, in North-Britain, as it is a subject of great importance, and dignity, has engaged the pens of several writers. Theory has, also, been active to form a system, which plausibility might adopt, and party might propagate. Under the feudal institutions, the Parliament was considered, as the king's court, for the whole realm: And, it resulted, as a necessary consequence, that the king's vassals were there bound to yield their suit, and service (r).

Whether all those positions can be supported by record, and fact, during the Scoto-Saxon period of the Scottish annals, may admit of some doubt. Of legislative regulations, during the reigns of Edgar, and of Alexander, there is not the slightest trace. David I. was, undoubtedly, a legislator. Some of his assizes still remain, though they do not show by whose *advice*, and *assent*, they were made: Neither do the *leges Burgorum* exhibit the exact authority, by which they were enacted. David held an assembly of the *clergy*, and *barons*, at Carlisle, in 1138, which may be deemed an *ecclesiastical*, rather than a *civil*, council; as it appears to have been called, by the Pope's legate (s). Malcolm IV. did not leave any assizes, that have come down to modern times, though he undoubtedly had enjoyed *aids*, which he had obtained of the *estates* of his realm, and may be now traced in the Chartularies.

If we may believe Skene, William, the Lion, left many assizes, which seem to have been enacted, with the consent of prelates, earls, barons, “et alij probi homines terræ (t).” The context shows, that those laws were not copied from

(q) The *Can*, and *Conveth* appear at the dawn of record, in the earliest charters: and those duties were undoubtedly collected, as well in the Celtic countries of Galloway, and of Argyle, as in the Scoto-Saxon districts, which may be called the *English pales*. See charters of Selkirk, of Dunfermlin, and of Scone, and of Coldingham.

(r) Mackenzie's Institutions, 12; Lord Kaimes's Ess. on Brit. Antiq. 25; Wallace's Peerage, 116-124.

(s) R. Hagustald, 325.

(t) See Skene's Col. ch. 7—32: Mr. Wight has written a learned commentary on the enacting clauses of those statutes, supposing that they are genuine records. Inquiry, p. 19. In this supposition, I do not concur; because I see, that they do not agree with an unsuspected record. I do not

from any record. And, it is more than probable, that those assizes do not contain an accurate enumeration of the constituent members of those legislative assemblies. Skene has also published some statutes of Alexander II.: But, suspicion, by questioning their integrity, has also disputed their informations (*u*). There are no documents remaining, with regard to any parliamentary meetings, during the reign of Alexander III., except the Parliament Roll of 1284 (*x*). There were, indeed, under his administration, some ecclesiastical councils, consisting of prelates, and nobles: and, it is impossible to distinguish such assemblies, from parliamentary meetings, as they were constituted, generally, by the same persons, any otherwise, than by the circumstance of their being summoned, either by the king, or by some ecclesiastical power.

The demise of that monarch, as it left a thousand disputes to be settled, bequeathed many documents, for the uses of history. There assembled at Brigham, in 1290, a very full parliamentary meeting of the Scottish prelates, and nobles, in order to agree to the marriage of their sovereign. Not only public invitations had been given, but private intrigues had been used, to collect every constituent member (*a*). From this circumstance, we may easily suppose, that

not believe, that there were *alii probi homines*, exclusive of the ecclesiastics, and nobles, who were specified in those assizes; because I see in a parliamentary record, that there were none others sat in the Scottish legislature. I agree, however, with that able expositor, that those statutes of William, inaccurate as they are, show satisfactorily, that the representatives of the boroughs did not form any constituent part of the Scottish legislature, in that age.

(*u*) Skene's Col. ch. 1. The king enacted with the consent of *his earls*: This cannot possibly be true: For, the earls alone did not form a great council. In ch. 2, the king is said to have enacted with the consent of the bishops, abbots, earls, and barons, "and his gude subjects." The enumeration of this statute is very near the truth; and would have been completely according to the fact, if the *priors* had been added, and the *gude subjects* had been left out, who were present in *law*, but not present, in *fact*. See Sir G. Mackenzie's Observ. on the Stat. 6, for the several *formula*, or enacting words; whence, he infers that, "the legislative power is in the king."

(*x*) Rym. Fœd. ii. 266.

(*a*) Rym. Fœd. ii. 471: This is an uninterpolated record: and, every sound mind must regard it as a real statement of the truth, and of the whole truth. It shows, that there were present, with the guardians, in that numerous meeting, ten Bishops, exclusive of the Bishops of St. Andrews, and Glasgow; three-and-twenty Abbots; eleven Priors: and these forty-six ecclesiastical persons were the men of learning, knowledge, and business: there were twelve Earls, exclusive of John Cumyn, and James, the Stewart, two of the guardians; and there were forty-eight *Barons*, or rather country gentlemen. And that assemblage was altogether fit to be the body politic of any country on earth. But, it did not include any representatives of boroughs. As the names of all those, who were present, are distinctly, but inaccurately, stated, we see, clearly, who were the constituent members, of one of the first parliamentary meetings, whereof we have any authentic account: for, the statutes of William, and Alexander II, which were published by Skene, are not such authentic documents, as can be relied on, for accurate notices.

every

every personage was present at Brigham, who had ever been summoned to the Scottish legislature; and who acted now, for the whole community of the Scottish nation. Nor, is it reasonable to expect, amidst the revolutions, which ensued, upon the demise of Margaret, and the factions, that arose among the competitors, for her succession, any other persons, as constituent members of the Scottish Parliament, than those characters, who acted on the political stage at Brigham (*b*).

The examination, which has been thus given to the Parliament Roll of the legislative assembly, at that place, has already answered a much agitated question, how early the representatives of boroughs were admitted into the Scottish Legislature? And, the silence of the record has answered that question, by showing, that as none were present, at Brigham, in 1290, or at Ayr, in 1315, there had never been any present, on any former occasion (*c*).

In arguing such a question, it is absurd to reason, by analogy, from the condition of towns, in foreign countries, which had no analogy to the Scottish villages. Gaelic Scotland had not towns. When strengths were built, in subsequent times, hamlets arose under the shelter of their walls. It is apparent, from the charters of Alexander I, and David I, that the towns were their property in *demesn* (*d*). The Bishops had similar rights in the cities, which formed the seats of their power (*e*). The Abbots, also, possessed several towns, in *demesn*, and the inhabitants of them were merely their vassals (*f*).

None of the towns of Scotland have earlier charters, than the grants of William, the Lion (*g*). The charters, which remain, as they are silent upon the point, in question, strengthen the presumption, that the towns did not claim the burden of attending the King's council, as one of their privileges. Yet, the late Lord Kaimes delivered it, as his opinion, "that the Royal Boroughs

(*b*) The very first parliament of Robert Bruce, consisted, like that of Brigham, of Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Earls, Barons, and others his noblemen. Skene's Col. 19; Lord Kaimes's Ess. Brit. Antiq. 30; Robertson's Index, App. 7, for the specification of the record.

(*c*) Neither were there any representatives of burghs present in the great meeting of Parliament, which was called, in 1284, to settle the descent of the crown. See the Record, in Rym. Fœd. ii. 266; Robertson's Index, App. 7-9.

(*d*) See the charters of Scone, of Dunfermlin, of Selkirk, of Glasgow, of Aberdon, and of Moray; and see Sir James Dal. Col. App. No. 2, 3, 4: the kings granted tofts in the several towns, with annuities out of the *ferms* thereof.

(*e*) The towns of St. Andrews, and Glasgow, were the mere *demesns* of the several Bishops, as we learn from their respective chatularies.

(*f*) In 1323, the burgesses of West Kelso acknowledged, in the court of the Abbot, that they had done wrong, in making a new *Burgess*, without his authority. Chart. of Kelso, 209.

(*g*) Wight on Elections.

“made originally one of the estates of Parliament (*b*).” It is sufficiently weak to reason, without premisses: but, he who argues against facts, which are attested by records, cannot be praised, as a logician. His opinion was that, since they were the King’s vassals, they incidentally formed constituent members of the King’s council (*i*). Yet, is it certain, that those vassals of the King, who were sent for by his writ, had the honour of assenting to his laws (*k*). It was, indeed, the absurd opinion of a late writer, on the public law of Scotland, “that *the Burgesses* were the true and the ancient *commons* of the kingdom (*l*).” It was a more reasonable opinion of the late Lord Hailes, that “*la commune*, at that time, meant the communities of boroughs (*m*).” Yet, a little further inquiry would have shown him, that *la commune*, in that age, meant the community of the whole realm (*n*). In the end, Wight conjectures, that the year 1304 was the epoch of the introduction of deputies from towns into the great council (*o*). But, a conjecture, which is founded on a mere mistake, does not require an elaborate confutation. The year 1326 ought to be deemed the true epoch of that important change, in the Scottish constitution, if a genuine record be the safest counsellor (*p*).

It

(*b*) Ess. Brit. Antiq. 31.

(*i*) Ib. 35: Even after the representatives of the towns were admitted into Parliament, by Robert Bruce, they seem only to have been called, in those times, when money was wanted; but not when the descent of the crown was to be settled. See Robertson’s Index.

(*k*) Brady on Boroughs, 53.54.

(*l*) Public Law, 121: After a long search, for something more convincing, than mere conjecture, in support of such an opinion, this writer found a forged charter of Malcolm Ceanmore, which he published in his App. 5. The learned Wight was so much offended, by the dogmatism of this confident person that, his indignation seems not to perceive the quoted charter of Malcolm to be an obvious forgery. Enquiry into the Rise of Parliament, 23. See an account of the towns of Scotland, during that age, in Book iv. ch. vi.

(*m*) Annals i. 283.

(*n*) Ryley’s Placita, 244; Wright’s Tenures, last page, shows how fond our ancestors were of the word *commune*, and that the commons of Great Britain glory in it, at this day. It is apparent, from the record, that the great Parliament, at Brigham, acted “*pur tote la commune de Escocce* :” they speak in their own names, and in the name “*de tote la commune*.” Rym. Fœd. ii. 472. In the marriage contract of the damsel of Norway with Edward’s son, the Bishops, Abbots, “*et totum clerum*,” and the Earls, and Barons “*totamque communitatem regni Scotiæ*,” are the contracting parties. Ib. 482. We here again see, that the constituent members of the Parliament act for the *whole community*. In fact, they were the *body politic* of the whole kingdom, or *tote la commune*. Against such documents, theorists speculate in vain.

(*o*) Inquiry into the Rise of Parliament, 44.

(*p*) There is an indenture, which was drawn-up, in Parliament, between Robert Bruce, and his Earls, Barons, free tenants, *communities of boroughs*, and the whole community of his realm; and which

It is an inquiry, which has been more elaborately discussed, because it involved more lasting consequences, when, and on what occasion, the old, and new, extents, were originally introduced into the Scottish jurisprudence.

The first record, which mentions distinctly the old *extent*, is the indenture before mentioned between Robert Bruce and his Parliament, in 1326. It refers to the *old extent*, which existed, in the time of Alexander III. Lord Kaims was, perhaps, the first writer, who supposed, that the old extent originated, in that reign (*q*). The late Lord Hailes was the first antiquary, who produced, from the chartulary of Aberdeen, a record, which speaks, during the reign of Alexander III, of the old extent (*i*). This record was probably produced, in order to abate the confidence, without mortifying the pride, of Lord Kaims.

That there existed, during the reign of Alexander III, in the law, and practice of Scotland, a well known valuation of lands, which was then familiarly called the *old extent*, is certain. When Bagimont assembled the Scottish clergy, in 1275, he insisted, that they should grant the tenths of their benefices, “non secundum antiquam taxationem, sed secundum verum valorem (*r*).” This curious passage proves, that the *ancient extent* was, in 1275, perfectly known to the Pope’s legate. In 1269, it was enacted by the Scottish church, “quod non imponantur, nec antiqui census augeantur (*s*).” These notices intimate, that there must have been an extent, before the age of Alexander III. In 1224, indeed, Alexander II. levied a feudal aid of £10,000 on the lands, for providing portions to his sisters (*t*). From this fact, it is supposed, that there must have been an *extent*, even in the preceding age. A statute of William, the Lion, would finish this inquiry, if we could receive it, as a record (*u*).

which proves, that deputies from boroughs were then present. This important document is preserved in the Advocates Library, and appears to be an uninterpolated record: it was published by Lord Kaims, in his *Law Tracts*, 1761, App. No. 4; and by Wight, in his *Inquiry*, App. No. 1. It was this record, which convinced the late historiographer royal, that the year 1326 is the true epoch of the appearance of the *communities* of boroughs, in the great council.

(*q*) *Law Tracts*, 411-12.

(*i*) *Annals*, i. 184; *Wight’s Inquiry*, 160. In 1296, when Edward I. found it necessary to make provision for the wives, and widows, of the Scottish prisoners, he granted to those ladies so much value of land, “according to the *legal extent*.” *Rymer’s Fœd.* ii. 728. He could not speak of the *old extent*, as he knew nothing of any *new extent*.

(*r*) *Fordun*, Ed. Hearne, 780.

(*s*) *Lord Hailes’ Canons*, 10.

(*t*) *Fordun*, lib. ix. c. xliii.; *L. Hailes’ An.* i. 149.

(*u*) *Stat. Wm.* ch. xxiii: “He quha hes a *fiftene pond land* sall have an horse, an habergeon, &c.: “he quha hes a *fourtie sbilling land* sall have an bow and arrowes:” the terms, which are here made use of, necessarily, suppose a previous extent. The late Dr. Stuart asserts, that the *pound-land* came in with James I; and he quotes, as the support of his unfounded position, the *black acts*, 1424, ch. 10 H. *Pub. Law*, 205 6.

But, there is a genuine record of the reign of William, which confirms the statute, and ascertains the truth. It is a grant of that monarch, while Hugh was chancellor, which speaks of an aid, that had been assessed at Musselburgh (x). This charter carries the recollection back to the year 1189, when Richard, the generous King of England, restored to William, the Lion, the independence of his realm, on paying ten thousand merks of sterling money. But, such a sum, by the Exchequer of Scotland, could not then be paid. And William found it necessary to ask the aid of his people, which was soon after given, at Musselburgh, by an assessment on the valuation of their lands. These, then, are such coincidences, as are very remarkable, in themselves, and are extremely satisfactory, in their inferences. There is another coincidence, which seems to carry the conclusions of probability, up to the attestations of certainty: the *old* extent was taken *tempore pacis*; the *new* extent was made *tempore belli* (y). After that great epoch of the independence of the realm, more than a century elapsed, without the recurrence of any national war.

The true epoch of the new extent was equally uncertain till recent times. Erskine has the honour of having pointed out the real æra of the new extent, after Lord Kaimes had failed, in drawing this subject from its obscurity. Erskine remarked, “that no period appears more likely, for a new extent, than “the year 1365, or 1366, when a tax was to be imposed for the ransom of “David II. (z).” And this conjecture is now ascertained to have been the fact, by the decisive information of a parliamentary record (a). The year 1366 may be properly deemed *a time of war*, as several towns on the Tweed were still retained by the English, and the ransom of David was yet unpaid. Such, then,

(x) Lord Hailes was also the first, who brought this charter of William to bear upon the question, about the old extent. An. i. 132. This charter is No. 32, in Lord Stormont’s Chart. of Scone. Hugh became chancellor, in 1189, and died, in 1199.

(y) Hope’s Minor Practicks, 195: Hope remarks, that the duty, or tax, returned under the *new extent*, was very divers, in different shires: it was sometimes the double, sometimes the triple, the quadruple, the quintuple, the sextuple, and even the septuple of the old extent. The lands, in the several shires, have been *extended*, under very different forms, from those, which were noticed by Hope: and, they were denominated, in the ancient language of a Gaelic people. See Book iv. ch. vi. The Gaelic names of the lands are sufficient to show the early period, at which it was made, when the names were imposed, in the Gaelic language, even in the Lowlands of Ayr, Renfrew, and Dumfries; and when the lands were of little yearly value, being extended in pennies, halfpennies, and farthings.

(z) Institutes of the Law of Scotland, 225; Wight’s Enquiry, 162.

(a) The interesting volume, which his Majesty caused to be transmitted, in 1793, from his Paper-Office to the Register-House, at Edinburgh, contains that parliamentary record: the 20th of July 1366, is the true epoch of the new extent. But, the record does not confirm the observation

then, has been the progress of information, from uncertainty to knowledge, owing to the efforts of inquiry, on this curious subject.

From notices, with regard to the old, and the new extent, we are led to a consideration of the King's revenue, during the Scoto-Saxon period. (I.) The most ancient is undoubtedly the *Can*, a Celtic *Due* of prior times, which seems to have been payable on the products of hunting, and agriculture, of domestic animals, as well as from the profits of traffic, and shipping. (II.) The next source of revenue seems to have been certain fees, and fines, which arose, in every feudal country, from the administration of justice: of the same feudal nature were the advantages of *reliefs*, *wards*, and *escheats*. (III.) As the greatest farmer, in his realm, the King derived a vast income from his various manors, mills, and saltworks. (IV.) Of the same nature was the revenue, which he enjoyed, from the fee-farms of his towns, in demesne. (V.) The temporary aids, which every feudal sovereign was entitled to ask from his feudal tenants, for relieving the King from captivity, for making his son a knight, and for giving portions to his daughters, brought very large sums, at times, into the royal Exchequer. (VI.) Of the like nature were the old custom-house duties, which were first established by a parliamentary grant to William, the Lion, whose frequent misfortunes required the beneficent aid of his people: the new customs were conferred, in this spirit, on Robert Bruce, whose merits, and services, were such, as to demand both the assistance, and applause, of his country (*b*).

Whatever

variation of Erskine, "that the new extent is higher than the old; the ancient valor being much greater, than the new.

The old value of all the Bishoprics, excepting Man, being	-	-	£15,09	19	0
The true value, in 1366, being	-	-	-	9,555	6 6

The total rents, for which the sheriffs were accountable, were, according					
to the ancient valor, except the rents of Argyle	-	-	£45,355	7	8
The same, according to the new value	-	-	-	23,106	4 4

(*b*) After the demise of Alexander III, and after Edward I. had acquired the ascendancy, there were found in the Castle of Edinburgh the accounts of the several sheriffs, and other receivers of the King of Scots, from 1218 to 1275. Ayloffe's Calendar, 337. The Exchequer seems, however, to have been held at Roxburgh, though the castle of Edinburgh was the depository of the records, like the Tower of London. Id. Among those records, there was a roll, "de diversis reddibus vaccarum porcorum, et aliorum, &c. qui sic incipit; redditus vaccarum de Aberdeen." We thus see, that the king's rents, in Aberdeen, were paid, in the gross produce of the lands. There was an account of William Cumyn, the Earl of Buchan, de antiquis redditibus, in bladis, et aliis. Yet, were there other payments: there was *rotulus* abbatis Archibaldi de antiquis redditibus in *denariis*, et antiquis Waytingis. Among those records, there was a great roll, "de com-

Whatever may have been the laws, which were established, in North-Britain, either by assizes, or usage, from the accession of Edgar till the demise of Alexander III, the nation considered them as their safeguard. The marriage contract of Margaret of Norway, with the son of Edward, evinces, that the Scottish people knew their laws, and rights, which they were studious to retain (*c*). If Margaret had lived to have been the Queen of England, as well as of Scotland, her marriage contract would have been considered, by her Scottish subjects, as the *great charter* of her ancient realm.

Thus much, in respect to the theory of the law, as it is evidenced by record. It is now proper to make a few observations, with regard to the practice of the Scottish jurisprudence, during the Scoto-Saxon period. The first adjudication, which has yet appeared, is that of Earl David, before his accession to the throne, between his *Drenges* of Hornden, on the Tweed, and the monks of St. Cuthbert: the Earl decided, that if the monks had *legal witnesses*, or his brother's charter, they should quietly retain the land. They did produce his brother's grant: and they did retain the land (*d*). The first part of this decision resembles the usual mode of adjudication, in England, during the reign of *the conqueror*, when every question, with regard to lands, turning upon actual *possession*, was decided by lawful witnesses. The next in time, as well as in curiosity, is the dispute, between Sir Robert Burgoner, and the monks of Lochleven. The knight violently oppressed the monks, who complained to David. The King summoned a meeting of the whole county of Fife, and Forthrif, in order to do justice to both parties. Constantine, the Earl of Fife, and the great judge of Scotland, collected the power of the county: and the Bishop of St. Andrews sent his *army*, which was commanded by Budadh, and Slogadah: here, then, were two armies assembled, for supporting law, and justice. Without the appearance of an inquest, the dispute was referred to three judges; Constantine, the Earl, Dufgal, a judge, venerable for his age, and noted for his knowledge, and to Meldoineth, a judge of equal respectability. After hearing witnesses, Dufgal gave his judgment upon the complaint, and pronounced sentence against Burgoner (*e*). There was here no inquest of lawful men: the dispute was de-

cided
 “*potus burgorum Scotiæ.*” There was another, “*de compotus episcopatum Scotiæ.*” There was a roll of the *customs* of *wool*, at Berwick; and there was another of the new customs of the burgh of Berwick.

(*c*) By that contract, it was provided, “*quod jura, leges, libertates, et consuetudines regni Scotiæ integre et inviolabiliter perpetuis temporibus observentur.*” Rym. Fœd. ii. 482.

(*d*) Smith's Bede, 762: by confounding the *u* with the *n*, the name of that ancient parish is mistakingly called *Horevordene*.

(*e*) Crawford's Officers of State, 431, who gives this curious perambulation, between the lands of

cided by the judges, upon the examination of witnesses. The whole proceeding evinces, that Fife was then a Celtic country: and was governed, during a rude age, by Celtic usages.

As early, indeed, as the reign of David I, the profits, arising from the proceedings of the courts of justice, had become objects of donation (*f*). The successors of David took an example from his liberality, in granting to the penury, or to the avarice, of the monks, similar revenues, from judicial proceedings (*g*). And, before the conclusion of the Scoto-Saxon period, the ecclesiastics enjoyed much of the royal profits, arising from the administration of justice to their people. The Bishops, and Abbots, in their turn, granted, in the same manner, the profits of their courts (*h*).

In that period, the kings presided, personally, in the administration of justice, as we have in some measure seen (*i*). William decided, in his New Forest,

of Kirkness, and Lochor, from the Register of the Priory of St. Andrews. The monkish reporter of this decision, concludes his account thus: "Et sic victus fuit predictus Robertus coram omnibus."

(*f*) David I. granted to the church of Glasgow the eighth penny out of all his *pleas*, in Cumbria. Chart. Glasgow, 19. David I. granted to the monastery of Dunfermlin, the eighth part "de omnibus placitis et lucris meis de Fife et de Fotherif." Chart. Dunfermlin; Dal. Col. Ap. 385; MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 104. In 1128, David I. granted to the monastery of Holyrood the tithe of all his *pleas* from the Avon to Colbrandspath, and the half of his tithes of his *can*, and of his *pleas*, and profits, in Kintyre, and Argyle. Mait. Edin. 145. David I. granted to the priory of Urquhart, in Moray, the tithe of his *pleas* and profits, in Argyle. Chart. Morav. 32. He also granted to the monastery of Cambuskenneth the tenth of all his *pleas*, and profits of Strivelin, and Strivelinshire, and of Calentar. Chart. Cambuskenneth, 28, 61.

(*g*) K. William granted to Simon, the Bishop of Moray, the tithes of his *pleas*, throughout the whole diocese of Moray. Chart. Morav. 36.; MS. Monast. Scotiæ. The monastery of Scone had a right to the "secundas decimas lucrorum tam de itineribus justiciariorum quam exitibus curiarum vicecomitum nec non de *wardis*, et *relevis*, infra vicicomitatem de Perth." Chart. Scone, 102. The prior and canons of Restennet had a grant of the tenths of the wards, reliefs, marriages, fines, escheats, and other emoluments, which accrued to the king in the justiciary, chamberlain, and sheriff courts, in Forfarshire, which had been granted to it by David I, and confirmed by his successors. MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 31, 33. The Bishops of Brechin had a grant of the second tenths of the same profits in Kincardineshire, as the Bishops of Aberdon had to those within the shires of Aberdeen, and Banff. MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 58-9. The prior and convent of Candida Casa got from Robert I. a similar grant of these emoluments, coming to the king in the Rinns of Galloway. Ib. 19.

(*h*) Arnald, the Bishop of St. Andrews, conveyed to the priory of St. Andrews the tenth of all his *pleas*, "tam secularibus, quam ecclesiasticis, et de omnibus *relevis* suis totum oblationem altaris:" and this grant was confirmed, by King William. Reliquiæ Divi Andreæ, 166.

(*i*) This fact is attested by the Chart. Glasgow, 241, when it was deemed necessary to go before Alexander III, though he was sick, in 1261. When we read of certain acts done "in plena curia

Forest, while hunting with his nobles, on the peerage of Morgund, the Earl of Mar, if we may believe the document, which Selden has published (*k*). William undoubtedly pronounced an award on certain differences between the monasteries of Kelso and Melros (*l*). In 1235, Alexander II, decided at Liston, a controversy, between the monastery of Melros and Roger Avenel, on the right, which his grandfather had reserved, when he conveyed the land, to the game on their lands, in Eskdale (*m*). The kings generally granted charters, confirming their own decisions, as well as those of the sheriffs, and other officers, who were constituted judges, under the royal precepts; as we know, from the chartularies, wherein such charters are recorded (*n*).

The whole extent of Scotland was divided, though not in early times, into *royalty*, and *regality*: the royalty was judged by the king, or his immediate judges; the regality, by the officers of those ecclesiastics, or nobles, who enjoyed regalities, from the king's grant (*o*). The personal term, *Baron*, is common, in the charters of David I, Malcolm IV, and of King William: but, the territorial term, *Barony*, appears to have only come into use, in the reign of

"*curia mea*," it always meant, in those times, that the king was personally present. Chart. Antiq. Bibl. Harl. 7; Chart. Glasgow, 47-49; Chart. Newbotle, 49; Chart. Moray, 54; where we may see Alexander II, in 1225, assume to himself, from the ecclesiastical court, though authorized by the Pope, a suit, touching a barony. The power of choosing judges was declared, to be one of the king's prerogatives, by the 1st Parl. of Ja. I. ch. 2. It was declared, by the 5th Parl. Ja. III. c. 27, to be lawful for the king to take cognizance of matters, that came before him, "as it wont to be of before."

(*k*) Titles of Honour, 2d edit. 846.

(*l*) Chart. Kelso, No. 18; which award, in nature of a judgment, was certified, like other judgments, by a royal charter, under the great seal.

(*m*) Chart. Mel. 97: It was then adjudged, that Roger Avenel was entitled to all the deer, and boars, and goats, and hawks; but, that the monks had no right to kill any of the game, except the wolf. Sir George Mackenzie gives a successive view of the *judicial power*, in the following manner: (1.) The king himself; (2.) The king's council, in civil cases; and when the Parliament, under Robert Bruce, acted in the *judicial capacity*, it assumed the place of the king's council; (3.) By the third Parliament of James I, No. 65, some commissioners of Parliament were to be chosen, by turns, who, with the chancellor, were to be *the session*: (4.) By the 48th act 6th Parl. James IV, *the session* was turned into a *daily council*, which was to be chosen by the king, and to reside wherever the king had his residence, with the same power, as the *session* had exercised; (5.) In the room of all which came *the College of Justice*, and *the Lords*, as they now are, by the 36th act 5th Parl. James V. Observ. on the Stat. 19.

(*n*) Chart. Kelso, 18; Chart. Soltre, 17: Hence, as Sir George Mackenzie informs us, "of old, all decreets were under the king's wax, [seal,] till the institution of *the session*, when all the decreets of *the session* were under the quarter seal. Observ. on the Stat. 36.

(*o*) Sir George Mackenzie's Observ. on the Stat. 36, which exhibits only a modern view of those divisions.

Alexander

Alexander III.; and into general use, under Robert Bruce (*p*). As early as the reign of Alexander I, the right of regalities may, from the King's charter, be said to have begun (*q*): the Bishops, and Abbots, were empowered to hold courts, within their own lands, and were freed from the authority of other jurisdictions. David I. followed, with liberal steps, his brother's example (*r*). The other Scoto-Saxon kings confirmed, and enlarged those juridical powers, which their predecessors had improvidently begun, in favour of the ecclesiastical orders (*s*). These exemptions were enlarged by subsequent kings, and confirmed by various Popes, till the reformation involved the religious houses, and their exclusive privileges, in the same ruin (*t*). We thus see what powers, and what modes of trial, the Bishops, and Abbots, possessed, from the royal grants.

The Barons very early began to acquire the jurisdictions, which they saw with envious eyes, in the possession of the clergy (*u*). The Barons, and even the vassals of the Barons, appear, in the chartularies, to have enjoyed a jurisdiction over the people living on their lands. The Barons courts certainly determined all disputes, like those of the clergy, among their vassals, touching the

(*p*) Chart. Arbroth, 2; Chart. Kelso, 350; Chart. Soltre, 17; Chart. Coldingham, 71; Chart. Moray, 54.

(*q*) Chart. Scone, 16-28: There were granted "omnes libertates, scilicet, curiam, suam plenarie habendam in duello, in ferro, in aque, cum omnibus libertatibus, ad curiam pertinentibus, cum libertate nulli respondendi extra suam curiam propriam." This grant to the monks was confirmed by Malcolm IV, by William, by Alexander II, and by Robert Bruce.

(*r*) Chart. Dunferm.; Dal. Col. App. No. III; The Chart. of Holyrood in Maitland's Edin. 144. David granted "ut abbas curiam suam ita libere et plenarie et honorifice habeat sicut episcopus St. Andreæ, et abbas de Dunfermlin, et abbas de Kelcu curias suas habent." David granted to the monastery of Lesmahago, the right of sanctuary. Chart. Kelso, 8.

(*s*) In the foundation charter of Aberbrothock, William says: "Concedo etiam eos liberum terram suam cum sacco et socco, cum thol et theme, et infangthefe; et ferrum, et duellum, fossam et furcam." Chart. Aberbr.; Chart. Cupre, 11; Chart. Balmerin. 67; Chart. Paisl. 172-228; Chart. Colding. 3, which all conveyed similar jurisdictions.

(*t*) Some of the monasteries certainly acquired the powers of *regality* over their lands, anterior to the accession of Bruce: in 1299, the Abbot of Arbroth repledged one of his men, from the justiciary court, which was held at Aberdeen, by John, the Earl of Buchan, the king's justiciary, "ad privilegium de regalitatis de Aberbrothock." Chart. Aberbroth. 5. And the monks, and their men, moreover enjoyed a thousand exemptions. Chart. Cupre, 8; Chart. Balmer. 3; Chart. Newbotle, 30; Chart. Colding. 3; Chart. Paisley, 161. In 1250, it was declared, by an inquest, at Forfar, that the lands of Innerpeffer were held of the Abbot of Arbroth, to whom the lord owed suit of court. Smal. Chart. Arbroth, 55.

(*u*) Malcolm IV. granted to Walter, the son of Alan, juridical powers of very ample extent. See his charter in A. Stuart's Gen. Hist. 7.

lands,

lands, which were held under them (*x*). A charter of Fergus, the ancient Earl of Buchan, which he granted before the year 1206, throws the greatest light on this obscure subject (*y*). Fergus conveyed to John, the son of Uthred, in exchange for the lands of Slanys, and Cruden, several other lands, in Buchan, “in feodo et hereditate,” for his homage, and service, “cum placitis et querelis, et cum omnimodo eschaetis et rectitudinibus,” as fully, and honourably, as the vassal of any Earl, or Baron, in Scotland (*z*). The jurisdiction of the Barons, as well as the Bishops, must have been subordinate to the King’s justiciaries, and sheriffs, as may be inferred, indeed, from the chartularies: there is not any intimation of any Baron enjoying an independent jurisdiction; such as were exercised under the *regalities*, that were improvidently granted by Robert Bruce, and by his royal successors.

The trials, by inquest, were not common till the reign of William. In 1184, there was a very obstinate controversy, about the pasturage of the King’s forest, between the monks of Melros, and the men of Wedale, settled before William, his brother David, the prelates, and nobles, by an inquest, consisting of Richard Morville, the constable, and twelve *fideles homines* (*a*). These inquests, though under different forms, continued till the recent establishment of the college of justice (*b*). But, those *inquests* seem not to have been formed altogether on the English model. The notion of *venue*, which was so long ad-

(*x*) In the 13th century, Bernard Fraser evicted from his relation Maria of Hales, the lands of Milnhalach, which he claimed, as his heritage, in the Earl of Dunbar’s court, who was the superior of the lands. Chart Newbotle, 101. During the reign of William, a dispute, touching the lands of Duglyn, was determined by Seyer de Quinci, the superior lord, in his court at Leuchars, in Fife. Chart. Cambusken. 78.

(*y*) It has lately been engraved, at the expence of James Fergusson of Pitfour, M.P. for Aberdeenshire. The Earl transferred to the son of Uthred, with the lands, the “*nativis et incolis, et omnibus consuetudinibus*,” to the same lands belonging.

(*z*) The Earl, however, excepted, as to his own court pertaining, “*vitæ et membrorum placita, quando contigeret* ;” and John, the grantee, had to perform to the Earl, and his heirs “*liberum servitium unius sagittarij et faciendo per annum tres sectas capitales curiæ meæ, de Ellon, cum forensi servitio domini regis quantum pertinet*.” Yet, is it said, in the *Regiam Majestatem*, lib. iii. c. 25, that conform to the consuetude of the realm, no vassal should be compelled to answer, touching his tenement, or heritage, in the court of his own lord, without the king’s precept, or that of his justiciar. I must again protest against the *Regiam Majestatem*, as an accurate code of the Scottish law, even during the recent times of its compilation.

(*a*) Chron. Melros, 176; and Chart. Melros, 89.

(*b*) In 1309, there was an inquest held before Robert de Keth, justiciar, in the north, for settling a dispute between the Abbot of Lindores, and the burgesses of Newburgh. One of the jury was objected to, and removed; because he was the *servus abbatis*. Chart. Lind. 10.

hered

hered to, in England, seems never to have been the law of Scotland (*c*). The juries were sometimes summoned, in a manner very unlike that of England. Neither does it seem to have been necessary, in the law of Scotland, though Lord Kaims seems to conjecture otherwise, for the juries to be unanimous, in their verdicts (*d*).

In aid of the law, which was not perhaps very strictly executed, during rude times, ecclesiastical censures were sometimes used, both in criminal, and civil affairs, touching the church (*e*).

Connected with the administration of justice are charters, which were called for, as we have seen, in the earliest lawsuit. It was a principle, which came down from the Celtic nations of antiquity to the Celtic people of Scotland, not to commit any thing to writing. This druidical maxim continued to influence every Celtic tribe till recent times. This oblivious prejudice proved fatal to the fame of the Celts; because it left their public history, and private rights, to uncertain tradition. The annals of the Picts, and Scots, were thus resigned to darkness, and their law to uncertainty. In this manner, we may perceive, that it was scarcely possible, that there should have been a charter found, in North-Britain, till the end of her Celtic government, any more than in Celtic Ireland (*f*).

Sir

(*c*) The sheriff of *Banffshire*, William Moray, summoned an inquest, at *Aberdeen*, in 1457, to serve Alexander de Drum heir to Sir Alexander Irving of the lands of Forglen, in *Banffshire*. Chart. Arbroth. 210. In 1480, Sir Patrick Hepburn, the sheriff of *Berwickshire*, assembled, at *Edinburgh*, a jury of *Berwickshire* freeholders, to decide the claims of the Abbot of *Melros* to some tofts, and fishings, at *South Berwick*. MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 42.

(*d*) Law Tracts, 78: In 1271, within the county court of *Roxburgh*, there was a jury summoned to try the right of the monastery of *Soltre* to a thrave of corn, every harvest, out of the manor of *Crailling*. The jury was summoned, in the following manner: The *sectators* of three contiguous manors of *Eckford*, of *Upper Crailling*, and of *Heton*, summoned each four good men, from those three manors: the whole jury thus formed, who are called *antiquiores patriæ*, found, that the brethren of the said house had very long been in use to receive the said thrave of corn. Chart. Soltre, 17.

(*e*) In 1258, the precentor of *Scone*, as vicegerent of the prior of *Coldingham*, the *principal judge*, issued a precept, directing the excommunication of Sir Patrick Edgar, for holding possession of a carucate of land, at *Home*, which belonged to the monks of *Kelso*. Chart. Kelso, 294. In 1291, Pope Nicolas IV. issued a bull, which was directed to the Bishop of *Dunblane*; directing him to recover the debts, which were due to the monks of *Balmerinach*, “per censuram ecclesiasticum.” Chart. Balmer. 67. During the reign of Robert Bruce, the Abbot of *Kelso* ordered the monks of *Lesmahago* to excommunicate David Weir, who, with his accomplices, had violently entered within the sanctuary of that cell, and sacrilegiously stolon, from the dormitory of brother Nicolas Lamb, not only a sum of gold and silver, but divers jewels. Chart. Kelso, 487.

(*f*) I cannot concur with the learned Ruddiman, in supposing, that charters existed, not only

Sir James Balfour pretends, indeed, to have seen charters of those Celtic times. But, without a cross-examination, our antiquary, who was deluded by his passion for antiquity, is not to be credited. He transmitted to Dugdale a supposed charter of Malcolm Ceanmore, which that curious collector published, without examination, in his *monasticon*. But, this supposititious charter is convicted of forgery, by its own context. There is a charter of Duncan, also, which has been preserved in the Durham archives, and is published, in the *Diplomata Scotiæ*: yet, whatever endeavours have been used to clear it from doubts, it is still involved in the clouds of suspicion, from its unsatisfactory appearance (*g*).

The epoch of charters, in North-Britain, is the late commencement of the Scoto-Saxon period. From this epoch, we find real diplomas, in the genuine charters of Edgar, of Alexander I, and David I, and their successors. The language of the Scottish charters was invariably Latin; in the same manner as it was of the judicial proceedings, and of the laws in those times (*b*). The oldest document, which I have met with, in the Scottish language, is a contract with the Magistrates of Edinburgh, in 1387. But the *date* of charters is the great object, both as it tends to evince their genuineness, and to assist chronology. Neither the charters of Edgar, nor of Alexander I, have any dates. The foundation charter of the monastery of Selkirk, by Earl David, their brother, is dated, singularly, while Henry reigned in England, and Alexander in Scotland, and while John was Bishop of Glasgow, and Herbert was Abbot of Sel-

in the time of Malcolm III, and Malcolm II, but, in the ages of Constantine IV, and of Gregory: he believes the Scottish historians, when they write of such charters, in such times. *Introd. Dipl. § xix.* I do not: nothing would satisfy me, but the production of the charters, for the purpose of examination. I apply this observation to the Scottish historians themselves, when they treat of the Scottish antiquities: I do not follow them; because I do not believe their fictions, and falsehoods, and improbabilities.

(*g*) Of Duncan, it is remarked by an able diplomatist, that he was the first of the Scottish kings, who appended a seal to the crosses of witnesses. *Diction. Diplomatique*, ii. 283. There is some reason to believe, that this uncommon seal was affixed to the charter of Duncan, long after it had been signed by its witnesses. There are a thousand objections to this charter of Duncan, which stands alone in the Diplomacy of Scotland.

(*b*) Lord Hailes, indeed, under the year 1289, says, “at that time, French was the language of business, both in England, and in Scotland. *An. i.* 187. All the chartularies, for ages, were written only in Latin: the French is never used; but, in the diplomatic intercourse with France, and with England, sometimes: the treaties were generally written in Latin. The Latin of the charters is much mixed with Anglo-Saxon, and even with Gaelic words, particularly, in describing local objects. The first charter, in the Scottish, that I have discovered, is of the year 1398. There is in the chartulary of Cambuskenneth, an award, in the Scottish language, of the year 1389-kirk.

kirk. The charters of David I. are generally without dates. He often mentions the names of the places, where they were made. I have seen two of David's charters, which have the year, and two the calends of the month, when they were made. But, there is a charter of David's to Nechtan, the Bishop of Aberdon, which, from the specialty of its *teste*, must undoubtedly be a fabrication (*i*). Some of David's charters begin, "David rex Scottorum;" but, they generally begin, "David Dei gratia rex Scottorum:" the inscription on his great seal is, "David Deo rectore rex Scottorum." These notices carry us down to the sad demise of the virtuous David I. in 1153 A.D.

The charters of Malcolm IV. resemble those of his grandfather, and predecessor, in the modes of making them. They are generally without dates; and often they have witnesses, without a date, or the place of giving them (*k*). He sometimes adjusts the chronology of his grants by the years of his reign. He is studious to remember, at the dating of his charters, when he had received the honour of knighthood (*l*). There are three of his charters to the Bishops of Aberdon tested by *himself* in person, *teste meipso* (*m*). If we may determine from the silence of the most intelligent Mabillon, and the French Diplomats, that form of *teste* seems never to have prevailed on the European continent. It appears to have been peculiar to this island. And, the gallant Richard, who succeeded Henry II. in 1189, was the first of the Kings of England, who thought fit to witness his own grants, by the form of *teste meipso* (*n*). This manner of testing charters by the king himself, was imitated by the kings, in North-Britain (*o*). Malcolm IV. dignified himself by the title of *rex Scottorum*; but oftener by the more solemn expression of "Malcolmus Dei gratia rex Scot-

(*i*) Chart. Aberd. 216; Orem's Hist. Aberd. 2: "Teste *meipso* apud Forfar, anno regni mei decimo tertio, tricesimo die mensis Junii:" there were no such *particularities*, in any real charters, during that age.

(*k*) Chart. Glasg. 203-295-297-299; Chart. Scone, 33, &c; Chart. Cupre, 1-2; Chart. Newbot. 20, 21; Chart. Cambus. 54-199; Chart. Paisl. 8; Chart. Kelso, 2, &c.; Chart. Meilros, 56; Chart. Soltre, 25.

(*l*) See his charter to Walter, the son of Alan. Genealog. Hist. of the Steuarts, 5; Chart. Newbot. 159-175: "me postquam *arma suscepi*: priusquam *arma suscepi*:" for, such was the meaning of the *arma suscepi*, in that age.

(*m*) Chart. of Aberd. 211-12-14; Chart. Morav. 255: there cannot, then, be a doubt touching the fabrication of those three charters, as well as the preceding one of David I, which was tested, in a similar manner.

(*n*) Mabillon De Re Dip. 160. See an instance of the *teste meipso* of Richard in Madox's Formulæ, 298. If the reasoning in the text be true, the Scottish charters, which bear to be *teste meipso* before the year 1189, are obnoxious to strong suspicion of spuriousness.

(*o*) Rud. Introduct. And. Dipl. Scotiæ, § xii.

“torum:” the inscription on his seal is, “Malcolm Deo rectore rex Scotto-
“rum.” The design, and ornaments, of the great seals of Alexander I, David I, and of Malcolm IV, are exactly the same, with the mere change of names: each has an open crown upon his head: on the reverse of those seals, the sovereigns are mounted on horseback, and are armed at all points.

The charters of William, as his reign was long, and active, are very numerous. They are generally executed, at some place, without a date; yet, many of them have the dates of the month, and day. Two, or three, of those charters, mention the year of the *incarnation*. Two of those charters, which were granted to Mathew, the Bishop of Aberdeen, express suspiciously *the year of his reign* (*p*). William changed the form of the great seal, which had been in use, during the three preceding reigns: he laid aside the crown, for a bonnet: but, the inscriptions are the same, with only the change of name (*q*).

The charters of Alexander II, and of Alexander III, are also very numerous. They generally bear, in their dates, the years of their reigns: and they often contain the well known date of our common æra. On the great seal of Alexander II, he is bareheaded: but, his shield is very remarkable, for the rampant lion (*r*). Upon the seal of Alexander III, he appears, on his throne, with the crown restored to his infant brow.

The epoch of *Jesus Christ* was introduced into Italy by Dionysius, in the sixth century. In the seventh, the same epoch was brought into France; but, it was not here quite established till the reigns of Pepin, and Charlemagne. This well known epoch was completely established in England, during the eighth, and ninth, centuries (*s*). This epoch cannot be traced into Scotland till the beginning of the twelfth century, owing to the recent introduction of charters (*t*). The date of *the year of grace* first began to be used, on the continent, in 1132. Various, and singular, events were adopted, among the best informed nations, as appropriate epochs. These singularities were soon introduced into Scotland. David I, and his son Henry, were attentive to date their grants, from the day of the capture of their antagonist Stephen (*u*). The char-

(*p*) See the several chartularies.

(*q*) Dipl. Scotiæ, 26.

(*r*) Dipl. Scotiæ, 30.

(*s*) Smith's Bede, App. 21.

(*t*) There is in Smith's Bede, App. 20, a charter of Robert, the Bishop of St. Andrews, which is dated as follows: “xvi. Kal. Aug. in Festo S^{ti} Kenelmi martiris an. ab Incarn. Domini 1127.” Richard Morville, the constable, dated an acknowledgment to Engelram, the Bishop of Glasgow, “a festo Pentecost. an. Dom. 1170.” Chart. Glasg. 161. There is a charter of John, the Abbot of Kelso, dated an. Sal. 1170; and another of his, an. Sal. 1178. Chart. Aberb. 34-35. A charter of Richard, the Bishop of Moray, was dated an. Dom. 1190. This form became very common among the dignified ecclesiastics, in the subsequent century, as we may learn from the chartularies.

(*u*) Chart. Meilros, 54; Hutch. Northumber. App. 3, and 12.

ter of Innes was granted by Malcolm IV, on Christmas-day, next after the peace, between the king and Somerled (*x*). The dignified ecclesiastics, forgetting the birth of the Son of God, were studious to commemorate the birth of the son of their king: there was an indenture executed between Roger, the Bishop of St. Andrews, and Henry, the Abbot of Arbroth, in the first year of the birth of the king's son, [1198] (*y*). In 1208, the Abbot of Melros dated a charter, in the tenth year, from the birth of Alexander, the son of William (*z*). Alan, the son of Walter, the Steward, approved of a long lease of three-and-thirty years, which was made to commence, from the feast of St. Martin, next after the departure, for Jerusalem, of Philip, King of France, and Richard, the King of England, which happened, saith the record, in the year 1190, from the incarnation of our Lord (*a*). Parliamentary proceedings even assumed such fanciful, and perplexing epochs. An assize was made by William, at Aberdeen, forty days, after the coming of Vivian, the legate, into Scotland (*b*). An assize was made by the same legislator, at Stirling, on Monday, next before the feast of Margaret, the virgin, after the first coronation of Philip, King of France (*c*). An assize was made by William, at Perth, in the year, wherein the Duke of Saxony first came into England (*d*). A constitution was made at Perth, by Alexander II, after the king had been at Inverness against Donald Neilson (*e*).

In every inquiry, with regard to charters, the *seal* is of great importance. In France, except among the great feudaries, such as the Earls of Flanders, and the Dukes of Normandy, seals did not become common among the prelates, and nobles, till the year 1150. The Bishops of St. Andrews had their seals, as early as 1122, if not earlier (*f*). Thor-longus, a courtier of Edgar, had his seal, which is affixed to his charter, in favour of the monks of St. Cuthbert (*g*). The charter of Waldeve, the son of Gospatric, to Helie of Dundas, which was granted, between the years 1166 and 1182, had his seal (*b*). There are two charters of Richard Morville, the constable of Scotland, which seem to have

(*x*) Dal. Col. 425; Shaw's Mor. 391: yet, is it difficult to settle this epoch: this peace was probably made, in 1155.

(*y*) Chart. Aberbroth 93.

(*z*) Chart. Melros, 26.

(*a*) Chart. Kelso, 247.

(*b*) The Berne Collection: Vivian came into Scotland, in 1177 A.D.

(*c*) The Berne Collection: This happened, in 1179: yet, Skene gave this assize, mistakenly, to Alexander II.

(*d*) That event happened, in August 1184. Lord Lytt. Hist. Hen. II. iii. 392.

(*e*) Skene, 17: That event happened in 1228 A.D.

(*f*) See the seal of Bishop Richard, in And. Dipl. Sco. pl. 100, and the seals of his successors, Arnold, in 1158, Richard, in 1163, Roger, in 1188, and William, in 1202.

(*g*) Ib. pl. 69.

(*b*) And. Dipl. Scotiæ, pl. 73.

no seals (*i*). Roland, the constable, seems to have had no seal (*k*). There is a charter of Walter de Berkeley, the chamberlain, which is witnessed by Roland of Galloway, who died in 1200, and which has a very curious seal, either of his family, or office (*l*). There are charters of Gospatric, Comes, who died in 1147, and of Gospatric, the younger, who died in 1166, which have seals appendant (*m*). But, seals were not used, in Scotland, by less considerable persons, till a much later age. David Olifard, who was justiciary of Lothian, under William, had a seal, which he appended to his charters (*n*). But, in that age, the seal of the grantor was not deemed sufficient by the parties; and it was the practice to request, that the seals of respectable strangers might be also appended to the deed. Helena, the daughter of Alan, Lord of Galloway, subjoined to her charter to the church of Glasgow, her own seal, with the seals of William, the Bishop of Glasgow, and of Henry, the prior of St. Andrews (*o*). In 1226, Maldowen, the Earl of Lennox, thought it necessary to confirm his charter, by appending the seals of respectable men (*p*). It was also the practice of that rude age, to procure honourable *fide jussores*, for the faithful execution of the deed. In 1237, the Abbots of Newbotle, and Holyrood, entering into an agreement, thought fit, for the greater security, to procure the guarantee, and seal, of Alexander II. (*q*). Duncan, the Earl of Carrick, impressed with sense of gratitude, for the loan of forty marks, from the monks of Melros, during his necessity, conveyed to them the lands of Maybothil; and beseeched the Bishop of Glasgow to be his security, that he would not revoke his deed.

(*i*) Ib. 75.

(*k*) Ib. 81.

(*l*) Ib. 77: The legend states him to have been the "Camerarius regis Scottorum." There is a charter of Walter de Berkeley, which was witnessed by Robertus, "*clericus, qui hanc chartam fecit.*" Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. 77.

(*m*) Ib. 71.

(*n*) Chart. Glasg. 247.

(*o*) Chart. Glasg. 251.

(*p*) Ib. 373. In 1277, Maurice, the laird of Lus, appended his own seal to his charter; but, thought it necessary to procure the seal of the official of Glasgow. Ib. 438. In 1270, Robert de Lanerk, the subdeacon of Glasgow, to his own seal caused to be subjoined the seal of the Dean of Glasgow, with the common seal of the city. Ib. 441. Margery de Forgrund of Berwick, because her own seal was but little known, procured, to be appended to her deed, the seals of the Abbots of Jedburgh, and of Dryburgh. Chart. Kelso, 30. In the same manner, William, Lord of Home, in 1268, subjoined his own seal; but, as it was little known, he procured to be affixed the official seals of the Archdeacon of Lothian, and of the Dean of the Merse. Ib. 131. Other persons, having no seals, procured the seals of some higher character, or public body, to be affixed to their deeds. Ib. 49; Chart. Newbotle, 54. In a charter to the Abbot of Paisley, by John Smalwood, he says; "In witnessyng of y^e qwylyk thing, in default I haif na seyl of my awyn, I have "procurit with instanss y^e seyllis of worschipfull men." Chart. Paisley, 217.

(*q*) Chart. Newbotle, 180.

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The grantors often swore, in the face of the church, that they would not invalidate their own acts (*r*). And the same Earl of Carrick calls down upon himself the censures of the church, if he should ever revoke his conveyance, before mentioned, to the monks of Melros (*s*). Such were, in those times, the juridical manners, which seem to imply, that the juridical practice was not quite sufficient, for the useful ends of substantial justice.

In this manner, then, was effected a revolution, in the law of Scotland. The Celtic customs, which universally prevailed there, at the sad demise of Donalbane, were changed, though by a very slow progression, to feudal usages, yet not of the rigid sort, which is supposed by recent writers. If the year 1097, were the epoch of the commencement of that change, and the year 1747, were the era of its consummation, it would follow, from those dates, that the complete establishment of the municipal law of Celtic Scotland, required the repeated efforts of six hundred and fifty years.

(*r*) Chart. Melros, 10.

(*s*) Chart. Kelso, 109-10.

CHAP. V.

Of Manners, during this Period.

FAITHFUL representations of manners exhibit the most agreeable scenes, which either exhilarate, or sadden, the annals of a people. When Donal-Bane ascended the throne of his brother, the English, who had crowded about Margaret, and Malcolm, were forced to depart (*a*). From this savage measure, says the late Lord Hailes, we may conclude, that throughout the reign of Donal, it was the great national object to efface civility, in Scotland (*b*). But, his premisses do not warrant his conclusion: The expulsion of the English, on that occasion, as it was the obvious consequence of national antipathy, was not so much the act of the governors, as the prejudice of the governed. The fact is curious: yet, we can only infer from it, that the Scottish people regarded the English, as strangers, who spoke a different language, and practised unsuitable manners. The assassination of Duncan, who threw Donal from his throne; the subsequent imprisonment, and the blinding of Donal, by his conqueror, are memorable events, which were the necessary effects of savage habits. Of David I, it was the remark of Malmsbury, “that his manners “were polished, from the rust of Scottish barbarity, by his early converse with “our countrymen (*c*).” The sarcasm of the English historian, though it may have been exaggerated by his prepossession, evinces, that the manners of the Scottish people appeared to an intelligent observer of a different country, to be less refined, than the habits of the English (*d*). David enjoyed, from the bounty of Henry I, a corody of seventy shillings and eight-pence, out of the bishopric of

(*a*) Sax. Chron. 199; Sim. Dur. 220.(*b*) Annals, i. 47.(*c*) W. Malmsbury, 158.

(*d*) When the Papal Legate, in 1138, obliged the Scottish army, under so beneficent a prince, as David, to engage “neither to violate churches, nor to murder any, who were incapable from “age, or sex, of making resistance, and to restore the women, whom they had driven into captivity,” what a dark picture does that obligation exhibit of the people, and the age. Devastation was, indeed, the English mode of making war on Scotland, during the more refined times of Edward I.

Durham, which was in the king's hands, by the death of Ralph Flambard, in 1128 (*ee*).

In every inquiry, we must constantly distinguish between the Gaelic, and the English, inhabitants of North-Britain (*e*): The former were the most numerous, during the whole extent of the Scoto-Saxon period: The government was administered, during this period, by Scoto-Saxon princes, upon Anglo-Norman principles, with the help of Anglo-Saxon barons. To those sources must be traced up the maxims of the governors, and the customs of the governed. Chivalry, with its notions, and pursuits, were no sooner introduced by the Normans into England, than they were adopted, by the Scoto-Saxons of North-Britain. Before the reign of Malcolm IV., it had become a sort of maxim, that a prince could scarcely be considered as a king, till he were made a knight. The youthful grandson of David I., who was intent on his favourite object of obtaining the honour of knighthood, passed over into France, and showed how much he merited that honour, by fighting under the banners of Henry II. (*f*). This notion was so completely established, before the accession of Alexander III., that it was deemed, by statesmen, as well as by prelates, unfit, perhaps unlawful, to crown their sovereign till he had been knighted. Walter Cumyn, the manly Earl of Menteith, put an end to that pernicious conceit, by insisting, that the Bishop of St. Andrews should at once knight, and crown, the infant king (*g*). The barons, in this respect, followed the knightly example of their sovereigns, by seeking knighthood, through many a hazardous field, at the peril of life.

But, chivalry did not exist in Celtic Scotland. Neither that romantic fashion, nor armorial bearings, its necessary concomitant, were known here, at the commencement of the Scoto-Saxon period (*h*). William, the Lion, is said to be the first Scottish king, who assumed, the lion rampant, for the national badge (*i*). Fable carries back the origin of this armorial bearing to a grant of Charlemagne.

(*ee*) Madox's Bar. 79.

(*e*) To the former race, may be referred a charter of Nigel, the Earl of Carrick, making Roland de Carrick, and his heirs, the chief of his clan, in all affairs of *Kinkynel*, with the office of Baillie of the same territory: This charter was confirmed, in 1276, by Alexander III. Crawford's Officers of State, 21.

(*f*) Angl. Sacra, i. 61; Hoveden, 492. (*g*) Fordun, lib. x. c. 1; L. Hailes's An. i. 164.

(*h*) See before, book iii. ch. 10. There were no armorial bearings, in France, at the commencement of the twelfth century. Mabillon, in his Posthumous Works.

(*i*) L. Hailes's An. i. 141: Yet, antiquaries have remarked, that the lion does not certainly appear on the seal of William, and probably not on his shield. But, the intelligent Nisbet observes, that the wrong side of the shield is presented. *Essay on Armories*, p. 18. And see Lewis

Charlemagne. History acknowledges her ignorance of this far-fetched derivation, by her silence. Archæology, at length, comes forward, in support of her two sisters, Genealogy, and History. William, she insists, was the son of Earl Henry, who was the son of Maud, who was the daughter of Waltheof, the Earl of Huntingdon, and Northumberland: Now, Waltheof had a lion rampant, for his arms, which was also the arms of Northumberland, and of Huntingdon (*k*). Earl Henry equally carried the same arms, as the representative of Waltheof, in both those earldoms (*l*). William enjoyed his father's rights. How much he risked, and lost, in prosecuting his claims on Northumberland, we have already seen. From the foregoing intimations, we may infer, that it was, by those descents, the lion came into the armorial bearings of the Scottish kings; and that the lion rampant was the badge of Northumberland, and of Huntingdon, before the king of beasts was adopted into the escutcheon of North-Britain. The lion, however, was the cognizance of Galloway, and perhaps of all the Celtic nations, as we may learn from Gebelin. The lion rampant appears distinctly, for the first time, on the shield of Alexander II. (*m*). The nobles of Scotland carried similar devices on their seals, and shields, as early as the reign of William (*n*). Before the conclusion of this period, the Scottish bishops quartered the arms of their families with the badges of their sees (*o*). The establishment of heralds, with a lord lion, at their head, is undoubtedly of a much more modern date, although the origin is obscure (*p*).

It

on Seals, 21-2, for the same position. Leland has preserved, "An ould Roule of Armes," v. ii. 610, which is said to be of the age of Henry III.; and which the context evinces to be as *ould* as the reign of Edward I.; and it describes the arms of Scotland thus: "Le roy de Scosse dor a un lion de goules a un bordure dor flurette de goules." In this description, we see nothing of the *double tressure*.

(*k*) See Speed's Prospect, No. 46, and the map of Northumberland, No. 30: Yorke's Union of Honour, 164-5. (*l*) Idem.

(*m*) Ander. Dipl. Scotiæ, pl. xxx; and the Introd. p. 54. It is said, however, that Richard I. was the first of the kings of England, who had any charge, or device, on his shield. Lewis on Seals, 20-1.

(*n*) See Astle's curious work, on *the Scottish Seals*.

(*o*) Ander. Dipl. Scotiæ, pl. c.; Astle's Scottish Seals, No. iii.

(*p*) The silence of Sir George Mackenzie, and of Nisbet, in their respective works, on the Heraldic Science, shows the dark cloud, which covers the origin of the Lord Lion, and his Herald, from our view. At the memorable coronation of Alexander III., in 1249, there is not any trace of those heraldic officers being present, when their assistance would have been peculiarly useful. There is a very minute account of this coronation in Fordun, l. x. c. 1-2; and see Nisbet's Heraldry, part iv. ch. 11, who quotes a record, which Sir James Balfour is said to have found, with his usual luck, in the ruins of the monastery of Scone. When Alexander III. met Edward I.

at

It was from the same maxims of chivalry, connected as it was with feudism, that the Scottish kings willingly obeyed the summons, which was sent them, in those times, to attend the coronation of the English kings. Neither Edgar, however, nor Alexander I., attended such splendid, but degrading ceremonies; as they do not appear to have been English barons. David I., indeed, visited the court of England, while a youth, from motives of friendship, rather than from maxims of feudality: Yet, after his marriage, he became Earl of Huntingdon; and from this relation, owed attendance on the English kings, his feudal superiors. Malcolm IV. spontaneously attended Henry II., and received a compensation, for his services (*q*). William, the Lion, obeyed the summons of Henry II., as a feudary, and of Richard I., as a friend (*r*). Alexander II., and Alexander III. attended the courts of Henry III., and Edward I., merely as

at Westminster, in 1278, he was not attended by a *lion herald*, though he had his harpers, and minstrels. The first authentic notice, which I have discovered, on this curious subject, is at the coronation of Robert II., on the 27th of March, 1371: "Then the Lion King of Arms was called on by the lord Mareschal, who [the Lion] attended on by the heralds, came in their coats: "The Lion sat down at the king's feet, and the heralds went to their stage, prepared for them; "and then, the Mareschal, by the mouth of the Bishop of St. Andrew's, did swear the Lion, "who being sworn, then did put on his crown, ordained him to wear for the solemnity, &c." From an ancient MS. in my library; containing an account of the coronation of the Scottish kings. The ceremonial of the coronation of Charles I., at Edinburgh, is in the Museum, Harley MSS. No. 4707. The Lion king appeared here conspicuous: "Having a crown upon his head, he "carried in his hand the vessel containing the sacred oil: Two Heralds walked on either side of "him; the trumpets sounded; and so they marched." The Lion King of Arms was much employed, as a negotiator, with England, during the fifteenth century, either for treaties of peace, or proposals of marriage. In 1474, his signature was, "Lyon R. Armorum:" In 1485, his signature was "Lyon Kyng of Arms." Rym. Fœd. t. xi. 383, 814, 836; t. xii. 41, 171, 233-4-5, 243-46. The Lion King attended upon the Earl of Bothwell, when that nobleman affianced, by proxy, for James IV., the Princess Margaret of England, in 1503. Sir David Lindsay, who is better known, as a poet, than a herald, was much employed, as Lion King, by James V., when Henry VIII. sent Sir Ralph Sadler to Edinburgh. Sadler's Letters, 23, 25, &c.

(*q*) In the 3d of Henry II. [1157], the Sheriff of Devon was allowed £72. 19s. 10d. for a corody, paid to the King of Scots. Madox Excheq. i. 207. As Malcolm was born, in 1141, he was only twelve years of age, when he succeeded his grandfather. Yorke says, in his Union of Honour, 165, "That Malcolm was the *ward* of Henry II." He means, perhaps, a ward, in a feudal sense, as an English baron.

(*r*) In 1194, Richard I., by a charter, under the Great Seal, made what may be called an establishment for William, and his successors, when they should attend the court of England: They were to have a hundred shillings, sterling, a-day, on their journies, coming, and going; thirty shillings a day, while they remained: They were to have daily twelve wastel cakes, and twelve simnel cakes; a proportion of wine, pepper, spice, wax, and candles: And the honourable mode, in which they were to be conducted, on their journies, by the bishops, and sheriffs, is also settled. Rym. Fœd. i. 87.

English barons; and were furnished with money, for their expences, and attendance, in journeying through England (*s*).

The attendants of the Scottish kings, on their journies to England, were very numerous: In 1251, when Alexander III. married the princess, Margaret, the daughter of Henry III., sixty barons, and knights, beside other gentlemen, with harpers, and minstrels, attended the Scottish king to York (*t*). The same spirit of chivalry, which gave rise to so great an attendance, also induced the barons bold to dress most splendidly. At the same time, the common people, both Gaelic, and Scoto-Saxon, were but wretchedly dressed, fed, and lodged. The climate of the north was felt to be severe, by those foreigners, who did not fortify themselves, with the hardy exercises of the natives (*u*).

The manners of the age introduced a singular sort of very coarse practices, even among kings. When William, the Lion, and King John, re-established their peace, in 1209, William delivered his daughters, Margaret, and Isabel, to the English king, who promised to provide them, in suitable marriages. The Scottish statesmen affirmed what the English parliament acknowledged that, by the agreement, Henry, and Richard, the sons of John, were to marry the two princesses: They were afterwards married, however, to English barons, according to the practice of those times; Margaret to Hubert de Burgh, the justiciary, in 1222, and Isabel to Roger, the son of Hugh, Earl Bigot, in 1225 (*x*). When the Scottish queen, the daughter of Henry III., went to her father's court, to lie in of her first child, the Scottish statesmen demanded, and received security, that her father would not detain either the queen, or her infant (*y*).

The mode of living, the virtues, the vices, of those people, in South, and North, Britain, were nearly the same; as they were of the same extraction. The diversions of the nobles were analogous to their warlike manners: Tour-

(*s*) Ib. i. 87, 203, 224, 228, 256, 278, 306, 348, 428, 466. William de Braoso was charged in the Exchequer, in the 8th of King John, ten bulls, and ten cows; as he declined to go into Scotland, and conduct the Scottish king to England. Madox's Exchequer, i. 461.

(*t*) M. Paris, p. 555.

(*u*) Pope Nicolas, who died, in 1280, granted a bull to the monks of Lindores, "*de bonetis utendis*;" empowering them to wear silk caps, in processions, and public worship, as they frequently took cold, "*in terra frigida*." Chart. Lindores, 23. The principal men of the country, at that time, wore bonnets of cloth. William, the Lion, appears, on his seal, with a bonnet.

(*x*) Geoffry Fitzpeter offered ten palfreys, and ten hawks, that the King of Scotland's daughters, might not be committed to his care. Madox's Exchequer, i. 462. See Rym. Fœd. i. 278. Alexander II. had the wardship of Earl David, for which, he paid a hundred marks. Madox's Exchequer, i. 325. The same king gave five hundred marks, for the wardship of his nephew, the heir of Hugh Bigot, the Earl of Norfolk. Id.

(*y*) Rym. Fœd. i. 714-15.

naments were the most splendid; hunting was the most frequent of their amusements. The kings were the great hunters, in imitation of the Norman sovereigns of England: And, they had, in every shire, a vast forest, with a castle, for the enjoyment of their favourite sports (z). The kings had, for every forest, a forester, whose duty it was, to take care of the game, though we hear little of the severity of the forest laws, in Scotland (a). The bishops, and barons, had also their foresters, with similar powers. The kings had their falconers (b). The prelates, and the nobles, had also their falconers, who managed their birds of prey. The king had his *baker*, who appears to have been

(z) Earl David gave to the monastery of Selkirk the tenth of the skins of the bucks and does, which his huntsmen, and hounds, should take. Chart. Kelso, No. 4; Dal. Col. 404. David I. made a similar grant to the monastery of Kelso. Chart. Kelso, No. 1. He granted to the monastery of Dumfermlin the tenth of all the venison, which should be taken by his huntsmen, between Lambermore and Tay. Dal. Col. 385. MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 105. Earl Henry followed his father's example, in making a similar grant to the monastery of Jedburgh, of the tenth of the venison killed in Teviotdale. Ib. 27. Malcolm IV. granted to the monastery of Scone the tenth of all his venison, which should come to his house, from the north of the *Tai*. Chart. Scone, 10. When William settled the limits of his forest, between the Gala, and the Leder, wherein the monks of Melros had from him a right of pasturage, the king reserved to himself, and his heirs, his beasts, and birds, of venery. When Walter, the son of Alan, granted to the monastery of Paisley the lands, between Aldpatric and Espedere, he reserved the birds, and game. Chart. Paisl. 46. Robert Avenel, who lived under William, the Lion, granted to the monks of Melros, his lands in Eskdale; reserving to himself, and his heirs, "*cervum & cervam porcum, & capreolum*," and also hawks with their nests, with a proviso, that the monks should not hunt there, nor place any gins, or snares, except for catching *wolves*. Chart. Melros, 91. There was published by Skene, in 1609, a body of *Forest Laws*, from a MS. in the hands of Sir David Lindsay, one of the Senators of the College of Justice; and they are herein said to have been the legislative work of William, the Lion: But, the context shows them to be a more modern compilation: And we see nothing of them, in the Bern MS. of the Scottish laws. It became common, however, during the reign of Alexander, the son of William, to obtain royal grants of *free forrest*, and *free warren*, by which every person was prohibited from hunting in those privileged grounds, without the leave of the owner. Alexander II., and his successors, granted many charters to the abbots, as well as to the barons, erecting such forests; as we see in the Chartularies.

(a) LL. For. c. 15—22. David I. granted a part of the lands of Blainslee, on the Leader, to his forester, who had the charge of his forest, between the Gala and the Leader. Chart. Antiq. Bibl. Harl. In his charter to Holyrood, David speaks of his foresters, in Strivelin, and Clackmanan shires. Mait. Edin. 155. The king also had a general forester. Nigel de Heris was general forester to Alexander II. Chart. Newbotle, 30.

(b) Ranulph was called by William, the Lion, "*Falconarius noster*." This office became hereditary in the family of Ranulph, who is progenitor of the Falconers of Halkerton. Dougl. Peer. 323. As late as the Gowrie conspiracy against King James, we may see Sir John Ramsay cast the king's hawk from his fist, when he was about to give the Earl of Gowrie his mortal stroke: The king put his foot on the hawk's leash, to prevent her escape, even at that critical moment.

a person

a person of consequence, who merited encouragement (*c*). And there was also a royal *brewer*, probably, at each of the king's castles (*d*). The nobles, and prelates, and abbots, followed, as usual, the royal example, during those ages of rudeness, and hostility. Of the domestic pastimes of those rustic times, there are but few notices. When David led his army to the battle of the standard, in 1138, his varied people were amused by jesters, buffoons, and dancers, as we know from the contemporary Aildred (*e*). The amusements of the same sort of people, in the two kingdoms, were pretty much the same, during those congenial ages. As the English kings had their minstrels, so had the Scottish kings their harpers, their trumpeters, and minstrels (*f*).

There were other manners, which will be contemplated with some complacency. In 1232, Patrick, the Earl of Dunbar, who had married Ada, the daughter of William, the Lion, a baron, who was known for his warlike exploits, invited his children, and relations, and neighbours, to celebrate Christmas, at his castle: After four days festivity, he sent for the abbot of Melros,

(*c*) King William granted to Aileif, "*Pistori meo*," the whole land in Inverleith, which Reginald, "*Janitor Castelli de Edinburg*" had held of the grantor. Sinclair of Roslin's Title-Deeds. William confirmed this grant to the son of Aileif. Their posterity became distinguished, by the name of *Baker*. Nicolas Baker resigned to Alexander III. the lands of Inverleith; that he might grant them to Sir W. de Sinclair. Id.

(*d*) King William granted to Walkelin, "*Braciatori meo*," the lands of Inverpeffer, in Forfarshire, to be held of the monks of Arbroth. Chart. Arbroth. No. 6.

(*e*) Even Edward I. amused himself, at Carlisle, in 1300, by seeing Martinet of Gascony, *play the fool*, before him. Wardrobe Account, 166, which attests the payment of two shillings to the Gascon buffoon.

(*f*) Ib. 95, 163-6-8: It appears, from this record, that the king, and queen of England's minstrels accompanied them into Scotland, during the campaign of 1300. During a prior age, the harper, the trumpeter, and the minstrels, of Alexander III. accompanied him to London: In 1278, there was paid to Elye, the King of Scots harper, as the gift of Edward I. 60s.; to two trumpeters of the King of Scots, 40s.; to two minstrels of the King of Scots, 26s. 8d. There were also paid, as the gift of Edward, 53s. 8d. to four minstrels of Scotland. These curious notices are from the wardrobe account of the 6th Edw. I., in the Tower. In 1296, there was a precept for Elia, and Uchtred, *le Harpour*, "*de terris liberandis*." Ayloffe's Cal. 115. At the coronation of David II., in 1329, there were paid to minstrels, by the king, £20, and by the queen, £10.; as we learn, from Davidson's Chamberlain's Accounts. There is sufficient reason to believe, that the great barons entertained, in their castles, minstrels, and bards: Patrick, the eighth Earl of Dunbar, who died, in 1294, amused himself with the poetry, and prophecy, of Thomas of Ercildun, the principal poet, and prophet, of his age. It can no longer be doubted, whether Thomas de Ercildun, who died, in 1298, were a real personage, as we see both the poet, and his son, in record. The earls of Dunbar were superiors of the whole territory of Ercildun. Chart. Dryburgh. Thomas, the Rymour of Ercildun, and his son, Thomas, held a part of the lands of Ercildun, under the Earl of Dunbar, whose vassals they were. Id.; and Chart. Soltre.

received

received extreme unction, assumed the monastic habit, bade his guests farewell, and died, in the serene evening of active life. (g). He had examples of greater men, who retired from the satiety of wretched government to the quiet of monastic enjoyments. Fergus, the prince of Galloway, withdrew from the misfortunes of his country, in 1160, to the monastery of Holyrood, at Edinburgh, wherein he assumed the canonical habit, and died (h). In a rude age, inferior men resigned their lands to the monks, for a decent provision, within their houses, which furnished amusement, instruction, and pardon (i).

The education of such a people was analogous to their manners. At the conclusion of the Scottish period, the ancient school of Abernethy was famous, in Gaelic Scotland (k). As early as the reign of David I., schools seem to have existed, in the principal towns of North-Britain. The monks, who were ambitious to engross the education of the youth, obtained grants of the principal seminaries (l). The children of the most honourable parentage were educated,

(g) Chron. Mail. 201; L. Hailes's An. i. 302.

(h) Anglia Sacra, ii. 161: Fergus died, in 1161. Ib. 162. Robert Avenel, who granted a large portion of his lands, in Eskdale, to the monks of Melros, retired into their house, where he spent the autumn of his life; and died, in 1185. Chron. Melros, which calls him, "Novicius familiaris noster." Yet, a vassal could not retire into a religious house, without the consent of his superior. Henry de St. Martin, who held some lands of Walter, the first Stewart, found it necessary to obtain a special licence from his lord, before he became a monk of Paisley, which Walter had founded: And, Walter, the son of Alan, confirmed to the monks the lands, which St. Martin had granted them, when he meditated on his retreat into the monastery of Paisley. Chart. Paisley, 22.

(i) In 1311, Adam de Dowan, senior, resigned his lands of Greenrig to the abbot and monks of Kelso, and they obliged themselves to support him in victuals, in their monastery of Lesmahago, and to give him yearly a robe, or one mark sterling. Chart. Kelso, 195. The Abbot of Kelso, in consideration of the resignation of his lands of Fincurrocks, granted to Reginald de Currocks their lands of Little Kype, together with decent maintenance, in victuals, for him, and a boy, within their monasteries of Kelso, or Lesmahago. Ib. 196-7. The Abbot of Kelso granted to William Foreman, during life, a corody of meat, and drink, such as a monk received, with a chamber, and bed, and clothes, and grass for a cow. Ib. 540. Andrew, the son of Reginald, got a pension of four marks a year, from the Abbot of Kelso, in consideration of his resigning to the monastery his tenement in Little Kype. Ib. 533.

(k) Crawford's Officers of State, App. 430.

(l) David I. granted to the monastery of Kelso all the churches, and schools, in the borough of Roxburgh, with their pertinents. Chart. Kelso, No. 1. "Thomas Rector scholarum de Rokes-burc" was a witness to a charter of William, the son of Patrick, the Earl of Dunbar, in 1241. Ib. 238. Richard, the Bishop of St. Andrew's, [from 1163 to 1173] confirmed to the monks of Dunfermlin, "Ecclesiam de Pert et scolam ejusdem ville, et ecclesiam de Strivelin et scolam ejusdem ville." Sir L. Stewart's Coll. Advocate's Lib. No. 45. Adam, "magister scholarum de Perth," appears as one of the commissaries of Innocent II., who were to settle the dispute about the

educated, in the monasteries (*n*). The abbots had liberality enough to encourage the scientific studies of the monks, in order to qualify them to be the instructors of youth (*o*). What knowledge of medicine existed, during the Scoto-Saxon period, cannot now be known. King William, during a long life, and declining age, had several physicians, who appear as witnesses to his charters (*p*). We may also see physicians witnessing the charters of the bishops, and barons, and receiving recompence in land (*q*). It is probable, that the monks

the churches of Prestwic, and Sanchar. Chart. Paisl. 120. The Deans of Carrick, and Cunningham, "*et magister scholarum de Are*," gave judgement in 1234, against Dufgal, in pursuance of a mandate from the Pope. Ib. 284. The rector of the school of South Berwick acted as one of the commissaries of the Abbot of Dumfermlin, in 1279. Chart. Kelso, 343. At Aberdon, there were well regulated schools, before the year 1256. Orem, 28. The statutes of the church of Aberdeen, which were enacted, in that year, directed, that it should be the duty of the Chancellor of the Chapter to attend to the regimen of the schools; and to see, that the boys were taught *grammar*, and *logick*. Chart. Aberd. 74, 80, 81.

(*n*) Matilda, the lady of Moll, granted, in 1260, her thirds in the lands of Moll, to the abbot and monks of Kelso, on condition, that they should board, and educate, her son, with the best boys, who were entrusted to their care. Chart. Kelso, 114.

(*o*) There is the form of a licence, by the Abbot of Kelso, empowering a monk to study any liberal faculty, or science, within the realm of England. Chart. Kelso, 476.

(*p*) A charter of King William, which was granted between 1189 and 1199, is witnessed by Henry the *Physician*. Chart. Glasg. 269. Other charters of the same king are witnessed by "*Nicolas Medico meo*." Chart. Arbroth, 79; Chart. Kelso, 404. A charter of William, between 1211 and 1214, is witnessed by Mr. Martin and Mr. Radulph, "*Medicis meis*." Chart. Arbroth. Mr. Martin, the *Physician*, also appears in a charter of Richard, the Expensarius of King William. Chart. Soltre, 22. The skill of Ness, a physician, obtained from David de Hastings, the Earl of Athol, and Fernelth, his Countess, a grant of the lands of Dunfolenthim, in Athol. Ness became the physician of Alexander III.; and he bestowed his lands of Dunfolenthim, on the monks of Cuper, for the salvation of his benefactors, the earl, and countess of Athol. Chart. Cuper, 69. On the 3d of June, 1282, Alexander the Prince of Scotland wrote a letter to his uncle Edward I.; recommending Mr. Adam de Kircudbright, who had been the physician of Robert de Brus; but was now in the service of the king, his father, and of himself; and who had cured him, the prince, of a dangerous disorder, contrary to the opinion of the other physicians. Rym. Fœd. ii. 206.

(*q*) A charter of Fulco de Sules, in the end of King William's reign, is witnessed by John the *Physician*. Chart. Newbotle, 47. A charter of Cuming, the son of Henry, Earl of Athol, in the reign of Alexander II., is witnessed by his chaplain, his clerk, and Mr. John, the physician. Chart. Cuper, 34. A charter of William the Bishop of Dunblane, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, is witnessed by Mr. Symon, the *Physician*. Chart. Cambusken. 127. The talents of Antony, a *Lombard physician*, procured him a settlement, in Renfrewshire, under Alan, the son of Walter, the Stewart, who granted him the lands of Fulton. Chart. Paisley, 27.

studied

studied the healing art, in their monasteries, though perhaps with not much success (*r*).

We may easily suppose, that the speech of the inhabitants derived a cast, from the tongues of the masters, who were not always natives of North-Britain. At the beginning of the Scoto-Saxon period, the universal language of Scotland, if we except the speech of Lothian, was Gaelic (*s*). It is an instructive fact, that Malcolm Ceanmore spoke the English language, as well as his own. His children, as they were educated by their Saxon mother, probably spoke the Anglo-Saxon tongue, with a Gaelic accent (*t*). If it were required to state, expressly, what language was spoken by Edgar, Alexander I., and David I., the answer must be, that they spoke the same tongue as Henry I., though with less purity, and more rudeness (*u*). The language of the Saxon Chronicle, which was concluded, at the demise of David I., may be considered as an adequate specimen of his Saxon speech (*x*). The English language began to be formed under Henry III., who was contemporary with Alexander II., and Alexander III. (*y*). It will be seen hereafter, that the language, which was commonly

(*r*) There is, at the end of the Chartulary of Kelso, a Treatise on the *Pestilence*, which seems to have been copied therein, about the end of the fourteenth century, in the Scoto-Saxon language of that age: "Her begynys a nobyl tretyse made of a gud phesician John of Burdouse for medicene agayne ye pestilens iwyl. And it is departyt in iiij partis. Ye fyrst tellis how a man sal kepe hym in tyme of pestilens yat he fall nocht in to ye iwyl. Ye secund chapet. tellis how yis sekenas comys. Ye iii chapeter tellis medicene agayne yis iwyl. Ye ferde tellys how he sal be kepyt."

(*s*) See before, book iii. ch. 9.

(*t*) The language of St. Cuthbert, and of the people of Tweedside, among whom he was born, was the Saxon of Bede's history. The speech of Eadfrid, the second Bishop of Lindisfarne, from Cuthbert, was

"Vren Fader thic arth in heofnas:"

Our Father which art in heaven.

See Camden's Remains, p. 15. This great antiquary gives another specimen of the language of the tenth century: "Thu vre fader the eart in heofenum." There is, in Smith's Bede, a series of Saxon charters, which show the language of Northumberland, and of Tweedside, during the eleventh century.

(*u*) There are Saxon charters of Henry I. in Somner's Canterbury.

(*x*) Gibson's edition, 243-4: It is to be understood, that some of the last pages of this invaluable chronicle are regarded, as proper examples of the Scoto-Saxon language of the age of David I.

(*y*) There is in the *Textus Roffensis* of Hearne, p. 391, and in other books, a Proclamation, in the English language of the 43 Henry III., 1259: "Henry thurg Godes fulcume King on Englene loande Lhoaverd on Yrloand, Duk on Norm' on Aquitain and Eorl on Aniw sead i gretinge to alle hise holde islande: That witen ye well alle."—In the Chartularies, during the Scoto-Saxon period, we may see Scoto-Saxon words, but not sentences: *Acre*, the well-known measure

commonly written in England, at the demise of Edward I., was exactly the same with the Scoto-Saxon, that was written, in North-Britain, at the same epoch (z).

The mode of writing, in the two nations, as well as the style, and sentiment, was exactly the same, as we may see, in the Chartularies. The art of writing was scarcely practised in Celtic Scotland. The commencement of the Scoto-Saxon period is the epoch of charters, in North-Britain, as we have seen. There is a series of such charters, in the *Diplomata Scotiæ*. The Chartularies contain a greater variety of such *Diplomas*, which evidence private transactions, and illustrate national manners.

At the beginning of the Scoto-Saxon period, the names, and titles of men, were very imperfectly formed. In Celtic Scotland, neither titles from lands, nor appellations from families, were known. Yet, is it said, by those antiquaries, who refer the origin of every uncertainty to the obscure age of Malcolm Cean-

of land; *Marc, Merc*, the denomination of money; *Burg*, a castle, as in *Edwinesburg, Rokesburg*; *Burn*, a rivulet; *Dene*, a small valley; *Wade*, a meadow; *Wde, Wode*, a wood; *Birc*, birchwood; *Circ*, a church, as in *Seleschirc, Ashchirc, Childen chirc, Wodekyrc, Kirchetun*; *Hame*, a dwelling; *Tun*, a dwelling; *Muth*, the influx of a river, as *Aymuth, Broesmuth, Farn*, the fearn; *Mere*, a lake; *Hleau, Law*, a hill; *Stream*, a river, or flood; *Scip, or Scyp*, a ship; *Ric*, a kingdom; *Reven*, the raven; *White, Middel*; *Cleric*, a clerk, or clergyman; *Dal*, a valley; *Fisc*, fish; *Brade*, broad, as *Brade-meadow*; *Cliv, Clif*, a steep rock, as *Lilliesclif, Akecliff*; *Elm*, in *Elmdene*; *Feld*, a field; *Rig*, a ridge; *Grene*, green, *Lang*, long; *Cran*, a crane; *We, Wa*, woe, as in *Wedale*; *Blac*, black; *More*, a moor; *Merse*, a marsh; *Ley, Lea*, as in *Wederleye*; *Muss*, a moss; *Gate*, the road, and so applied to the streets of towns, in that age, as in *Waldefgate*, in *Berwick*, *Castlegate*, in *Jedburgh*, the *Canongate*, and *Cowgate*, in *Edinburgh*. It is important to remark, that there are, in none of the charters of the twelfth century, such Saxon words, on the north of the Friths: And this fact evinces what the truth undoubtedly was, that the common language of the country was then the *Gaelic*, and not the Scoto-Saxon, as indeed the maps of those districts also attest.

(z) The English language was in a state of gradual improvement, throughout the reigns of Henry III., and Edward I., though it still retained much of its Saxon form, at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Take a short specimen from the great charter of Edward I., in the plain English of that age, which may be incidentally compared with that of Henry III.: “Edward bi
“ þe grace of God kyng of Yngelond loverd of Irlonde Duck of Aquitaine to alle his treuve to
“ ȝwche þos presente lettres comez to gretwell. We habbeth iloked þe grete chartre of sire
“ Henri kyng þat was of Yngelonde houre fader of þe franchises of Yngelonde in þos wordes:—
“ Furst we graunten to God and bi pis presente chart. confermen for hus ant for hure heires evere
“ more, &c.” This specimen of the English language, as it was written towards the conclusion of the reign of Edward I., resembles very much the contemporary language of Thomas of Ercildun, though the English scribe seems to have been much fonder of aspirates:

“ When the alde is gan ant the newe is come that don nocht

“ When Bambourne ys donged with dede men

“ When men ledes men in ropes to buyen ant to sellen.”

more,

more, that the introduction of surnames was owing to his policy. Much innovation has been attributed to that prince, by those, who did not know, that his people, and his government, were Celtic; and did not advert, that neither admitted of considerable change among Gaelic inhabitants. At the end of the tenth century, surnames began to be used, in France; and in England, at the epoch of the Conquest (*a*). The witnesses to the charters of the Scottish Edgar had not any surnames, as indeed Camden remarked (*b*). Neither do any surnames appear in the charters of Alexander I. (*c*). Such names began to exist, during the age of David I. (*d*). Among the surnames, in Domesday-book, appear Brus, and Baliol. In England, surnames are said not to have been assumed, by the common people, till the recent period of Edward II. In North Britain, surnames began to be used, at the commencement of the twelfth century; and became general, before the conclusion of the thirteenth (*e*). Even the Gaelic people of those times had their surnames, which were either patronymic, as Mac-Donal, Mac-Dougal, Macpherson, or descriptive, as Gow, Duff, Roy, Bui, Bane: *Gow* is, indeed, a professional name; as the *Smith* was the chief artizan among the Celts. None of the Gaelic people, except those who mixed with the English settlers in the *lowlands*, assumed local surnames. On the other hand, the Saxon, Norman, and Flemish people, who settled, in Scotland, during the Scoto-Saxon period, assumed their surnames, from their possessions, though a few are descriptive, and some are patronymic. It was the universal practice, during that period, for the married women to preserve their maiden names, during their marriage, and even, during their widowhood; as we learn from the Chartularies (*f*).

But,

(*a*) Camden's Remains, 1605, p. 92: And that learned man says, that neither he, nor others, who had searched many a record, to satisfy themselves, upon this point, had ever found any hereditary surname, before the conquest. *Ib.* 93. The Abbé Bevy remarks, that it was, in A. D. 987, several lords, who were neither dukes, nor counts, began to assume surnames, from their lands, or castles: But, that the peasants, as late as 1339, had only prenames, though from this epoch they began to take surnames. *Histoire de la Noblesse*, p. 384.

(*b*) Anderson's Independence, App. iv; Camden's Remains, 92.

(*c*) Dalrymple's Col. App. ii.

(*d*) Dal. Col. Pref. lxi: In the *Inquisitio Davidis*, A. D. 1116, Gervase Riddel, and Robert Corbet, were witnesses. *Ib.* App. No. 1. Riddel, and Corbet, are the two oldest surnames, which can be traced in the chartularies of Scotland: Local names, which were connected with lands, are the most honourable. See Verstegan's Antiquities, ch. 9.

(*e*) See the Chartularies, Rymer's Fœdera, and Ragman's Roll, in Prynne.

(*f*) Beatrice de Bello-Campo, the wife of Hugh Moreville, the Constable, was called, by her maiden name, during her marriage, and during her widowhood. Chart. Dryburgh, 8-9-108-64. Avicia de Lancaster, the wife of Richard Moreville, also, retained her maiden name. Diplom.

But, the sort of manners, which were at once the most remarkable, and attended with the most lasting effects, was the religious zeal, that pervaded all ranks of men, from the highest, to the lowest orders. They were all active, some to endow, and some to enrich, a monastery, according to their circumstances, as we have seen (*g*). Many persons of rank, both male, and female, were studious to be received into the fraternity of some ecclesiastical community (*h*). It was deemed an object of great consequence, to be buried in the consecrated ground of the religious houses; and to obtain this end, many lands, and other property, were conferred on the monks; as we know from the chartularies (*i*). Every monastery had its roll of benefactors, and its martyrology; and many a heart beat with desire, to be placed on the sacred list (*k*). Feasts were made, and masses were said, for those happy persons, who had made the largest donations to the favourite monks (*l*). Particular monks were maintained by special donation, to pray for the soul of the giver (*m*). Christian, the sister of Robert Bruce, the widow of Sir Christopher Seaton, founded a chapel on the spot, near Dumfries, where her husband had been put to death by Edward I. (*n*). The same energetic principle, which induced the people of that religious age to build chapels, and to erect churches, prompted them to

Scotiæ, pl. lxxv. Eschina de Lundoniis, the widow of Walter, the first Stewart, called herself, in her charters, by her maiden name. Chart. Kelso, 145-6. The same practice continued among the women of rank, in England, during the same age. Alice de Romelie, the widow of William, the son of Duncan, the Scottish king, called herself, in her charters, by her maiden name. Dug. Monast. v. 278. Johanna de Moreville, the daughter of Hugh, the Constable, and the wife, and widow of Richard de Germin, called herself by her maiden name, in her charters. Ib. 275. The lower orders of women, in Scotland, followed that ancient, and universal practice; even down to the present times.

(*g*) In Book iv. ch. 3. of the Ecclesiastical History. David Oliford gave land, and a pasturage, to the monks of Dryburgh, for the salvation of his own soul, and the salvation of the souls of those, who had given him those lands. Chart. Dryburgh, 117. David de Lumisden, about the year 1235, gave lands to the monks of Coldingham, for the redemption of his grandfather, *who had been condemned to death*. Chart. Coldingham, 49.

(*h*) Walter, the first Stewart, who died in 1177, and Richard Moreville, the Constable, who died, in 1189, were of the fraternity of the monks of Melros, whose Chronicle records them, as “familiaris hoster.” Margaret, the natural daughter of William, the Lion, who married Eustace de Vescy, gave lands to the monks of Kelso to be received, with her husband, and their heirs, into the fraternity of those monks. Chart. Kelso, 209.

(*i*) Chart. Kelso, 145; ib. 142; Chart. Paisley, 83.

(*k*) Chart. Arbroth, 166; Chart. Balmer. 19.

(*l*) Chart. Newbotle, 195.

(*m*) Chart. Paisley, 182.

(*n*) Sir L. Stewart's Col. 31.

found

found magnificent cathedrals, and to delight in splendid worship (*o*). The same religious zeal, concurring with the romantic bravery of the men, prompted the warlike passion, for rescuing the Holy Land, by *crusades*, one of the most singular delusions, which is recorded in history. Connected with this principle, was the practice of displaying to the eyes of warriors consecrated banners, which were carried by monks, and greatly influenced the spirit of soldiers. When we perceive so wise, and warlike a prince, as Edward I. making use of this artifice, we may easily suppose, what must have been its influence. But, from that religious zeal, concurring with universal ignorance, arose a thousand superstitious practices, which long deluded a confiding people.

The age was warlike, as well as religious. The dignified clergy did not disdain to put on their cuirasses, with their cassocks. The bishops, and abbots, as well as the barons, had their *armigers*, and their *scutifers*, whom they rewarded with lands (*p*). The Bishop of St. Andrew's sent out an army, as we have seen, to support the execution of law, under so just a prince, as David I. The bishops, and abbots, from their extensive estates, and ample revenues, were enabled to equip for the field large bodies of armed followers. William Cumyn, the Chancellor of David I., engaged in a sort of civil war, for the bishoprick of Durham. The Bishop of Durham was one of the leaders of the English army, at the battle of Falkirk. Wishart, the Bishop of Glasgow, with his followers, joined Wallace, when he raised the hallowed standard of national independence. The same prelate defended the castle of Cuper, with the most skilful resolution; yet, was he taken in armour. Lamberton, the Bishop of St. Andrew's, acted a similar part, on the same gory stage, whereon the freedom of the nation was fought for. The Bishop of St. Andrew's, with the Abbot of Scone, were also taken in armour, during that hostile struggle: And those three dignitaries were conveyed to Nottingham, in their warlike attire (*q*). When the English, during a subsequent season, invaded Fife, William Sinclair, the Bishop of Dunkeld, rallied the fugitive Scots, and repulsed the invading foe (*r*).

But, what were the arms, with which those deeds were performed? Even down to our own times, the Gaelic people retained the weapons of their gallant

(*o*) See the Chartularies, wherein are many grants of wax lights. Penalties, and forfeitures, were applied to the building of cathedrals. See Chartularies of Moray, of St. Andrew's, of Balmerinach. Devotees, also, made many donations to the honour of Saints. Chart. Kelso, 203.

(*p*) Chart. Moray, 129, 144; Chart. Aberdeen, 407; Chart. Newbotle, 5-307; Chart. Cambusken. 111.

(*q*) Mat. Westminster, 455.

(*r*) Fordun, lib. xii. ch. 25; Barbour, 341-5.

ancestors. At the battle of the Standard, in 1138, the Scottish infantry were without *armour*: Their only defence was a target, of leather. Their chief arms of offence were a spear of enormous length, and swords of unskilful workmanship. Their men at arms were accoutred, like the same class of soldiers, in England; as they were chiefly the descendants of Englishmen.

There were other manners, in those times, of a softer sort. When William, the Lion, heard of the captivity of the gallant Richard, he sent him two thousand marks, for his redemption (*s*). William exercised other liberalities. The bishops of Salisbury, and Rochester, thinking it necessary to retire into Scotland, from an interdict, which then afflicted England, took up their residence; the one at Kelso, the other at Roxburgh; where they lived, at their own expences: The Scottish king, as a mark of his regard, sent them eighty chalders of wheat, eighty of oats, and sixty-six of malt (*t*). In 1275, Alexander III. requested of Edward I. livery of the lands, which had descended to Elizabeth, the Countess of Buchan, one of the coheirs of Roger de Quinci, though she could not go to the king in person; she being great with child (*u*). William, the Abbot of Balmerinach, gave to William Welyeuith the lease of a tenement, in Dundee, for the yearly payment of eleven shillings, good and lawful sterlings, with a condition, that the grantor should find the abbot, and his successors, and confreres, sufficient lodging, in the same tenement, as often as they should come to Dundee (*x*). This sordid practice prevailed so much, and so long, that the Scottish parliament endeavoured, in after times, to enforce the use of inns. The manners of the twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, were a singular tissue of rudeness, and civility, of chivalry, and of savageness. But, of manners, the variety, in every age, is endless: Many a stroke of manners have been intimated, in the foregoing chapters: Other representations of manners will be found, in the subsequent chapter, which may perhaps be regarded, as more instructive, and agreeable.

(*s*) Chron. Meil. 179.

(*t*) Chron. Meil. 183; Fordun. Meal is given, as charity, by handfuls, in Scotland, even to this day.

(*u*) Dug. Bar. i. 685, from the Clause Rolls of the 3d Edw. I.

(*x*) Chart. Balmer. 55. This sort of tenure was not unusual either in Scotland, or in England; the overlord stipulating for lodging, on certain occasions.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Commerce, Shipping, Coin, Agriculture, during this Period.

THE historian, who attempts to write of Commerce, and of the topicks, which are connected with it, before trade existed, sets sail on a hopeless adventure. Our commercial chronologists pretend, that the Scots had a fishery, at home, and a traffick, with the Dutch, as early as A. D. 836 (*a*). But, the religious prejudices of the Gaelic people led them to consider fishery, as unlawful; because they deemed fish to be unhallowed food: Neither could the Dutch traffick for fish, before that nation had been formed into a society. At the commencement of the Scoto-Saxon period, the inhabitants of North-Britain can scarcely be ranked on the respectable list of traders, when commerce was not very profitable, and profit did not yet lead to honours.

The principal seats of trade were the towns, in every country, and in every age. Celtic Scotland had not towns, any more than Celtic Ireland, where both fortifications, and cities, were the peculiar objects of the people's hatred. When castles, and monasteries, began to be built, in North-Britain, at the commencement of the Scoto-Saxon period, villages arose under their walls: And, when the Flemings colonized the shores of Scotland, fishery began to be an object of traffick, and the means of settling hamlets. It is to those obscure originals, and to this recent existence, that we must refer the commencement of the villages, the towns, and the traffick, of North-Britain (*b*). The towns, in
Scotland,

(*a*) Ander. Chron. Deduct. of Com. i. 41. The late commercial annalist adopts this notion: Neither of these writers seems to have adverted, that fishery was deemed sinful by the Gaelic people.

(*b*) The following arrangement of the *Royal Boroughs* of Scotland may be made, under the several reigns of the kings, as those communities successively appear in charters. Under Alexander I.: Edinburgh, Berwick, Roxburgh, Strivelin, Inverkethin, Perth, Aberdon; the three last, of which obtained their respective charters from William, the Lion. Under David I.: Jedburgh, Haddington, Linlithgow, Rutherglen, Renfrew, St. Andrew's, Dunfermlin, Crail, Elgin, Forres, Inverness; Rutherglen, and Inverness, had their first existing charters from William. Under
William,

Scotland, if we except those of Lothian, owe their foundation, as villages, around some religious establishment, perhaps, and their names to the Celtic people. They are indebted for their rise, from villages to towns, to the English, Anglo-Normans, and Flemings, who settled in them, during the twelfth century. And though the names of the towns be Celtic, the names of their streets, and lanes, are Anglo-Saxon, like those of Northumberland, where the settlers were the same (c).

The Scottish kings of this period changed their habitations so often, in order to consume the provisions, which their numerous manors produced, that it is not easy to assign them a metropolis. The usual place of the residence of Edgar cannot be fixed, from a reference to any document. Alexander I., probably, resided chiefly at Scone, if we may judge, from the several grants to the monastery, which dignified that ancient site of the *fatal stone*. The education, and the affections of David I., induced him to cling to the southern borders, “which boast of Tweed’s fair flood.” He resided commonly at Roxburgh, and died, after a long sojourn, at Carlisle. Malcolm IV. deemed Scone, as it had become the fixed place of the coronation of the Scottish kings,

William, who granted many charters to boroughs: Dumfries, Lanerk, Glasgow, Irvine, Ayr, Forfar, Dundee, Aberbrothock, Munros, Inverury, Kintore, Banff, Cullen, Nairn. Under Alexander II.: Annan, Dumbarton, Dingwall, Rosemarkie. Under Alexander III.: Kinghorn, Peebles, Selkirk. Under Robert I.: Kirkaldy, Queensferry, Lochmaben. Under David II.: Cupar, Inverbervie, Dunbar, Brechin, Lauder, Wigton. Under Robert III.: North Berwick, Rothsay. Under James II.: Kirkcudbright. Under James III.: Kirkwall. Under James V.: Pittenweem, Burntisland, Dysart. Under James VI.: Anstruther Easter, Anstruther Wester, Culross, Wick, Sanquhar, Stranraer. Under Charles I.: Dornoch, Inverary, New Galloway, Newburgh. Under Charles II.: Tain, Cromarty, Kilrenny. William III.: Campbeltown. Such is the chronological series of the royal boroughs. Some of them may have existed, as villages, before they were erected into corporate towns. Selkirk, Peebles, Glasgow, Aberbrothock, Brechin, Burntisland, Newburgh, Pittenweem, and Whithern, were ecclesiastical boroughs; the first to the Abbot of Kelso, Peebles and Glasgow to the Bishop of Glasgow, St. Andrew’s to the Bishop, Aberbrothock to the Abbot, Brechin to the Bishop, Burntisland to the Abbot of Dumfermlin, Newburgh to the Abbot of Lindores, Pittenweem to the monastery of Mey, and Whithern to the Prior of Candida Casa. Some of those towns were boroughs of barons, before they were boroughs of the kings: Renfrew was, indeed, granted by David I. to Walter, the son of Alan. Lochmaben also passed to Robert Bruce by the grant of David I. Dunbar was early a town of the Earls of Dunbar. Lauder was early the town of the Morvilles. North Berwick was erected into a port, and conveyed by Robert II. to the Earl of Douglas. To that potent family Kirkcudbright also belonged, as a borough of regality. Wick was the town of the Earl of Cathness. Inverary, and Campbeltown, were the property of the Earls of Argyle.

(c) See the Chartularies for those names: The most common term for the streets was the Saxon *gact*, which assumed the form of *gate*, in the Scottish, and old English.

to be the metropolis of his kingdom (*d*). Conviction has obliged the historians of Edinburgh, Maitland, and Arnot, to avow its recent commencement, as the metropolitan seat: It was the settlement of the Court of Session there, by James V. which first conferred the undisputed honours of the capital on Edinburgh.

The court of *the four boroughs* appears, however, to have been established, early, in the Scoto-Saxon period, under David I, their founder. The four towns, which formed this mercantile establishment, were Berwick, Roxburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling (*e*). The four boroughs, by their commissioners, used to appear, once in every year, at Haddington, before the chamberlain, in his *ayr*, “to false the domes of boroughs (*f*).” These commissioners seem, therefore, to have formed, in conjunction with the chamberlain, a court of ultimate appeal, from the usual adjudications of all the boroughs. By an easy transition, the court of the four boroughs, from being *judicial*, in its principle, became legislative, in its practice. And, before the commencement of the fifteenth century, delegates from all the boroughs met, in the convention of the four boroughs, “to treat and determine upon all things concerning the common weal of all the king’s boroughs (*g*).” The appointment of such internal towns, as Roxburgh, Lanerk, and Linlithgow, and even as Edinburgh, in the formation of such a court, evinces that, foreign trade had little efficacy, during those times, in such a commercial establishment.

It is curious, meanwhile, to observe, that Scone was not only the metropolis of North-Britain, but was, also, one of the earliest places of foreign com-

(*d*) Malcolm, in his charter to the monastery of Scone, declared that, Scone was, “*Principalis sedes regni nostri*,” the *principal seat of his kingdom*. Chart. Scone, 16.

(*e*) There is an act of Parliament, which was passed under David II, in 1367, *De quatuor Burgis*. MSS. Paper Office. It enacts, that as long as Berwick, and Roxburgh, which were two of the boroughs that, *ex antiquo*, ought to hold the chamberlain court, shall be detained by *their adversaries of England*, Lanerk, and Linlithgow, shall be received in their place. Skene places this statute, in 1348. Auld Laws, 139. Berwick, we thus see, was one of the four boroughs *ex antiquo*. But, Berwick does not appear till the reign of Alexander I.: and this intimation attests, that the court of the four boroughs cannot be older than the reign of the Scottish Justinian, David I.

(*f*) The Auld Laws, 140: The *falsing of dooms* has long been discontinued. When the object, after the union, was to encourage the trade of Scotland, commissioners were appointed, in 1711, to execute the ancient office of *high chamberlain*, which was said to be then vacant, and to be in the crown. Books of the Board of Trade, Bund. M. 110. The *leges burgorum*, as we have seen, owe their origin to David I.

(*g*) Auld Laws, 140.

merce (*b*). Perth had also a foreign traffic, in those early times (*i*). St. Andrews likewise partook, during that age, of the riches, which flow from distant trade (*k*). And Stirling followed next to those, in the enjoyment of the advantages, resulting from a commercial intercourse with foreign traders, by means of shipping (*l*). To Dunfermlin, David I. also granted the customary dues on all ships, coming to the Port of Inveresk (*m*). This munificent prince gave to the Bishop of Aberdeen the tenth of the *can* of ships, which should come to Aberdeen; and this grant was confirmed by Malcolm IV. (*n*). David I. also conveyed to the monks of St. Cuthbert the *wreck of ships* (*o*). It is apparent, then, from the informations of the chartularies, that North-Britain enjoyed some of the benefits of foreign traffic, during the early reigns of David I, and even of Alexander I.

In the meantime, the towns, which thus enjoyed the semblance of trade, in those early ages, were either the property of the king, in demesne, or were his tenants, in *fee ferm*. Whatever may be said, by theorists, of the dignity of cities, before cities existed, the towns of Scotland, throughout the Scoto-Saxon period, appear under the same form, and policy, as the boroughs of England, during the same period, which were either held, in demesne, by the king, or let to ferm, as the royal property (*p*). The chartularies are crowded with the grants of the successive kings of Scotland to the Bishops, and Abbots, to the Barons, and courtiers, of tofts, in their towns, of annuities, from the fermes of their boroughs, and pensions, from the *census* of their burgesses (*q*). The towns

(*b*) Alexander I, having granted to the monastery the custom of ships, coming to Scone, addressed a writ to the merchants of England; inviting them to trade at Scone; and promising them protection, on paying customs to the monks. Chart. Scone, 3.

(*i*) Customs on ships coming to Perth were granted to the religious houses, by David I. Chart. Scone, 1, 14, 16; Mait. Edinb. 145; Chart. Cambuskenneth, 199.

(*k*) Reliq. Divi Andreæ, 165.

(*l*) MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 105; Dal. Col. 386. David I. granted to the monastery of Cambuskenneth the land, which lay between the Forth, and the way, that went down from Strivelin "*ad naves*." Chart. Cambuskenneth, 105. He also granted to the same monastery the *can*, or custom of one ship, at Strivelin. Ib. 28, 55.

(*m*) MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 107.

(*n*) Chart. Aberdon. 216, 217.

(*o*) MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 17. In the Chart. of Coldingham, 88, there is a memorial of John Edwalde to inquire at Hull, or elsewhere, about the ship of Arnold Blerk. . . In the same chartulary, 22, there is "*Magna Placita in Curia de Ayton, pro duodecim denariis male receptis per J. Kinkborn nomine sedis unius navis apud Eymouth.*"

(*p*) See Brady's Treatise on Boroughs every where; and Madox's Firma Burgi.

(*q*) Alexander I. granted to the monastery of Scone *can* "*unius navis sue propria navis frutum sive illius quem proloquantur.*" Chart. Scone, 1. This grant was confirmed by Malcolm

towns were, in those times, very inconsiderable, in populousness, in opulence, and in power, notwithstanding the encouragement, which the kings had given to foreign settlers (*r*). Before the year 1174, as we have seen, in William of Newbrig, the towns of Scotland were inhabited by Englishmen, and other foreigners (*s*). Scone, the chief city of North-Britain, was still dependent, and petty (*t*). The Bishops, and Abbots, had their *villages*, which were not more populous, opulent, nor powerful (*u*). The Barons had their hamlets: but, we see nothing, in the chartularies, of baronial boroughs, much less of commercial towns, till more modern times. Renfrew, indeed, was the town

colm IV, and Robert I. Chart. Scone, 16. David I. granted to the monastery of Dunfermlin, every year, for clothing the monks, one mark of silver, from the first ships, which should come to Strivelin, or to Perth. MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 105; Dal. Col. 386. He extended this grant to the port of Inveresc. MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 107. And he exempted the *ships* of the abbot from all customs. Id. David I. granted to the monastery of Kelso one toft, and *one ship*, in Renfrew. Chart. Kelso, 1. This grant was confirmed by Malcolm IV. Diplom. Scotiæ, 24. David I. granted to the monastery of Holyrood, every year, for clothing the monks, a hundred shillings, from the *can* of the first ships, coming to Perth, for traffic. Maitl. Edin. 145. David I. granted the tenth of the *can* of ships, coming to Aberdon, to the Bishop. Chart. Aberdon, 216. This grant was confirmed by Malcolm IV, and William. Id. 213-17. David I. made similar grants to the monks of Cambuskenneth, which were confirmed, and enlarged, by Malcolm IV. Chart. Cambus. 27, 29, 54, 55, 199. David I, in his grant to the monks of Holyrood, calls Edinburgh *his burgh*. Mait. Edin. 145.

(*r*) William, the Lion, granted to Pagan, the goldsmith, a land in Edinburgh, on the south side of St. Giles's church, where he settled. Chart. Inchcolm, 19. William granted, also, to Henry Bald, a goldsmith, some land, in Perth, which his *præpositi* had measured off for him, under his precept. K. William granted a toft, in Perth, to William the helmet-maker, as measured by his sheriff, for which the helmet-maker was to render yearly "*duos capellos ferri*." Chart. Scone, 41.

(*s*) William of Newbrig is confirmed by the chartularies. It is remarkable, that the burgesses, and the common people of the towns, who appear in the charters of the twelfth century, are distinguished by English, or Flemish names; while the inhabitants of the country, who appear in charters, are distinguished by Gaelic names. See also Prynne's Col. iii, throughout.

(*t*) In the Chart. of Scone, No. 8, there is a grant of Malcolm IV; allowing the monks to have, in Scone, one smith, one tanner, and one shoemaker.

(*u*) Till the reign of William, the Lion, the villagers of Glasgow were the *mere men* of the Bishop. In the chartulary of Glasgow, fol. 45, there is a charter "*Quod homines, nativi, et Servi Episcopi Glasguen. quiete et libere sint a solutione tholonei*." Between 1175 and 1180, William granted to Jocelyn, the Bishop, "that he should have a *burgh*, at Glasgow, with a market "on Thursdays." Chart. Glas. 23. It was not till the year 1242, that the burgesses, and *men*, of the Bishop, were enabled to trade in Lennox, Argyle, and Scotland, as freely as the burgesses of Dunbarton. lb. 167. According to the *constitutio nova*, no one could have a malt-kill, without the burgh of Glasgow, except those who had the right of Pit and Gallows; and even he, who enjoyed this right, was allowed only one malt-kill: no one without the burgh could make any cloth, either dyed, or shorn. See also the chartularies of Kelso, and Aberdon.

of David I; and was conveyed by that liberal prince, and confirmed by Malcolm IV, to Walter, the son of Alan (*u*). Yet, are there no charters to any boroughs remaining of any earlier king, than those of William, who began his reign, in 1165. And from those intimations, it is apparent, that the towns, and boroughs, with their ports, and their privileges, could only derive their commencement from the king's charter (*x*). The boroughs were first called to Parliament by Robert Bruce. And, during the two subsequent centuries, the towns acquired a greater extent of population, owing to the progress of settlement, and obtained wealth, from the enterprize of industry, and extension of traffic, though the advance of both may have been slow.

The very principle, upon which the *burghs* were formed, was exclusion, and monopoly. Each community tried to obtain a district, within which it might alone carry on its traffic, by excluding other towns. The burghers of Dunbarton tried to exclude the men of Glasgow, from trading in Dunbartonshire, till Alexander III. interposed. The burghers of Cupar endeavoured to prevent the citizens of St. Andrews, which is one of the most ancient communities, from buying, and selling, within their district, till the Parliament decided against their pretensions, in favour of the claims of St. Andrews (*y*). Perth, and Dundee, have equally disputed about their privileges in trade, and priority to

(*u*) Chart. Ant. Bibl. Harl.; Stuart's Gen. Hist. of the Stewarts, p. 5.

(*x*) Before the accession of William, eighteen of the royal boroughs, were the mere towns in demesne of the king. The charters of William, not to speak of the grants of subsequent monarchs, demonstrate, that there could not be any borough, or port, or privileged place, without a charter from the king. The great officers of state appear from the chartularies to have obtained, from the kings, tofts, in the different burghs, on which they built houses, for their occasional residence. Malcolm IV, when he confirmed to the first Stewart all former grants, conferred on him, in each of the king's burghs, throughout his land, a toft, with twenty acres of ground, whereon he might make his residence. Harl. Chart. Antiqua. The constable also had a toft, in each of the king's burghs. Roger de Quinci granted to the monks of Scone the land, in Perth, with the stone-house, which belonged to the constable of Scotland, and with it the garden, without the walls. Chart. Scone, 57. And see, on this subject, Robert Bruce's grant to Gilbert de Hay, in 1314. Diplom. Scotiæ, 45. To the various monasteries, which were settled, during the twelfth century, the several kings granted tofts, in their towns, for the purpose of building houses, into which they introduced artizans, who practised the useful arts, as we learn from the chartularies: we thus perceive how much the monks contributed to the inhabiting of towns, and to the increase of traffic.

(*y*) After a long litigation, the controversy between St. Andrews and Cupar was adjudged by the Parliament, at Perth, in 1369, in favour of the Bishop, and his citizens, against the men of Cupar, calling themselves *fratre gilde*. MS. Paper Office. From this decision, the citizens of St. Andrews had a right to buy, and sell, within Cupar, wool, skins, and hydes, and other articles of traffic.

precedence.

precedence (z). The boroughs of Aberdeen, and Inverness, had their exclusive districts, from the several charters of William, the Lion, who gave, however, a participation, in their privileges, to all his burgesses, in Moray (a). The burgesses of Irvine, and Ayr, had also a controversy, with regard to their exclusive traffic, which was settled by the verdict of a jury, under Robert II. (b). From that contracted policy, it came early to be settled, as the law of Scotland, “that all merchandis, and boroughs, enjoy their own liberties, and privileges;” “and that persons, dwelling without boroughs, shall not use any merehandize, nor sell any *stapil guidis*; that none but *merchant guild* shall buy, or sell, within the liberties of the boroughs (c).” It thus appears, that competition was completely excluded from the ancient policy of North-Britain, by the exclusive privileges, which were early adopted, and long continued, as the established principle of commercial regulation (d).

It is equally apparent, that the persons, who were employed, during those times, in carrying on the domestic trade of North-Britain, were the king’s burgesses, residing in particular districts. As those *guild brethren* were without commercial capital, they could not carry on an extensive traffic. The English merchants, as the nearest, were invited by Alexander I, as we have seen, to engage in the foreign trade of his narrow realm. But, the Flemings were, in

(z) Cant’s Hist. of Perth App. No. 2. Perth was declared by the Lords of Council and Session to be the oldest borough. William, the Lion, the restorer of Perth, granted it many exclusive privileges. Id. It is said, without authority, to have been *the first royal burgh* of the kingdom. Ib. 24. This contest long continued: for, “on the 20th December 1567, the Lord Regent raid to the parliament hous and ves much troubled to compose these two turbulent tounes of Perth, and Dundie.” Birrel’s Diary, 13.

(a) See the charters in Wight on Elections, App. No. 2; and the Chart. of Aberdon, and Moray: In those charters there seem to be some peculiarities: (1.) All the king’s burgesses, on the north of the Cairn O’mount, and in Moray, were entitled to the privileges of Aberdeen; (2.) The exclusive right of trade extended over the whole sheriffdom of Aberdeen; (3.) The king’s burgesses, in Moray, were equally entitled to the peculiar privileges of Inverness, which extended over the whole shire.

(b) The “*Carta de controversia de burgensis de Aire et de Irwyne*,” was published by Hay, in his *vindication of Elizabeth More*, p. 92. By this charter, it appears, that the town of Irvine had an exclusive right to traffic, within the baronies of Cuningham, and Largs.

(c) MS. Rollment of Courts; Skene’s Borough Laws, throughout; Stat. Wm. ch. 35-6-7; Lord Kaimes’s Stat. Law, p. 30; and the *constitutio nova* of Glasgow.

(d) During the reign of James I. of Scotland, the royal boroughs were accounted the sixth part of the realm. During the age of Charles II, it became a question, whether the other boroughs were not entitled to equal privileges, with the boroughs royal; this question was referred, from the Court of Session, to the Parliament. Sir George Mackenzie’s Pleading, 143. The privilege of foreign trade was communicated to the boroughs of regality, and barony, upon condition of their relieving the royal boroughs of a proportion of the public taxes. Stat. 1693, ch. 30.

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those ages, the great traders of the European world. They sent, as we have seen, colonies into Wales, and Cumberland (*e*): and, as early as the reigns of David I, and Malcolm IV, there were Flemings settled at St. Andrews, and in several other towns, along the eastern coast of Scotland (*f*). Towards the conclusion of the Scoto-Saxon period, the Flemings had placed a commercial factory at Berwick-on-Tweed (*g*). Before the demise of Alexander III, a trade had been opened with Gascony, for the importation of wine, and corn (*h*).

In the infancy of manufacture, and commerce, the great defect is the want of capital. It is this deficiency, which enables the rich, and industrious, nations, and individuals, to take the management, and profit of traffic. It was this principle, which induced the religious houses to act as traders, when the merchants of Scotland were without the means of carrying on commerce, and when paper credit was unhappily unknown (*i*). We may learn from the chartularies, that the monks were the earliest *guild brethren*, and had exclusive privileges of trade, and of fishery, when boroughs had scarcely an existence (*k*). We have seen how early the monastery of Scone engaged in traffic. The abbot and convent had a ship, which Alexander II. was studious to protect (*l*). The

(*e*) Ander. Chron. Com. i. 73-7-118-123.

(*f*) Reliquiæ Divi Andree, 167; and see the chartularies of Moray, Aberdon, Scone, St. Andrews, and Inchcolm.

(*g*) L. Hailes's An. i. 236. In a commercial treaty with the court of Flanders, during the year 1297, Edward I. stipulated, that the Flemings should have free, and secure, trade in Scotland. Rymer's Fœd. i. 740.

(*h*) John Masun, a merchant of Gascony, supplied Alexander III. with wine, and corn, to a large amount; a balance of £2,197. 8. 0 remained due by the king to the merchant; being unable to pay his creditor, Alexander assigned to him the customs of Berwick: yet, as the debt still remained due, at the demise of Alexander, and the *executors* of the *king's testament* had delayed to pay it, Masun applied to Edward I, as superior Lord of Scotland, who summoned John Balliol to answer the complaint, in 1293. Rym. Fœd. i. 605. In that transaction, authenticated as it is by the record, we see a striking picture of Scotland, in that age: we may in it perceive, that the debt for wine, and corn, was large, and that the customs of Berwick were small.

(*i*) Even at a much later period, money was very rare, and the means of acquiring it very difficult. Sir John Forrester acquired from Henry Earl of Orkney an annuity of twelve merks out of his lands, and coal-works of Dysart, until he was repaid thirty nobles, which he had lent to the Earl, in his great necessity, whereupon he got a charter, in December 1407. Dougl. Peer. 371.

(*k*) See the charters of Alexander I, and David I, and Malcolm IV, to Scone, Dunfermlin, May, &c. We may see in Madox's Formulæ, 291-2, that Henry I. granted to the Abbots of Battel, and Westminster, certain privileges in trade.

(*l*) The king addressed a precept to his subjects, in Moray, and in Caithness; requiring them, to protect, and succour, the ship and men of the abbot and convent of Scone, if they should come on their unknown coasts. Chart. Scone, 57. The Bishop of Durham had, also, *his* ship, during the reign of Richard I. Madox's Excheq. i. 714.

other

other monasteries had also their ships. The monks of the Isle of May, in the entrance of the Forth, had also their ships, which were specially exempted from can, toll, and custom, by a charter of David I. From the same authority, they had the right of fishery, around their own shores. And they acquired, from successive kings, so many commercial privileges, as to convert them into a trading, much more than a religious, community (*m*). The other monastic houses partook abundantly in the profit, which the Scottish kings derived from the royal fishes (*n*). Both the sea, and the river fishings, were certainly objects of importance, during the early period of the twelfth century. Whether the sea fish were exported, in those times, may admit of some doubt; but, there cannot be a doubt, as we learn from the chartularies, whether the sea fish, both fresh, and salted, were consumed, in the domestic œconomy of a religious age (*o*). The fishings, in many rivers, and lakes of Scotland, were, in those times, prosecuted, with great skill, and diligence. The right of fishery, like other privileges, emanating from lands, belonged to the king: the proprietors

(*m*) The chartulary of May was happily preserved in the curious library of the late Mr. T. Astle of Battersea-rise, who, with his usual zeal for promoting historical knowledge, allowed me the use of it: from that record, it appears, that David I. gave them not only the right of fishery, but the privilege for them, and their *men*, to sell their fish “*in portu suo sicut in burgo*.” From him they had an acquittance for all *can*, toll, and customs, on their ships, within his realm. From Malcolm IV, they had a grant of an exclusive fishery, around their own island; by another grant, from the same king, they were empowered to demand tithes of all persons, fishing around the isle of May: this right of tithes was confirmed by William, the Lion. From this king, they had a grant of customs on ships coming to Perth. From him also they had the gift of the freight of one ship, for carrying necessities to the monastery from Dunbar. From him they had, moreover, a right, freely, to buy, and sell, their proper goods, throughout the king’s lands. William also prohibited all persons from building, or digging, in the isle of May: and from David I. they had the right of commonage, within the parishes of Kelly, and Crail, and, indeed, within his whole kingdom.

(*n*) In 1128, David I. conferred on the monks of Holyrood the tithe “*de omnibus cetis et marinis belluis qui mihi eveniunt ab Avon usque ad Colbrandspaith*,” along the southern shore of the Forth. Maitl. Edinb. 145. David I. granted to the monastery of Dunfermlin “*de Selchis qui ad Kingorn capiatur postquam decimati fuerint, concedo ut omnes septimos Selchis habeant*.” MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 105; Dal. Col. 385. In the Chart. of Kelso, 275, there is a precept of Malcolm IV. to his sheriffs, and other officers, in Lothian, and in his whole land, to allow the monks of Kelso the half of the fat of the royal fishes, which might come into the Forth, on either shore.

(*o*) They were used greatly, in those times, for the purposes of war, in the supply of castles. Among the provisions, which were furnished to the several garrisons, that Edward I. had, in the southern parts of Scotland, during the years 1299, and 1300, there were large quantities of herring, though it appears not, where they were caught, and cured: they were bought by the *last*, consisting of 10,000. The Wardrobe Account of Ed. I. 118-21-143. *Stockfish* were also provided, in large quantities: and *Ling*, in smaller numbers. Id.

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of the soil afterwards acquired this right, when they obtained a grant of the territory from the king: and, during the twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, when fishings were so much practised, the owners of the land conveyed their right of fishery not only to the monks, who were the most active improvers, but to other persons, who derived a benefit from the fish; as we know from the chartularies. The right of fishery was modified, according to the several views of the grantors, and the divers wishes of the grantees (*p*). During the reign of David I, it became usual to grant exclusively *piscaturas* on particular allotments of the rivers, which were called *Retes*, from their consisting of the space, which might be fished by one net, and a boat (*q*). During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, *Tares* were established, in the rivers, which, as they were constructed of wood and stones, obstructed, and entangled the fish (*r*). Those *Tares* were regulated by the well known statute of Alexander II, which the late Lord Hailes thought it worth his while to free from the interpolation of Skene (*s*). Even the very lakes, however small, were fished, with great assiduity; and appropriated with great ardour (*l*). In the progress of refinement, fish

(*p*) Alexander I, granted to the monks of Scone the privilege of fishing in the Tay, which was adjacent to Scone, in common with himself. Chart. Scone, 1. Earl David granted to the monks of Selkirk the privilege of fishing, in the rivers, near Selkirk, in common with himself, and his men. Chart. Kelso, 4.

(*q*) The Chartularies are full of such piscatory grants. David I. gave to the monks of Holyrood two *retes*, in the Tweed. Malcolm IV. gave to the monks of Scone two *retes* in the Tay, and one *rete* in the Forth. To the monks of Kinloss, he granted a *rete*, in the Ern, [the Findhorn.] He granted to the monks of Melros one of the two fishings, which he had, in Berwick stream of the Tweed. K. William granted to the monks of Arbroth a *rete* in the North Esk, and a *rete*, in the Tay, which was called *the Stocke*. Alan, the son of Walter, the Stewart, granted to the monks of Cuper, a *rete*, in the Clyde, near Renfrew. David I. granted to the monks of Holyrood the tenth of the fishings, that belonged to St. Cuthbert's church. Malcolm IV. granted to the monks of Rindalgros the tenth of the fishings, in the Tay, and Ern. Chart. May, 15.

(*r*) See the several chartularies. John de Hay of Ardnachan granted to the monks of Cuper a *yare* for catching fish, in the river Tay. Chart. Cuper, 55. Before the year 1224, Maldowen, the Earl of Levenachs, granted to the monks of Paisley, a *yare*, in the Leven, near Dunbarton. Chart. Paisley, 310. The same Earl gave to Robert de Hertford, Clerk, the half of another *yare*, lying higher up the same river. Ib. 309. And Hertford, becoming precentor of Glasgow, granted this half *yare* to the monks of Paisley. Ib. 314. The Earl of Levenachs confirmed this grant; and stipulated that no other *yare* should be constructed, in the same river, between that half *Yare*, and Loch Lomond. Ib. 317. In 1273, Malcolm, E. of Levenachs, gave the same monks liberty to take wood from his forests, and stone from his grounds, for repairing their fishing *yares*, in the Leven. Ib. 318. The Stewarts had several *yares*, in the Cart. Chart. Paisley, 147.

(*s*) Annals, i. 340: The *lex aquarum* is ch. 16; and is recorded in the Bern Collection.

(*l*) The Earl of Levenachs granted the monks of Paisley the right of fishing, in his lake of Leven, [Loch Lomond.] Chart. Pais. 316. Alan, the son of Walter, the Stewart, granted the same

fish became a luxury, or perhaps a necessary of life. When Edward I. invaded Scotland, in 1300, he carried with him his nets, and his fishers, to supply his table (*t*). The proper season for fishing was very early regulated, by statute: and we may see Robert Bruce busy, in enforcing the *auld statute* (*u*). As early as the twelfth century, there were *stell* fishings, along the flat shores of the sea, near the mouths of the rivers, where fish were taken, in considerable numbers (*x*). The fish, which were then taken in various ways, were chiefly consumed, at home: and, we hear of little export, for the consumption of distant people (*y*).

The monks, also, were of those times the bankers, who accommodated the rich, and relieved the needy. The monks were then so much occupied in commerce, and fishery, in manufacture, and agriculture, that they were the only corporations, who possessed any large portion of ready money. Much of the territories, which the monks possessed, were obtained, in the mode of modern bankers, by making loans to the luxurious, or the needy; and taking lands, and tenements, in satisfaction (*z*).

Such,

same monks the privilege of fishing in Loch-Winnoch, in common with himself, and his heirs. Ib. 147. And he gave them leave to make and enjoy the half of a fishing at the outlet of this Loch. Id. Roger de Quiuci granted the monks of Dryburgh the fishing in the lake of Merton. Chart. Dryb. 104. The monks of Melros obtained from Alexander II. the lake of Dunscore, with all contained in it. Chart. Mel. 186. Both those lakes have been drained.

(*t*) In the Wardrobe Account of 1300, there is a charge for four nets, which were purchased, for fishing in the rivers and lakes of Scotland, for the king's use; and he had with him his own fishers.

(*u*) Rob. i. ch. 2.: yet, the same king granted to the monks of Cuper a licence, to catch salmon, during prohibited times, whenever they should think fit, in the Tay, the Ylif, the Arde, and the North Esk, for their proper use, "et pro potagio conventus." Chart. Cuper, 25.

(*x*) There were, in those times, several *stell*-fishings on the coast of Ayrshire. Chart. Pais. 9; Chart. Melros, 118. There were a number of *stell*-fishings on the shores of the Solway, near the influx of the rivers. Ib. 63; Dug. Monast. v. 286. There were several of such fishings, at the mouth of the Tweed. Chart. Kelso, and Coldingham. And the influx of the rivers along the east coast of Scotland furnished convenient sites for numerous *stell*-fishings. Chart. St. Andrews; Arbroth; MS. Monast. Scotiæ. *Stell*-fishing probably meant a *stationary* fishing; from the Anglo-Saxon *teal*, perhaps, signifying, as we know from Somner, *locus, statio*.

(*y*) There is a precept in Rym. Fœd. iv. 554, by Henry IV, in August 1433, for delivering to the Duchess of Clarence, "Cados salmonum salsum," a kit of salted salmon, which had been sent her, by the queen of Scotland.

(*z*) Simon Pistor resigned to the monastery of Newbotle his land upon the Nesse, at Berwick, in consideration of half a mark of money, which the Abbot had lent him, in his great need. Chart. Newbotle, 207. During the reign of William, the monks of Melros lent forty marks sterling to Duncan the Earl of Carrick, during his great necessity, "Scilicet, pro terra mea in libertatem

Such, then, were the persons, who chiefly carried on trade, in North-Britain, during that period, of rudeness, and of penury. The catalogue of her exports, and imports, is very short: she sent out wool, skins, and hides, which were her staple goods; she imported wine, spices, and corn, that administered to her luxury, and her needs.

The commercial laws of North-Britain consisted of a system of slavish, and barren, monopoly. Every town had its own district. No one could trade, in those times, but *guild brethren*, or privileged monks: when foreign vessels arrived, the ship-masters were obliged to carry them into some borough, and to offer the cargo to the appropriate few. When the *stranger merchant* was about to reload, he soon found, that he could not buy any wool, hides, nor any other merchandize, within, or without, a borough, but from a burges (a). Such a system entailed on Scotland, during five centuries, poverty, and wretchedness.

We may easily infer, from the foregoing intimations, that Scotland did not abound in shipping. The monks possessed, perhaps, *a dozen sloops*. The out isles, or Hebrides, also possessed, from early times, a number of gallies, and barks (b). Ages elapsed, before the Scottish ports were enlivened, and enriched, by the frequent appearance of national ships (c). The war of the succession

“ponenda:” In consideration whereof, he renounced an annual rent of three marks, which he had from them of the lands of Beithoc, and Achnefure. Chart. Melros, 111. Adam Carpenter granted to the Abbot and convent of Paisley his lands of Ald Ingliston, in consideration of a sum of money, given him in his great necessity. Chart. Paisley, 49. In 1281, Adam, some time burges of Glasgow, conveyed his burgage tenement, in Fish-street, near the bridge of Clyde, to the Abbot and convent of Paisley, in consideration of a sum of money, which was given him in his great necessity. Ib. 255; and see the same chartulary, 238, 247, for similar transactions. In 1268, Robert de Mythyngby sold his tenements, in Glasgow, to Reginald de Irewyn, archdeacon of Glasgow, for a sum of money, paid him, in his great necessity. Chart. Glasgow; Gib. Hist. Ap. 303. As early, indeed, as 1269, a canon was made by the Scottish church, “*Ne clerici vel monachi se negociis immisceant.*” Lord Hailes’s ed. No. 22. And, William, the Lion, had indeed enacted, “that kirkmen live honestlie of the fruits, rents, and profits of their kirks; and sall nocht be husbandmen, scheipherds, nor merchants.” Stat. Will. ch. 34, in Skene. But, such canons, and statutes, seem not to have been enforced. At the commencement of the sixteenth century, the Abbots of Lindores frequently granted their bonds to traders, for money paid on account of the monastery in Flanders, and Zealand. Chart. Lindores, 24-5-6.

(a) Borough Laws, ch. 18; Almost the whole of the *Borough Laws*, and statutes of the *Guild*, consist of local, and municipal, regulations.

(b) The old charters of those islands required, as the service, for their tenure, one vessel with twenty oars; upon which account, the grantees carried ships, or *lymphads*, which are still carried by the possessors of those countries, as feudal arms. Nisbet’s Essay on Armories, 9.

(c) History has, however, recorded the building of a large vessel, at Inverness, in 1249, by the Count de St. Paul. L. Hailes’s An 302, which quotes M. Paris for the fact.

probably

probably destroyed the shipping, which Edward I. tried to embargo, in 1294. It was even said, within the English House of Commons, in 1607, “that the shipping of Scotland were *ad misericordiam* (d).”

Scotland, in the meantime, enjoyed the benefit of a domestic manufacture, from the beginning of the Scoto-Saxon period (e). Her people manufactured the wool of their flocks. Their woollen fabrics were regulated by the assize of David I. (f). They manufactured their own flax, and their own leather. Necessity had early introduced, smiths, tanners, and shoemakers, into every village, and dyers, and goldsmiths, and armourers, into every town. In the age of David I, salt-works became objects of great attention; because they furnished a revenue to the kings, and nobles, and profit to the monks (g). In

(d) Com. Journ. i. 335.

(e) Many of the new settlers, in the towns, during those times, were named from the nature of their trades: William, the *smith*, Alan, the *tanner*, Ernulf, the *dyer*, Arnald, the *dyer*, William, the *dyer*, who were all burgesses of Perth. Chart. Balmer. 25-7. Mathew, the *lorimer*, or saddler, was also a burghess of Perth. Chart. Scone, 82. Adam, the *barber*, was a burghess of Dundee. Chart. Balmer. 44. Radulph, the *merchant*, Roger, the *shoemaker*, Robert, the *locksmith*, were inhabitants of Dumfries, during the reign of William, the Lion. Chart. Kelso, 2. William, the *dyer*, lived in Kelso, during the same reign. Ib. 352. Simon, the *baker*, was a burghess of Berwick. Chart. Newbotle, 207. William, the *baker*, inhabited Aberdeen. [Chart. Aberdeen, 343. Martin, the *goldsmith*, lived in Aberdeen. Id. *Goldsmiths* appear to have been settled, during that age, in all the chief towns of Scotland. Chart. Scone, 40-69-70; Chart. Inchcolm, 19; Chart. Newbotle, 209. A much more numerous list of *tradesmen*, in those times, might be made out, from *Ragman's Roll*, in Prynn's Col. iii.

(f) K. William's charter to Inverness speaks of cloth, *dyed*, and *shorn*, which should not be made, without the borough, contrary to the *assize* of David. Wight on Elections, p. 411. The *constitutio nova* of Glasgow, also speaks of cloth, *dyed*, and *shorn*. Much *wool* was, however, exported.

(g) David I. granted to the monks of Kelso a saltwork, in the Carse, upon the upper shore of the Forth. Chart. Kelso, 1. David I. granted to the monks of Newbotle a saltwork in Blackeland. Chart. Newbot. 28. And the same liberal sovereign gave the same monks a saltwork at Kalentyr. Ib. 182. Malcolm IV. confirmed this grant, with *easements*, in his pastures, and waters, and firewood for the saltwork, from the forest of Kalentyr. Ib. 183. David I. granted to the monks of Cambuskenneth “*unam salinam et totidem terre quod habet una de Salinis meis.*” Chart. Cambus. ; Nimmo's Stirl. App. 1. David I. granted to the monks of Holyrood a saltwork and twenty-six acres of land, at Airth. Maitland's Edin. 144. David I. granted to the monks of Jedburgh, what Earl Henry confirmed, a saltwork near Strivelyn. MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 27. And both those grants were confirmed by Robert I. Ib. 27-29. K. William granted to the monks of Aberbrothock “*unam Salinam juxta salinas meas in Kars apud Strivelyn,*” with five acres of land, and pasture, and other necessary easements. Chart. Aberb. We thus see, that the kings, in those times, derived a profit from their *saltworks*, many of which lay along the carses of Kalentyr and of Stirling, on the Forth: and Alexander II. granted to the monks of Newbotle five marks, yearly, “*de firma Salinarum nostrarum in Karso per manum vicecomitis et ballivorum nostrorum de Strive-*

In his reign, water-mills were subjected to tithes; and tenants were restricted to grind at particular mills, as we may learn from the chartularies. The Scottish kings had mills at each of their burghs, and also on several of their manors, from which they derived a considerable revenue, and which furnished a constant source of munificent grants to the religious establishments (*b*). Before the age of Alexander II, who died in 1249, *wind*-mills had been, universally, introduced into Scotland (*i*). There was a malt-kill, and a brew-house, in every village of that country, during those times: and even Glasgow was noted, in that age, for its malt-kills. These objects were considered, as a domestic manufacture, arising from husbandry, during that age.

But, agriculture was the universal object of pursuit, from the prince, to the peasant. In this view of the subject, the kings were, within their own realm, the greatest Barons, who possessed manors, in every shire; who manured them, under their own thanes, or bailiffs; and who lived upon their own produce: they were thus induced, frequently, to shift their residence, in order to consume

“lin.” Chart. Newbot. 187. The nobles, also, had their saltworks, in those times. Roland of Galloway, the constable, granted to the monks of Kelso a saltwork at Lochkendeloch, on the Solway, with sufficient easements, from his woods, to sustain the pans. Chart. Kelso, 253. Duncan, the son of Gilbert, Earl of Carric, granted to the monks of Melros two saltworks in any competent place, within his manor of Tornberi, with eight acres of arable land, pasture, and firewood. Chart. Melros, 117. Roger de Scalebroc granted to the same monks one saltwork, and one pan, in any convenient place, on his manor of Grenan, with the necessary easements. Ib. 118. Walter, the son of Alan, the Stewart, granted to the monks of Paisley all his saltworks, in Kallentyr, which had belonged to Herbert, the chancellor. Chart. Paisley, 7. There were various saltworks on the shores of the Solway, in Galloway, and in Dumfries-shire. There were saltworks on the coast of Cuningham, from which the town of Saltcoats derived its name. There were also saltworks on the coast of Buchan, in Aberdeenshire; and on the shores of the Moray Frith. Chart. Moray. It appears, from the chartularies, that the saltworks, by the payment of *can*, were considerable objects of revenue to the king.

(*b*) Earl David, in his foundation charter of Selkirk, granted to the monks the seventh part of his mill, at Berwick. Chart. Kelso, 4. After he became king, he gave to the monastery of Kelso 20 chalders “inter farinam et frumentum,” yearly, from his mills of Roxburgh, and 12 chalders of malt, yearly, from his mill of Edenham. Ib. 1. David conferred on the monastery of Holyrood one of his mills of Dene, and the tenth of the mills of Libertun, and of Dene, and of the new mill of Edwinburgh, and of Cragenmarf. Maitland’s Edin. 145. The same king granted to the monastery of Scone ten shillings from the firm of his mills of Perth, and also the tenth of his mills upon the river Amon. Chart. Scone, 16. We are informed, indeed, in Prynne’s Henry III. p. 72, that mills first paid tithes, in England, during this reign.

(*i*) Chart. of Melros, 130-131; Chart. of Scone, 58: There was a *wind*-mill, at Aberdeen, before the year 1271. Charter in Stewart’s Col. 48. Yet, Anderson remarks, that *wind*-mills are thought to have been invented, in 1299. Chron. Deduct. of Com. i. 140. Lord Kaimes asserts, that *wind*-mills were not introduced into Italy, till the fourteenth century. Sketches, i. 87.

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the products of their farms (*k*). The nobles followed the agricultural example of the kings. They, also, as they had many manors, in their proper demesne, made similar concessions to the monks, whom they wished to favour. The great Barons, as well as the Kings, were ambitious to possess large studs, the tenth of the produce whereof, they sometimes granted to the monks. The Bishops, and Abbots, emulated the nobles, in the extent of their possessions, and the greatness of their georgic establishments: from the variety of their granges, and the number of their flocks, they may be considered, next to the kings, as the greatest farmers of those times. Yet, wool, and skins, appear to have been, in Scotland, the principal articles of foreign traffic, like other countries, which are yet, in their commercial infancy (*l*).

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(*k*) In their earliest charters to the monasteries the kings granted a proportion of their products to the monks: Alexander I. gave the monks of Scone one half of the hides, which belonged to his kitchen, and of all skins of sheep, one half of all fat, and blood, the tenth of the king's bread wheresoever, on the north of Lamermoor. David I. confirmed this grant, and added to it, the half of the skins, and fat, of all the beasts, which were killed, for the king's use, on the north of the Tay. And these grants were confirmed by Malcolm IV, and by Robert I. Chart. Scone, 1, 7, 16. David granted to the church of St. John, at Roxburgh, the tenth of the fat of the beasts, slaughtered for him in Teviotdale. Chart. Glasg. 265. David I. granted to the monastery of Holyrood, the half of the fat, and tallow, and of the hides of his beasts, which were killed at Edwinstown; and all the skins of the rams, sheep, and lambs, belonging to his castle of Linlithgow, which should die naturally. Mait. Edin: 145. The same king granted to the monastery of Dunfermlin the half of the hides, and of the fat, and blood, of all the beasts, which should be killed, for the feasts held in Stirling, and between the Forth and Tay. Chart. Dunferm. David I. granted to the monastery of Cambuskenneth the half of the hides, and of the tallow, and fat of all the king's beasts, which were killed, at Stirling. Chart. Cambusken. 29, 55. Alexander II, wishing to free his kitchen from the intrusion of the monks, granted to the monastery of Dunfermlin the lands of Dollar "in feudo de Clacmanan," in exchange for all the rights, which they were in use to receive from his kitchens, and those of the queen his spouse; and also for the corn, which they used to receive from his manors of Kinghorn, and Carail. Chart. Dunferm. The same king granted to the monks of Scone the lands of Blar, in exchange for the tenth of the bread, which they used to receive from his house, and that of the queen; and for the fat, and other things, which they used to have from the kitchens, and larders, of himself, and his queen. Chart. Scone, 21. He also granted to the monks of Kelso 100 shillings yearly from his farms of Roxburgh, in exchange for the cows, and swine, and skins of beasts, which they used to receive from Nithsdale, for the skins and fat of beasts from Carric; for the skins and fat of the beasts, which were slaughtered for his use on the south of the Scottish sea, [the Forth], and for the skins of the sheep, and lambs, and all other rights, which they had from his house, and kitchen. Chart. Kelso, 16.

(*l*) Alexander III. addressed a precept to the Mayor of Berwick, requiring him not to prevent the sale of wool, which belonged to the prior of Coldingham. Chart. Cold. 6. The Abbot of Dundrainan, in 1292, speaks of sacks of wool to Edward I, in his petition to him, in Parliament. Rolls of Parl. ii. 470. In 1303, the Abbot of Melros states his sacks of wool, and lasts of skins,

The great body of the tillers of the land were, in those early times, as we have seen, bondmen, and villeyms, rather than freemen, and farmers, who were employed, indeed, by the Kings and Barons, by the Bishops and Abbots; and who had not of their own any property. There were also settled in the agricultural villages, which greatly abounded, as there were few separate farms, many free tenants, who paid many services, to their lords, and many cottars, who beside cultivating their tofts, followed some domestic trade; and yielded frequent services to their superiors. Those classes of husbandmen, who were continually augmented by the emancipated villeyms, could have but little capital, to cultivate their lands, and few hands, but their own, to work with. When the Kings, and Barons, the Bishops, and Abbots, began to emancipate *their men*, those eminent husbandmen leased their lands to till, with beasts, to stock their farms, and capital, to carry on their operations. In the varieties of such affairs, the proprietors of the soil gave the cultivators not only possession of the land, but a lease of the stock, which was to be restored in kind, when the contract ceased (*m*). The stock, which thus accommodated both parties, during ages of poverty, and rudeness, was called, in the law of Scotland, *Steelbow* goods. The juridical doctrine of *Steelbow* still remains, though the origin of this singular term seems to be forgotten (*n*). While agriculture was thus in its commencement, we ought not to be surprized, that plenty, and famine, followed each other, in quick succession (*o*). A rude legislator at length interposed.

in his petition to Edward I, in Parliament. Ib. 473. William, the Lion, granted to the monks of Holmcūltram *peace within his realm*, and the right to bring their *wool*, and other merchandize, for sale, through his country, and to sell the same “in burgis meis.” Dug. Monast. v. 272.

(*m*) In the *Formulare Anglicarum* of Madox, there are examples of leases, in England, during early times, of demises of manors, with the stock: There is the demise of lands, with the villeyms thereon, 130. In 1424 A.D., there is the lease of a manor, with the dead, and living stock; and among other articles, there are a bull, and thirty cows, which were each valued at eight shillings. There was a covenant, in the language of the times: “Alle this to leve and to delivere to the said William Skrene, or to his heyres atte the terms ende.” Ib. 144. Here, then, is the practice which became early prevalent, in Scotland, under the name of *Steelbow*; owing to the want of agricultural capital.

(*n*) None of the Scottish lawyers pretend to explain the meaning of the word *Steelbow*, though they explain the nature of the thing. In this penury of exposition, Skene is silent. Now; *steal*, in the Anglo-Saxon of Somner, signifies *locus, statio, conditio*; *bod*, in the British; *bo*, in the Irish; *bo*, in the Scandinavian; and *bye*, in the Anglo-Saxon, mean a *habitation*: So, *Steelbo* signified the state, or condition, of the habitation: and we learn, from Stair, Erskine, and other Scottish lawyers, that the great quality of *Steelbow* goods was, that they should be restored, at a given period, in the same state, and condition, as when they were leased Institutes.

(*o*) In 1196, there was so continued a famine, in Scotland, that many persons died for want;

posed. William, the Lion, tried to promote agriculture, by giving protection to *husbandmen*; by promoting general quiet; by regulating mills; by preventing the damage of swine, and repressing the multitude of sheep (*p*). Alexander II. went beyond his father in his zeal of agriculture. He made a variety of regulations, for promoting this salutary object, which would be deemed extremely curious, if we could believe those statutes to be perfectly genuine (*q*).

While agriculture was yet struggling with the difficulties of its first period, it is said, with more confidence than knowledge, that Scotland was of old wholly naked; and appears never to have been much more woody than it is, at present (*r*). Even the Caledonian wood of classic times thus is torn up, by a single blast of systematic scepticism. There is, however, every sort of proof, that every district of Caledonia, as the name implies, was anciently covered with woods. The many mosses of Scotland were once so many woods; as we may learn from the number of trees, which are constantly dug from the forests, that have lain for ages below the surface. During the twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, not only the kings, but the bishops, the barons, and abbots, had their forests, in every district of North-Britain, in which they reared infinite herds of cattle, horses, and swine. It will scarcely be credited, that many bleak moors, which now disfigure the face of the country, and produce only barren heath, were formerly clothed with woods, that furnished useful timber, and excellent pasturage; yet, is the fact clearly proved, by the positive evidence of record (*s*). Oak appears, in those times, to have been the wood of most ge-

in 1198, there was an uncommon scarcity; and abundant plenty ensued. Lord Hailes's An. i. 297-9. In 1259, there was so great a dearth, that a boll of meal sold for four shillings. Ib. 305. There are many notices, in the chartularies, of the wants of individuals; of their relief by the Abbots; and of the conveyance of lands, in repayment.

(*p*) Stat. William, ch. 9-24-33-38, in Skene.

(*q*) Stat. Alexander II. ch. 1-18 in Skene.

(*r*) Wallace on Peerages, 34-5.

(*s*) The monasteries not only acquired from the kings, and the barons, many special grants, of the use of particular forests, in pasturage, pannage, and for cutting wood, for building, burning, and all other purposes, but they also got from the kings general grants of the same privileges, in all their forests, throughout the kingdom. Earl David granted this *general right* to the monks of Selkirk: And he extended it, after he mounted the throne, to the monks of Kelso. Chart. Kelso. The monasteries of Dunfermlin, Holyrood, Jedworth, Dryburgh, Scone, and others, enjoyed the same general privilege, by the grant of David I. Malcolm IV. granted similar rights to the monks of Cupar, and of Scone. William, the Lion, granted the same privileges to the monks of Arbroth. Alexander II. granted the same general rights to the Knights Templars, and their men. Chart. Aberdeen, 31. Walter, the Stewart, granted to the monks of Paisley the use of all his forests, for pasturage, pannage, and cutting wood, for building, burning, and all other purposes. Chart. Paisley. It must be remembered, that the various grants to the monasteries of the use of the forests, extended to the people, living under the monks, and cultivating their lands.

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neral use The bridges, the castles, the churches, and the towns, were chiefly built with this useful timber. The waste of domestic use, as well as the wars of Edward I., left many woods of great magnitude, and usefulness, in every shire of Scotland, at the accession of Robert Bruce (*t*). Still more wasteful wars commenced with that event, which may be said to have lasted, with little intermission, during half a century. Add to the devastation of those wars, the destruction of time, and chance, of neglect and idleness; whence we may clearly perceive adequate causes of the deplorable waste of the Scottish woods. There are in the maps of Scotland a thousand names of places, which are derived from the woods, which no longer exist on the face of the country. And there are in the Chartularies, numerous notices of forests, in many places, where not a tree is now to be seen (*u*).

Wood,

(*t*) John Despanyding, the canon of Elgin, who had the honour to be the host of Edward I., claimed, by petition, twenty oaks out of the forest of Langmorgan, to repair his church of Duffus: The prayer was granted. Rolls of Parliament, ii. 469. From the bare appearance, at present, of Langmorgan, the undoubted site of the ancient forest, it is not easy to be persuaded, that a wood of oaks ever existed there: Yet, very large oaks have, in our own times, been dug from below the unpromising surface. The Earl of Buchan petitioned the same king, that in consideration of the destruction of his manors, by the war, he would grant him *maremium*: Edward I. granted him fifty oaks out of the forests of Buchan, and Kintor. Ib. 469. Raufe le Chene petitioned for two hundred oaks out of the forests of Thornaway, and Langmorgan, which were granted by the same king. Ib. 471. The Abbot of Jedburgh petitioned for twenty oaks, out of the forest of Platir, in Forfarshire, to repair the church of Restenot, which had been destroyed by the war: The oaks were granted. Ib. 473. There were forty oaks granted out of the forest of Selkirk, for a similar purpose, to the Abbot of Melros. Ib. 472. Edward, to whom those petitions were addressed, as he had traversed Scotland, knew, from observation, that such forests existed.

(*u*) Earl David granted to the abbot and convent of Selkirk the privilege of cutting his woods, either for *building* or *burning*, as freely as himself enjoyed the same. Chart. Kelso, 4; King David gave to the abbot and convent of Dunfermlin, and their men, a similar privilege of cutting his woods, either for *building*, or *burning*. Chart. Dunferm; MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 105. The same king conferred on the abbot and convent of Holyrood, and their men, the right of taking from his forests, in Stirling, and Clackmannan, wood for building, and other purposes, and also panage for their swine. Maitl. Edinburgh, 144. There was, during the 12th and 13th centuries, an extensive forest, between the Leader and the Gala, of which David I. granted the monastery of Melros the free use, both for wood, and pasturage; and he granted them the same easements, in his forests of Selkirk, and Traquair. Chart. Melros, 54. The same king granted to the abbey of Dryburgh the lands of Cadysley, with free pasture, and the right of cutting wood in his forest. Dugdale's Monast. ii. 1054. David I. also granted to the monastery of Scone the right of taking wood from all his forests, throughout Scotland, and particularly, from the forest, between Scone, and Cargil; And this was confirmed by Malcolm IV., and by Robert I. Chart. Scone, 16. The same king granted to the monastery of Jedworth a similar privilege of pasturage, and of wood-
bote,

Wood, as it was the most obvious to the eye, was probably the earliest fuel; and this circumstance contributed greatly, while the spirit of plantation was extinct, to destroy the Scottish forests. As ironworks, in modern times, waste the woods; so in those early ages, the saltworks thinned the forests (*x*). During the age of David I., turves, and peats, were used as fuel, as well as wood (*y*). Fossil coal, which was probably known to the ancient Britons, began to be dug, in England, during the reign of John; and became an article of trade, under Henry III. (*z*). The year 1291 is said to be the epoch of the first charter, giving the right to dig for coal, in Scotland (*a*). The fossil coal, however, did not become the common fuel of North-Britain, till much more recent times (*b*).

bote, in his forests. MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 29. There were forests around the royal burghs of Elgin, of Forres, and of Inverness, in which King William granted the bishops of Moray, and their men, the right of pasturage, and of wood-bote; and his burgesses, in those burghs, had the same privileges. Chart. Moray, 73. There was a forest called the Stocket, in the vicinity of Aberdeen, and an extensive forest called the Plater, in the heart of Forfarshire, both which are frequently mentioned, in the charters of the 13th, and 14th centuries. Chart. Aberdeen; Chart. Arbroth; Robertson's Index. There was anciently a forest, called Drumselch, near the city of Edinburgh. Walter, the son of Alan, granted to the monastery of Paisley, "*maremium et focarium ad comburendum*," out of his forest of Senecastre, in Kyle. Chart. Paisley, 46. The chartularies abound with notices of forests, in every shire, during the Scoto-Saxon period. In the invasions of Scotland, by the English, it was the common practice of the invaders to burn, and destroy, the Scottish woods. Knyghton, 2674-5.

(*x*) In the various grants, which the kings, and the barons, made of saltworks to the monks, they gave the right of supplying them with fuel, from the woods. The waste of woods, by the saltworks, was felt, as early as the beginning of the 13th century: Duncan of Carric granted to the monks of Melros two saltworks, in his manor of Tornberry, with eight acres of arable land, certain pastures, and all other necessary easements; "*quia silve sue quas ad salinas apud Grenan habebant penitus combuste sunt et destructe*." Chart. Melros, 117.

(*y*) One of the borough laws, ch. 38, provides, that inbringers of fish, and *fuel*, shall not be distrained, but for their own debts; The fuel mentioned is *wood*, turves, *peats*. Skene's Auld Laws, 123; Hence, *petaries* became frequent objects of grant to the abbots and convents, during the Scoto-Saxon period.

(*z*) Brand's Hist. N. Castle, 253-4.

(*a*) Arnot's Edin. 84, who quotes the chartul of Dumfermlin. I have, however, an original charter of James, the Steuart of Scotland, the son of Alexander, dated in January 1284-5, granting to William de Prestun the lands of Tranent, with various privileges, in *moris*, et *maresiis*, in *petariis*, et *carbonariis*. Whatever this last expression signified, in prior times, it seems to have been applied to *pit-coalleries*, in that age. Brand's Hist. N. Castle, 253, and the records quoted by him. In the Chartulary of Newbotle, No. 73, there is a grant to the monks, by Seyer de Quinci, of the *carbonarium*, et *quarrarium*, between Whiteside and Pinkie, in Mid-Lothian, during the reign of William, the Lion, who confirmed this grant.

(*b*) In 1510, the *coal* of Ssuchie, in the shire of Clackmanan, was subjected to tithe. Chart. Cambuskenneth, 30.

As early as the age of David I., mines of the precious metals were regarded as objects of attention. That munificent prince granted to the monks of Dunfermlin the tenth of all gold, that should accrue to him within Fife, and Fothrif (*cc*). The mines of the Lead-hills were probably known before the year 1239 (*c*). *Scalingas*, or quarries of stones, for building, or slates, for covering houses, also became the objects of frequent grants, in those early times (*d*).

Much of the land of Scotland was, in those days, possessed, in demesne, by the kings, by the ecclesiastics, and by the barons. Much was held, at will, by the villeyns. And much was enjoyed, on liberal principles, by freedmen, from the bishops, and abbots (*e*). But, there was much land occupied, in those times, on leases for long terms. In 1170, Richard Morville, the Constable, took to firm the whole territory of Gillemorestun, for fifteen years, from Engelram, the Bishop of Glasgow, to whom he paid beforehand three hundred marks (*f*). There were, during that period, lands rented for much longer terms (*g*). And, it is apparent, from the veracious informations of the Chartularies, that the ec-

(*cc*) Chart. of Dunferm; MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 108.

(*c*) David de Lyndsay, of Crawford, in a charter to the monks of Newbotle, before 1239, bounds the lands thus: "A fonte Arthuri usque ad summitatem montis qui est super *la minere*, et sic usque ad summitatem montis super Balgil." The boundaries, which were thus settled, point directly to the *lead-hills*.

(*d*) See Cowel, in vo. *Scalinga*. David I. granted to the prior of Urchart, in Moray, "*Scalingas de Fenechty*." Chart. Moray, 32. In 1157, Malcolm IV. confirmed to Walter, the son of Alan, several lands, which David I. had granted him "*cum Scalingis, &c.*" Harl. MS. Brit. Museum. Malcolm IV. confirmed to the monastery of Kelso, "*Scalingas de Bothkill*," as Earl Cospatrick had conveyed the same to the monks. Chart. Kelso, 71, 377. William de Vetereponte, granted to the same monastery "*quasdam Scalingas in Lambermore que pertinebant ad Hornerdene*." Ib. 139. This grant was confirmed by K. William. Ib. 13. Earl Patrick, the son of Waldeve, mentions his "*Scalingas*" of Pinkertun, in East Lothian, in a charter to the monks of Kelso. Ib. 71.

(*e*) The bishops, and abbots, granted to many deserving persons lands in fee firm, for an yearly payment of stipulated rent; as we see in the Chartularies. The barons made many such grants to their vassals, for the performance of military services. (*f*) Chart. Glasg. 161.

(*g*) In 1190, Alan, the son of Walter, the Stewart, approved of a lease by the monks of Kelso to *his men* of Inverwick, of certain woods, and lands, for three and thirty years, paying yearly, for the same, twenty shillings. Chart. Kelso, 247. In 1326, Simon, the Abbot of Scone, granted a lease, *for life*, of his whole lands of Girsmerland, to Andrew de Strivelyn. Chart. Scone, 32. The Abbot of Kelso granted to Adam de Cullenhat a lease of the tithes of the parish of Kilosbern, for the yearly rent of 53 marks. Chart. Kelso, 30. The Abbot of Kelso granted to Henry Whitwell, a lease, for life, of all the lands, belonging to that monastery, in the parish of Dumfries, for the yearly payment of twelve shillings sterling. Chart. Kelso, 330. In the *Formulare* of Madox, we may see examples of *leases*, of every kind; of some for fifty years, and some for life.

clesiastics,

clesiastics, who were easy masters, conferred on their tenants constant exemptions from oppressive services, and also the invaluable benefit of continuing the possession, in the same family, from husband to widow, and from father to son, through several generations.

The lawless habits of early times made it necessary for the people to live, in collected societies; in villages, and hamlets, rather than in farms, for their mutual security, and comfort. To these *villas*, as they are denominated in the Chartularies, was annexed a *territoria*, or district of land, which was cultivated by the husbandmen, and cottagers, in their several proportions: The husbandmen cultivated the larger divisions, of *carucates*, bovates, or oxgates, and husband-lands, while the cottars improved their tenements, and tofts. The pasture-lands, and the woodlands, were enjoyed in common; each of the villagers having a right of pasturage, for a certain number of domestic animals, according to the extent of the arable land, which he possessed in the territory (*b*). Those villages were of different sizes, according to the extent, and fertility, of the territory, that belonged to them: Some of them had a church, some had a mill, all of them had their maltkills, and their brewhouses; and even the hamlets had their brewhouses, which supplied their common beverage (*i*).

In

(*b*) The monks acquired many grants of portions of land in those *territorias*, from the landlords, who sometimes indulged them with a larger right of pasturage, than usual. About 1190, Robert de Berkeley granted to the monastery of Melros, a carucate of land, in the territory of Mackuston, with common of pasture, for 3 horses, 12 oxen, 6 cows, 100 sheep, and 1 sow, with her pigs, wherever his own cattle, or the cattle of his men, of the same manor, pastured, except the corn land, and the meadow: He also granted them the common easement of fuel, both in brushwood, and in the turbary: And he granted to them the use of his stone quarry of Alverdene, to take stone sufficient for their building, at Melros. Chart. Melros, 27. This was confirmed by Hugh Normanville, who succeeded Berkeley, in the manor of Mackuston, at the beginning of the 13th century; and also by John, the son of Hugh, who enlarged the right of pasturage, for 6 horses, 40 oxen, in winter, and 30 in summer, 12 cows, 200 sheep, and 2 sows, with their brood, to the age of two years. Id. 30. Eschina, the lady of Moll, granted to the monastery of Paisley a carucate of land, in the territory of Moll, with pasture for 500 sheep, and for other cattle, in such numbers as *belong to a carucate of land in that manor*, and all other easements. Chart. Paisley, 30. There are a great number of similar grants, in the chartularies.

(*i*) The following notices will give the curious reader a distinct view of the state of those villages, at the close of Alexander III.'s reign: In the village of Bolden, in Roxburghshire, the monks of Kelso had under them 28 husbandmen, and 36 cottagers, a miller, and four brewers. The former possessed each a husband-land, with common pasture, for which they paid the rent of 6s. 8d. with various services, and carriages. The whole of the cottages, having each nearly half an acre of arable land, with common pasture, rented for 55s. 8d. with certain services. They had a mill, which rented for 8 marks; and 4 brewhouses, that let for 10 shillings each, and the brewers were obliged to furnish the abbot with a lagen and a half of ale for a penny. Chart. Kelso. In the village

In the practice of agriculture, whatever disadvantages the husbandmen may have then endured, they enjoyed advantages, which our present farmers do not possess. The vast woodlands, which every where skirted the arable grounds, gave a shelter to the crops, that greatly promoted their growth, and amply augmented their produce. The woodlands were still more important, for the warmth, which they afforded a bleak country, and for the pasturage, that they supplied numerous herds. Thus, the universal woods enabled the husbandmen to raise larger quantities of corn, and to rear greater numbers of swine, cattle, and horses, than modern prejudice will easily believe (*k*).

During that period, the cultivation produced oats, wheat, barley, pease, and beans; but, in very different proportions than modern husbandry supplies: Rye seems to have been scarcely cultivated. Oats were cultivated in a much greater, and barley in a much smaller, proportion, than they are at present: Yet, oats was by far the most common grain; and furnished both bread, and drink, to the lower orders (*l*). Malt was chiefly manufactured of oats, though some was made of barley (*m*). The consumption of malt was very great; as we know from the number of maltkills, and brewhouses, in every town; and

of Middleham, 29 husbandmen rented each a husband-land, with common pasture, for 6*s.* 8*d.* and paid various services, and carriages: And 11 cottagers rented each a cottage, with nearly an acre of arable land, and common of pasture, for 17*d.* Id.

(*k*) The Chartularies are full of notices, touching the woodlands; and speak often of the *forest mares*, and still more frequently of the mast for swine.

(*l*) At all the mills, vast quantities of oats were ground into meal, and malt, as we see, in the Chartularies. Oats, oatmalt, and wheat, are the only grains, which we see disposed of in large quantities. On the 31st August, 1300, William de Carlile had 80 *acres* of oats, at Dornock, destroyed by the cavalry of Edward I., returning from Galloway, for which the English king made him an allowance of £24. Several days after, another body of cavalry damaged an additional quantity of corn, belonging to the same person, and some belonging to his neighbour, the widow of Robert de la Fierte, for which Edward allowed them *two butts of wine*. Wardrobe Account, 1300, p. 173, 126. From these notices, we may see the large quantity of oats, which one of the smaller landholders of Dumfries-shire raised, in one year; and that, upon the 31st August, their damage was valued at 6*s.* the acre. From the same curious record, we see that the *oats* purchased, in the south of Scotland, for the English cavalry, cost 3*s.* 6*d.* per quarter. And *oat malt* was furnished, for the garrisons, at the *same price*.

(*m*) The *braseum avenæ* appears frequently: The *braseum ordeï* very seldom. Wherever we see large quantities of malt ground, or disposed of, it is *oat malt*. *Barley malt* was more rare, and higher priced. In 1300, *oat malt* was 3*s.* 6*d.*, and *barley malt* 4*s.* 4*d.* per quarter. In the years 1299, 1300, large quantities of *oat malt* was furnished to the various garrisons, which the English king had in the south of Scotland. Wardrobe Account. The Statutes of the Gild, ch. 39, regulate the sale of *oats*, for *brewing*, in the markets of the towns.

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from the quantity of ale, which was consumed, as the common drink (*n*). Wheat was much cultivated, during those ages, throughout the south, and east of Scotland (*o*). And even in Galloway, wheat appears to have been raised, in considerable quantities (*p*). The higher orders, the monks, and the townsmen, eat chiefly wheat bread, of various qualities (*q*). As little barley was grown, and green crops were scarcely cultivated, the manure, which was not much, was applied to the cultivation of wheat. Pease, and beans, were raised only in small quantities (*r*). Much corn was undoubtedly cultivated, during the Scoto-Saxon period. During fruitful seasons, enough was raised for domestic consumption, and furnished some supply, for exportation (*s*): Yet, in those ages famine frequently returned, when the people, who did not then enjoy the many substitutes of modern times, greatly suffered. Besides corn, little else was

(*n*) This is attested by the vast quantities of malt which was ground at the mills; and by the great numbers of brewhouses, not only in the towns, but in every village, and in every hamlet. The kings appear to have had breweries at various places. David I. granted to the monastery of Dunfermlin the tenth of his breweries, in Fife. Chart. Dunfermlin.

(*o*) See the Chartularies throughout. Oats, and wheat, were the grains, which were chiefly cultivated by all the higher ranks, the kings, the barons, the abbots, bishops, and their landholders. David I. granted to the monastery of Dunfermlin the tenth of the *wheat*, and *oats*, from his manors of Kinghorn, Kellie, and Carail, in Fife. Chart. Dunferm. In 1209, William, the Lion, gave, as a mark of his regard, to the Bishops of Salisbury, and Rochester, who had retired into Scotland, 1280 bolls of wheat, 1280 bolls of oats, and 1056 bolls of malt. Chron. Mailros. Wheat, and oats, are the only grains, which we see sold in large quantities; and they are always joined together.

(*p*) In 1300, when Edward I. invaded Galloway, he purchased considerable quantities of wheat, which he exported from Kirkcudbright to Whithaven, and other ports of Cumberland, where it was manufactured; and whence, the flour was sent to the garrisons of Galloway, and of Ayr. Wardrobe Account of that year. The modern agriculture of Galloway could not, perhaps, supply such an export of wheat, as Edward made from Kirkcudbright, in 1300.

(*q*) The large quantities of wheat, which was ground in the mills, particularly, in the mills of towns, attest how much was consumed in bread. See the Chartularies throughout. In the south of Scotland, wheat was, in 1300, sold at 7*s.* per quarter; wheat flour was mostly at 6*s.* but some was as high as 7*s.* and 8*s.* per quarter; and some was as low as 5*s.* 6*d.* Wardrobe Account.

(*r*) In 1299, unground pease, for boiling, which the English used, in the garrisons of Scotland, cost 2*s.* 9*d.* per quarter, while the beans for their horses cost 5*s.* 6*d.* per quarter. Wardrobe Account of that year. Lord Hailes, from Hemingford, intimates that, while the English were besieging Dirleton Castle, they *subsisted* on the pease, and beans, which they found in the surrounding fields. An. i. 310. The Englishmen may have eat what they found: But, they were *subsisted* from England.

(*s*) In performing their usual services to the Abbot of Kelso, his tenants were obliged to carry on each horse to Berwick, the usual place of export, three bolls of corn, in summer, and two in winter. They brought, in return, coals, and salt. Chart. Kelso. Corn was also exported, with the wool, and skins, from Leith, and other ports, in Lothian; as we learn from the Chartularies.

cultivated

cultivated in the fields. Lint was certainly cultivated, as we know it paid tithe, as early as the twelfth century (*ss*). Though artificial grasses were not cultivated; yet, the natural meadows, and the forests, supplied much grass, that was made into hay, which paid tithe, as early as the twelfth century; as we learn from the Chartularies (*t*).

The operations of agriculture were performed, during the Scoto-Saxon period, partly by horses, but more by oxen, which were chiefly dedicated to the plough, while the horses were employed in the cart: The oxen were also yoked in waggons, which were only used about the farm, for short carriages; while the horses were employed in the carts, which went to a great distance (*u*). During the Scoto-Saxon period, great numbers of horses were reared, both on the granges, in domestic studs, and in the extensive forests, where many breeding mares run wild (*x*). The horses of that period, as they were much used in war, in tournaments, and in the chace, as well as in drudgery, were of great value, as they were in considerable demand.

Black cattle were also reared in great numbers, during the Scoto-Saxon period (*y*). The dairy was a considerable object of attention in the early ages

(*ss*) Chart. of Glasgow, and of Moray.

(*t*) At the demise of Alexander III., the monks of Restennet enjoyed the tenth of the hay, which was made within the forest of Platir, in Forfarshire. MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 31. As early as 1242, the parish priest was entitled to common of pasturage, throughout his whole parish.

(*u*) See the Chartularies throughout. Among the services, which were performed by the tenants of the Abbot of Kelso, we may perceive, that the oxen wain was employed, in carrying the corn, in harvest, and peats in summer; but, the carriages to Berwick were performed by horses, with carts. Chart. Kelso. The numerous cottagers, who lived in the hamlets, were, among other services, obliged to weed the corn of the landlords. Id

(*x*) David I. granted to the monks the tenth of the produce of his breeding mares, in the forests of Fife, and Fothref. Chart. Dumferm. He gave to the Prior and Canons of Restennet the tenth of his horses, which were bred in the forests of Forfarshire. MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 31. In 1247, Patrick, the Earl of Dunbar, sold to the monks of Melros his whole breeding stud, in Lauderdale. Chart. Melros, 145. Gilbert de Umfraville granted to the monks of Kelso the tenth of the foals of his breeding mares, in the forest of Cottenshope; and, these foals he allowed, should follow their dams till they should become two years old. Chart. Kelso, 323. In the account of the animals, which belonged, of old, to the monks of Melros, there are no fewer than 325 forest mares and horses, 54 domestic mares, 104 domestic horses, 207 stags, or young horses, 39 three-year colts, and 170 two-year old colts. Chart. Newbotle.

(*y*) In the more cultivated districts, cows were kept, in the proportion of ten to every plough. In the less cultivated districts, they were kept, in much greater numbers; and furnished the chief means of subsistence, as they had every where done, during Celtic times. Cows continued long to form the general measure of value, in which dues, and forfeitures, were paid.

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of the Scottish history; and cheese had been made, in great abundance (z). As the people lived much on animal food, the cattle were all consumed, within the land, while their skins formed a considerable article of export. Sheep were numerous in every district. The flesh was consumed, in the domestic œconomy; but, their wool, and skins, formed great articles of household manufacture, and foreign traffick. As the wool was a great object of agricultural revenue, proper attention appears to have been paid to the cleanness of the sheep, by washing them, at stated periods (a). *Smearing* was, in those times, unknown; and while a large proportion of the flock consisted of ewes, the wedders were killed, at three, and even two years old; so contrary to modern practice (b). Goats also formed, in those times, a part of the stock, even in the districts of the south; as we may learn from the Chartularies. They are continued, in the mountainous districts, even down to our own times. Swine, also, were reared, in great numbers, in every district, and by every husbandman, from the highest, to the lowest; as we know, from the Chartularies (c). The numerous woods, which then sheltered the land, supplied abundance of mast (d). The swine were probably all consumed; as we hear nothing of any export of the flesh: The ancient practice of raising swine seems lately to be resumed, with profit, to the individual, and advantage to the country. Poultry, also, was an object of great attention, in those times; as we know from the Chartularies. Under Malcolm IV. the monks of Scone received, as their *cunveth*,

(z) Earl David granted to the monks of Selkirk the tenth of his *can* of cheese, in Galloway. Chart. Kelso, 4. In 1128, David I. conferred on the monks of Kelso the tenth of the cheese, which he received from Tweedale. Ib. 1. He granted also to the monks of Scone the tenth of his *can* of cheese, from his manors of Gowrie, Scone, Cuper, and Forgrund. Chart. Scone, 16. He gave to the monks of Rindalgros the tenth of his cheese, and corn, from the district around Perth. Chart. May, 10. The same founder of the Scotican church granted to the monks of Cambuskenneth “viginti cudrumis casei de redditus mei de Strivelim.” Chart. Cambusk. Among the ancient dues, which were payable to the church of Hurkendorach [Auchterderan] in Fife, there were “triginta caseos quorum quilibet facit chudreme, &c.” Reg. of St. Andrew’s. Malcolm IV. granted, that the monks of Scone should receive, as *cunveth*, from every ploughland, yearly, “viginti dimidias melas casei,” with various other articles of produce. Chart. Scone, 16.

(a) The cottagers, who lived in the hamlets, were obliged, among other services, to assist at the washing, and shearing of the sheep of the landlord. Chart. Kelso.

(b) Chart. Kelso, Newbotle, Melros.

(c) Even the cottagers, in those times, seem to have had a right to common of pasture, for a sow, and her pigs: The kings received swine, from every district, as *can*; and the monks received swine, as a part of their *cunveth*.

(d) The monks obtained both from the kings, and the barons, many grants of *panage* for their swine, in the forests.

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from every ploughland, which belonged to them, *ten hens*, with other articles of the farm, at the feast of All Saints (*e*). The monks of Kelso had *their hens*, at very easy rates, from their hamlets (*f*).

After this full discussion of rural affairs, a reasonable curiosity may desire to know something of the value of land, during the Scoto-Saxon period of the Scottish annals. In the reign of Alexander II., Richard Burnard sold the monks of Melros a meadow at Farningdun, containing eight acres, for thirty-five marcs (*g*). In 1225, Adam de Stawel sold to Ermengard, the queen dowager, when she was about to found a monastery, the lands of Balmerinach, Ardin, and Cultrath, for a thousand marcs, *legal sterlings* (*h*). The rents of the lands, and of fishings, must have been then very various (*i*). Yet, from all those

(*e*) Chart. Scone, 16.

(*f*) From every house of every hamlet, belonging to the monastery of Kelso, the abbot took *a hen*, at Christmas, for a halfpenny. Chart. Kelso. Some of those hamlets contained from 60 to 70 households.

(*g*) Chart. Melros, 52. Stephen de Melginsh sold the monks of Scone, a tenement in the village of Balursin, with a toft, and two acres of land, for two marcs of silver. Chart. Scone, 61.

(*h*) Chart. Balmerinach, 6.

(*i*) Two carucates of land, in the manor of Malcarvestun, with common of pasture for a number of cattle, sheep, and other beasts, let for forty shillings, yearly. A carucate and a half of land, at Selkirk, with common of pasture, rented for ten marcs. A carucate, at home, with four tofts, common of pasture, and other easements, in that manor, let for six marks. Two carucates, at Fogow, with common of pasture, and other easements, let for four marks. One carucate, at Gordon, let for two marks. A grange at Whitmere, which was cultivated by two ploughs, let for ten marks. A bovate of rich land, at Sprouston, let for ten shillings. Two bovates at Simpring was let for one mark, or 13s. 4d. The general rent of each husbandland, in Roxburghshire, was 6s. 8d., though some rented for 6s. Fifteen husbandlands, at Selkirk, containing each a bovate, let for 4s. each. Husbandlands were small portions of arable land, in the agricultural districts, which were cultivated by the "*Husbandis*," or husbandmen, who lived in the village. Some of the husbandlands were equal in extent with the bovate, while others were larger. Chart. Kelso. Four acres of land, at Selkirk, let for 6s. Thirty acres, which were detached, without the manor, let for 5s. Three acres of land, at Hope-Kailie, in Tweeddale, let for 3s. Forty acres of land, with a brewhouse, common of pasture, and other easements, at Closeburn, in Dumfries-shire, let for two marks. The tenants of all those carucates, bovates, and husbandlands, performed certain services, in addition to the specified rent. Twenty-one cottages, at Clarilaw, having each nearly three acres of land, with common of pasture, let, for two bolls of meal, each, with certain services. Six cottages, at Whitmere, with an acre of land, and common of pasture to each, let from 4s. 6d. to 5s. each. A cottage, without land, at the same place, let for 6d. only: So little was the house valued: The great objects were the land, and pasture. Twelve cottages, at Malcarvestun, each having a toft, and half an acre of arable land, with common of pasture for two cows, let, from 1s. 6d. to 4s. each, and certain services. From these intimations, an idea of the rents sufficiently precise may be formed. A fishing, at Berwick, let for £20. yearly. The fishing of Wudehorn, at Tweedmouth, let for 14 marks. The fishing at Northarion, at the same place, let for two marks. Chart. Kelso.

notices,

notices, we may infer, that land was plenty, and money scarce, though the whole domestic œconomy of North-Britain was in a state of gradual improvement.

Horticulture, as a science, came late into northern Europe. Systematic writers have laboured to prove, that the products of the garden were hardly known to the modern Scots (*k*). Yet, David I., cultivated a garden under the walls of Edinburgh Castle, near the spring, which still marks the ancient site, by the continued flow of its waters (*l*). David I. had seen the horticulture of England, under Henry I.: and, we may reasonably suppose, that he was prompted by his genius to profit from the useful, and to adopt the elegant, in that agreeable art. The nobles followed the salutary examples of the kings, in cultivating gardens, and orchards (*m*). The abbots, as they were the earliest improvers,

(*k*) Wallace on Peerages, 39. At the revolution, says he, hardly a garden was found nearer Edinburgh, than Musselburgh, and Inveresk. He might have excepted the *Hortus medicus Edinburgensis*, a catalogue of which was compiled by its learned superintendant, James Sutherland; and printed, at Edinburgh, 1683.

(*l*) The garden of David I. is emphatically mentioned by him in his charter of Holyrood. Maitl. Edinb. 144. The same royal garden is also remembered, in other charters of David. David II. granted to Malcolm Pagaisson the keeping of the king's gardens, at Edinburgh. Robertson's Index, 39. William, the Lion, granted to the monastery of Cambuskeneth the church of Kincardine, "et unum toftum brasiatori cum uno orto, et unum toftum ad campanum sancti Lolani, cum uno orto, et unum toftum ad baculum sancti Lolani cum uno orto." Chart. Cambusk. 132. We thus see, that gardens were common, in the age of William, the Lion. Roger de Quinci possessed a garden, without the walls of Perth, which he granted to the monks of Scone. Chart. Scone, 57. Walter, the son of Alan, in his charter to the monastery of Paisley, mentions his garden at Inverwic, in Haddingtonshire. Chart. Paisley, 48. Alan, the son of Walter, granted to the monks of Newbotle a toft, near his garden, at Renfrew. Chart. Newbotle, 199. The Bishop of Glasgow speaks of his garden, in that city. Chart. Glasg. 201. An agreement, between the priory of St. Andrew's, and the monastery of Haddington, in 1245, mentions "duarum bovatarum terre contentarum in veteri gardino de Stefinston et terre que jacet inter vetus gardinum et villam de Haddington." Antiq. Trans. Edin. i. 119. In Bondington, near Berwick, there were gardens, in those times. Chart. Kelso, 41. Peter de Hage, of Bemerside, granted a messuage and garden to the monastery of Dryburgh. Chart. Dryb. 97. Henry de Anstrother granted a messuage with a garden, in Anstruther, to the same monastery. Ib. 190. There are various other notices of gardens, in the Chartularies.

(*m*) Chart. Scone, 57; Chart. Paisley, 48-199; Chart. Glasg. 201. Roger, the Bishop of St. Andrews, from 1188 to 1202, confirmed to the monastery of Scone, the church of St. Kentigern, of Locherwart, in Mid Lothian, with one acre and one particute of land, near the stream, "sub pomerio ejusdem ecclesie." Chart. Scone, 43. In a taxation of the vicarages of Haddington, by the authority of William, the Bishop of St. Andrew's, from 1202 to 1233, there is mention of all the tithes, "Cartilagiorum et pomeriorum infra burgum." Harl. MS. Brit. Mus. The same bishop, in confirming that taxation, speaks of the "decimæ hortorum infra burgum." Trans.

improvers, were studious to plant orchards, that are still apparent to the eyes of antiquaries; and to cultivate gardens, which can only be traced now in the Chartularies (*n*).

The dwellings of the Scots, in that age, were either extremely inconvenient, or very mean, as we have already, in some measure, seen. The Scottish kings, and the nobles, and bishops, dwelt in castles, which, as they were perched on some precipitous rock, were built, with a view to strength, rather than convenience. The lesser barons lived in square towers, which were constructed, as we may perceive, from their thick walls, and narrow apartments, more for defence, than comfort. The hovels of the common people were slight erections of turf, or twigs, which, as they were often laid waste by war, were built merely for temporary accommodation. Their towns consisted chiefly of wooden cottages. Even as late as the sixteenth century, the churches, which were generally covered with thatch, were disfigured by the reformers. The cathedrals, and abbeys, however, were structures of great labour, and expence, of magnificence, and taste, as the judicious eye may perceive in their ruins (*o*). The English,

Antiq. Edin. i. 114. Richard Morville, the Constable of Scotland, in confirming to Henry de Sinclair a parcel of land, in Salton parish, in East Lothian, describes it as the toft, “*que jacet juxta pomerium, inter Calkeburn et Wacellum quod est in parte occidentali Berkerie.*” Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. lxxv.

(*n*) Before the beginning of the 13th century, the Scottish gardens had been subjected to tithes, as we have seen above: By the canon, 35, *De decimis hortorum*, it was decreed, in 1269, that the tithes of gardens, in cities, and burghs, should belong to the vicars; and that the tithes of gardens, in villages, wherein corn was cultivated, should belong to the parson; but for other articles, cultivated in such gardens, the tithes should remain to the vicar. L. Hailes’s Councils, 20. The Statuta Ecclesiæ Aberdon, A^o 1256, states, “*ut omnes canonici immunes sint in perpetuum a prestatione decimarum ortorum virgultorum et croftorum, in civitate de Aberdon.*” Chart. Aberdon, 68.

(*o*) Arnot’s Hist. Edin. 61; Grose’s Antiquities; Cardonell’s Picturesque Antiquities: Their towns, as they were built of wood, were frequently burnt down by accidental fires. About the year 1244, Haddington, Roxburgh, Lanerk, Stirling, Perth, Forfar, Montrose, and Aberdeen, were thus destroyed. Fordun, l. ix. c. 61; L. Hailes’s An. i. 302. Even as late as 1600, the houses of Edinburgh were chiefly built of wood. Maitl. Hist. Edin. p. 6-7. In 1177, A. D. a controversy between the Abbot of Kelso and one Lambert, respecting a land in Berwick, having been decided against Lambert, the abbot, from commiseration, gave him a piece of land at Roxburgh, with 20 shillings, to erect buildings. Chart. Kelso, 445. In an “*Inquisitio terrarum de Monachkeneran*,” A. D. 1233, an oath was made, that sixty years before, a person called Bede Ferdan, inhabited near the church of Kilpatrick, the birth-place of the Irish apostle, the *great house* which is *built of twigs*, “*domo magna fabricata de virgis.*” Chart. Paisley, 274. Roger de Quinci, the Constable of Scotland, granted to the monks of Scone his *stone house* in Perth, in the street leading northward to the Inch. Chart. Scone, 57. This notice evinces, that they had begun in Scotland

English, the Normans, and Flemings, who settled in Scotland, during the twelfth century, built their strongholds of stone, and lime: So firmly were they cemented, that the walls, which were of great thickness, appear, at present, like solid rocks. The Celtic chiefs continued to construct their castles of wood, which were easily burnt, and no longer remain (*p*).

Yet, many notices might be found, in the Chartularies, which would show the gradual increase of the towns, in their population, and trade, during the Scoto-Saxon period. A comparison of what they were, in respect to both those important objects, between the twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, on the one hand, and the fourteenth, and fifteenth, on the other, would evince their perceivable progress. In the twelfth century, we see, that the kings drew but a very inconsiderable rent from their towns, which had not then acquired either inhabitants, or commerce, to afford much revenue to the kings, or profit to the people. We have perceived the successive kings, during that age, very active, in drawing to their towns new settlers, and promoting their traffick, by particular privileges, and local monopolies (*q*). During the fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, the kings may be seen, in the Chartularies, equally busy, in granting annuities, and settling pensions, on their children, and favourites, from the mails of their burrows, and the customs of their ports, which had both increased, during succeeding ages of happiness, and adversity. From those intimations, we may perceive a progress, though the towns, even during the fifteenth century, were but hamlets when compared with the same towns, during the eighteenth century, when industry had invigorated, and enriched their inhabitants.

Though the people of every rank were but badly lodged; yet, were they in general well fed: The lower classes certainly enjoyed a much larger proportion of animal food, than they partake of, at present. Cattle, swine, and poultry, were raised by them, in great abundance, and were all consumed, at home. Their bread was made of wheat and oats: The better ranks enjoyed wheat bread; while the lower orders eat the bread of oats, and sometimes of barley, and pease. The higher ranks enjoyed the luxury of wine; but, the principal

Scotland to build stone houses. We may learn, indeed, from the Chartulary of Kinloss, in Moray, that when Edward I. came there with his numerous attendants, the abbot, and convent, erected some houses, for their accommodation, in the *English manner*.

(*p*) During the rebellion of Gillescop, in 1228, he burnt several *wooden castles*, in Moray. Fordun, l. ix. c. 47.

(*q*) David I., Malcolm IV., and William, made a profusion of grants to individual settlers, and to the collective monks of tofts, in the towns, for the purpose of building: And we have seen the same kings promoting industry, and inviting trade.

beverage of the common people was beer, which they chiefly brewed from malt of oats. The great quantity of malt, which was ground at the mills, and the number of brewhouses, which appeared in every village, and in every hamlet, attest the great quantities of ale, which was made, and consumed (r). None of the malt was manufactured, in those simple times, into the less healthful beverage of spirits. Alehouses were settled, in the towns, and villages, as early as the salutary reign of David I., who regulated their use, by an assize (s).

The agricultural improvements of the country were, during the Scots-Saxon period, equally encouraged, and were equally successful. The kings were the greatest improvers, and gave the most encouragement to improvement; as the Chartularies attest. The barons followed their useful example; as we have already seen. But, the monks were above all the most skilful, and assiduous improvers. They had most knowledge, from what they had seen, in other lands; they had most capital; they possessed the greatest number of hands, from having many *villeyns*; and the monks, and their men, enjoying more quiet, security, and exemption, were able to make greater agricultural exertions. They cultivated the wastes; they subdued the woodlands; they rendered what was already arable, more productive: And those improvements, which were called, in the Chartularies, *incrementum*, and *wainagia*, they inclosed sometimes by living hedges, and often by wooden fences. They also pursued the useful practice of drainage. And they moreover gave a value to all those improvements, by facilitating the communications of a rugged country, by making roads, upon the Roman models, and building bridges, for passing the torrents of a mountainous region (t).

(r) See the Chartularies, particularly that of Kelso, which shows that every village had several brewhouses, and even the smallest hamlets, had a brewhouse. In the village of Bolden, [Bowden] in Roxburghshire, which belonged to the monks of Kelso, they had under them 28 husbandmen, and 36 cottagers: And in this village, they had a mill and *four* brewhouses, each of which, at the end of the 13th century, rented for 10 shillings; and the brewers were obliged to sell the abbot a *lagen and a half of beer* for a penny. Chart Kelso, 14. The *lagen and a half* were equal to about seven quarts. There is reason to believe, that those *brewhouses* were also *alehouses*, where ale was sold in retail.

(s) In the charter of William, the Lion, to Inverness, he commanded, that none should have a *tavern*, in any country village, without the burgh, unless in such a hamlet, where a knight might reside, according to the assize of David. Wight's Appendix to his work, on Elections.

(t) All those improvements by the monks appear in the Chartularies, which have transmitted their transactions. They knew, and practised the modern art of making roads: They cut ditches on either side, to carry off the water, and covered the roadway, with hard materials. Chart. Melross, 108.

In the midst of all those improvements, and that prosperity, it may gratify a reasonable desire of information, to ascertain, with all the accuracy of ancient accounts, the several prices of various articles, both of necessity, and convenience (*u*). In every commercial and in every agricultural consideration, coin, and circulation, are great objects. Domestic animals, as they were of universal use, were the *circulating medium* of almost every country, in the earliest ages. In North-Britain, cattle were, during the most ancient times, the common measure of all things. Throughout the whole effluxion of the Scoto-Saxon period, forfeitures, taxes, and rents, were imposed, in domestic beasts, as well as in money (*x*).

Fabulists have carried back the introduction of the Scottish coinage to the congenial Reutha, to the fictitious Donald, to Malcolm II. and to Malcolm III., who are usually quoted, as the reputed authors of every art, or invention, which is either unfounded, or obscure. Bishop Nicolson, by giving a sort of stamp to that base coinage, has adopted the fictions of Boece, and legitimized the follies of Leslie (*y*). That useful bibliographer ought not, however, to be so much reprehended, for saying too little, on this curious subject, as for saying too much.

It is apparent, that coinage was unknown to Celtic Scotland, as it was equally unpractised, in Celtic Ireland (*z*). It is a logical, and a safe, mode of reasoning,
on

(*u*) The following statement of prices, from the Wardrobe Account of 1300, is submitted to the reader's judgment :

Wheat at 7*s.* and 8*s.* per quarter.

Wheat flour, at 6*s.* 5*s.* 6*d.* and 8*s.* per quarter; the greatest part at 6*s.*

Oats, at 3*s.* 6*d.* per quarter; oat malt, at 3*s.* 6*d.* per quarter.

Barley malt, 4*s.* 4*d.* per quarter; pease, 2*s.* 9*d.* per quarter.

Beans, 5*s.* and 5*s.* 6*d.* per quarter.

Salt, 5*s.* per quarter; some was as low as 3*s.* and 2*s.* 6*d.*

Beer, at 18*s.* 16*s.* 12*s.* and 8*s.* per dolium, or butt.

Wine, 40 dol. (hogsheads) at £3. 13*s.* 4*d.*; 16 ditto, at £3.; 5 ditto, at 4 marks, or £2. 13*s.* 4*d.*; 4 ditto, at £2; 1 ditto, at £1. 10*s.*

Carcases of oxen, were 5*s.* to 6*s.* 8*d.*

Fat hogs (bacones) were 2*s.* 2*d.* 3*s.* 3*s.* 9*d.* each bacon.

(*x*) Ayloff's Cal. of Anc. Charters, 337.

(*y*) Hist. Library, ch viii.

(*z*) Simon's Essay on Irish Coins, pl. i. ii. iii; Harris's Ware. i. 206; Ledwich's Antiq. 124, 316: By comparing the texts of those authorities with their plates of coin, it is perfectly clear, that the Ostmen kings were the first coiners, in Ireland. The Irish reguli of the eleventh century, however, did coin some pieces of silver, with inscriptions, in the *Irish* character, and language, as we have seen. See 2. Collect. Hib. 157. One of those pieces is inscribed "*Re Morrah; King Morragh.*" See King Morraugh O'Brien, in Leland's Hist. vol. i. Introd. p. xliii. This inscription,

on such subjects, to infer, that non-appearance, and non-existence, are the same, in argument. Many coins of the Romans, of the English, of the Scots-Saxons, have been found, in North-Britain, but none of her Celtic princes. The earliest coins, that have yet been discovered of any Scots-Saxon king, are those of Alexander I., which existed in Lord Pembroke's collection (*a*). They were all of silver; and they were of the same fineness, weight, and fashion, as those of the contemporary coins of England. Those circumstances denote the mint, whence the Scottish patterns were taken. The gold coins of the neighbouring kingdoms were not fabricated till much more modern times. The silver coins of Scotland continued the same in weight, value, and denomination, as the mintage of England, till the recent age of David II. (*b*). This fact was

inscribed on a similar one of William, the Lion: The *Re*, and *Rei*, William, are, in the same manner, the *Irish* expressions for king, which some medalists explain, from the *Scandinavian* of Snorro!!!

(*a*) Nummi Ang. et Scot. p. 4. t. 24, which contains "Scottish Pennies from Alexander I. to Robert I.;" Ander. Dipl. et Numis. pl. clvii. Scepticism professed his doubts, whether the coins of the first Alexander were genuine: But, conviction came in, at length, to the aid of common sense, and established the certainty of truth. An Essay on Coins. Ed. 1789, ii. 97. This conviction, however, never beamed on the writer of the *Numismata Scotia*, 1786: He thought it of sufficient importance to establish the coins of William, the Lion, about which there had only been the hesitation of self-sufficiency. The authenticity of the coins of David I. has not been seriously questioned. The curious have not yet found any coins of Malcolm IV. The silver pennies of Alexander I., and of David I., are so extremely rare, that a penny of each sells for ten pounds.

(*b*) Ruddiman's Introd. Anders. Dipl. § 59, which states a Proclamation of Edward III., in 1355, A. D. for the fact. The coins of Alexander I., David I., William, Alexander II., Alexander III., and of John Baliol, were minted in the proportion of 11 ounces 2 pennyweights pure silver, and of 18 pennyweights of alloy, making 12 ounces, or a pound, out of one pound weight of silver: So that, during the whole Scots-Saxon period, a pound weight of silver, and a pound of money, in account, were exactly the same. A pound of silver had great power, during that period, in purchasing the necessities of life: And, consequently, the fractional parts of the money pound, in account, or the shillings, and pence, had a proportional energy, in the traffick of necessities for money. I have seldom seen, in any of the Chartularies, during those early times, the pound mentioned, as *money of account*: The mark is the highest denomination of account, which, indeed, frequently occurs, in charters. The earliest notice, that I have met with of the money pound, is in a grant of Fergus, the Earl of Buchan, about the year 1205, which speaks of "*viginti libras sterlingorum*." In a lease from the Abbot of Newbotle to the monks of Holyrood, during the year 1237, the *reddendo* is "*quinque marcas legalium sterlingorum, et viginti denariorum*." Chart. 180. This form of expression, *marcas sterlingorum*, became very familiar, in Scotland, before the reign of Alexander III. Chart. Kelso, 395. The money, which is mentioned, in the charters of David I., of Earl Henry, and of Malcolm IV., is *solidos*, and *marcas*, or *marcas argenti*; but, sterling, or *sterlingorum*, is never added, as far as I have observed, during the reigns of those early kings. For a profusion of learning, on this subject, see the *Discourses of the English Antiquaries*, during the age of Elizabeth, 1771.

not unknown to Edward I., when he enacted, that no coins should pass current in England, except the English, Irish, and Scotch (*c*).

From considerations, with regard to coins, we are naturally led to notices, in respect to prices. As there was a very large proportion of metal, and a small quantity of alloy, in the coins, during those times, very few pounds, or shillings, or pennies, would purchase a large quantity of necessaries. From those intimations, it is apparent, that in estimating all things, during those ages, we must advert to two points; to the quantity of the precious metals, in the coins; and to their power over commodities. To these two circumstances, learned men have not always attended, in forming their judgments of the past, and present, prices; and in settling the comparative value of money, in distant periods. In fixing a general principle, as to the rate of living, during the Scoto-Saxon period, they have rather offered conjectures, however, than deduced any useful rule (*cc*).

Celtic Scotland did not enjoy the benefit of measures, and weights, any more than the convenience of coins. The Gaelic people had not any names for weights, and measures; because they had not the things themselves (*d*). The Scoto-Saxon people, gradually, introduced their accustomed measures, and weights, from England, as we may learn, by comparing the English Chronicles with the Scottish Chartularies. Among an uncommercial people, the measures of land would necessarily be the great object. In England, we may perceive, both from the mention of her Chroniclers, and the discourses of her antiquaries, that those topographical distinctions were naturally divided into indefinite, which were the most ancient; and definite, that were the most modern (*e*): The first were the carucate, the bovat, the hide, the librata, the nummata, and others; the second were the acre, the rood, the perch, the yard, the foot, and others.

In Scotland, all those may be traced, from the English practice, into the Scoto-Saxon charters. The *carucata* is the most ancient, and by far the most

(*c*) 20 Ed. I. Stat. *de Moneta*.

(*cc*) Rud. Introd. to the Diplom. § lxiii. Table iii.; Clarke's Connexion, 157; Whitaker's Manchester, ii. 345: Sir George Shuckburgh Evelyn, indeed, by a scientific induction, has estimated the mean appreciation of money, in A. D. 1100, and 1800, as 34 to 562. Transact. of the Royal Society.

(*d*) Kirk is silent, on this subject, in his Gaelic vocabulary, which is annexed to Nicolson's Hist. Library. When Macdonald wrote his Gaelic Vocabulary, in 1741, he merely gave the borrowed English terms for weights, and measures; as he did not find, in his own language, any original appellations, for those commodious standards. The Scoto-Irish had, indeed, the word *cudthrom*, or *chudreme*, or *cudrim*, for a weight, in general. Shaw's Dict.

(*e*) See the curious Discourses of the eminent Antiquaries, i. 39-43-44-106-197.

frequent,

frequent, of any of those topographical distinctions (*f*). There were *bovates*, or *oxgangs*, and *libratas*, which are said to have contained four *bovates* (*g*). The *oxgate*, or *oxgang*, seems to have been the same local denomination as the *bovate*, under a different name, though it does not appear so early, nor so often (*h*). The *librata* terre occurs but rarely in the Chartularies. David I. granted to the monastery of Kelso, the lands of Traverlen, in exchange for decem *libratarum* terre in Hardingsthorpe (*i*). The *nummata* terre is said by Cowel to have been equal to an *acre*; and this intimation, from which we may learn the nature of the thing, Spelman seems to confirm. The *nummata* terre appears, chiefly, in the west of Scotland; in Ayr, and Argyle, and perhaps in

(*f*) The *Inquisitio* of Earl David found, that the church of Glasgow was entitled to “una *carucata*,” in Peebles, “una *carucata*,” in Kenayrd, “una *carucata*,” in Merebotle. Chart. Glasg. Alexander I. granted to Scone parcels of land, in ten different places, by the denomination of *carucata*. Chart. Scone. William granted to Aberbrothock “una *carucata*,” at Inverness. The grants of the *carucata* are very numerous, in all the chartularies, from the earliest times: And see the Borough Laws, ch. 52, 74, 119, 32; and Chamberlayn Ayr, ch. 30, in Skene. For the *carucata*, see Cowel in vo.; Ken. Par. Antiq. Glos.; Kelham’s Domesday, 169: A *carucata*, from *caruca*, as much land as could be tilled by one plough, in one year: Twelve carucates made one *hyde*, which, however, never appears, in the Scottish Chartularies. The *caruca* is mentioned in the charters of Edgar, “de unaque *caruca* dimidiam marcam argenti monachis persolvant.” Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. vi.

(*g*) Burn’s Westmoreland, Glos.; Cowel, in vo. *bovata*: David I. granted to the monastery of Kelso “duas *bovates* terre juxta Prestesbridge in territorio de Sprouston, in excambio duarum *bovatarum* terre, in Berewyc.” Chart. Kelso, 372. David I. granted to the monastery of Holyrood “Crostorfin cum duabus *bovatas* terre et sex *acris*, et illa capella de libertune, cum duabus “*bovatas* terre.” Maitl. Edin. 144. Malcolm IV. granted to the monastery of Kelso “duas “*bovatas* terre quas dedi eas in excambio duarum *bovatarum*, quas mihi accommodaverunt monachi.” Chart. Kelso. William, the son of Patrick, granted to the same monastery “duas “*bovatas* terre de dominio meo in Whyteside.” Ib. 75. There was granted to the same monastery “unam *bovatam* terre in Molle.” Id. 155, 161. There were several other grants of *bovates* of land to the same monastery. Ib. 214, 510. The *bovate* appears pretty frequently, in the Chartularies, as a subordinate division to the *carucate*.

(*h*) See Cowell in vo. *oxgang*, and Spelman: Alan de Sartin resigned to the monastery of Kelso two *oxgates* of land in Middleham. Chart. Kelso, 350. Roger de Auldton granted to the same monastery “duas *bovatas* terre,” in the manor of Heton. Ib. 510. There was a long controversy between the monastery of Cambuskeneth and John Keir, about four *oxgates*, or *bovates*, of land, in Dunypas. Chart. Cambusken. 92-6. An act of sederunt, in 1585, fixed the *oxgate* at 13 acres; yet the extent of them remained in some places very unequal: Some of the *oxgates*, in the lordship of Strathbogie, are not six acres, while others are above nineteen acres. Stat. Acc. xix. 290. David I. also granted to the canons of Jedworth the town, and lands of Rule, “in “*excambium* decem *libratarum* terræ,” which they had in Hardingsthorpe.

(*i*) Chart. Kelso; MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 29.

Galloway.

Galloway (ii). The *denariata* terre, as we may learn from Cowel, and Spelman, are of a similar nature, with the *librata*; and like it, seems to have also existed, chiefly, in the western districts of Scotland (k). The husband-land appears but very seldom in the Chartularies: Alexander Purveys, of Ercildon, granted to the monastery of Dryburgh, with the consent of his lord, Patrick Earl of March, one messuage “cum terra unius *husbandi*,” within his territory of Ercildon (l). Skene, for once, supplies the silence of Cowel, in telling the obvious meaning of the *husband-land*. A *cultura* terre sometimes appears: Nicolas de Costentin granted to the monastery of Paisley “unam *culturam* de “*terræ* mea de Inverwick (m).” A *costera* (n) terre, and also an *unciata* *terræ* (o) occur, in those days of various practice, and unusual custom.

The definite measures of land were the acre, the rood, the perch, the foot, and others. As the *acre* appeared often in Domesday-book, so it occurs frequently in the earliest charters of the Scottish kings (g). *Jugera* terre may be found

(ii) King William granted to the borough of Ayr “quinque *nummatas* terre,” by the foundation charter. In 1240, Eugenius, Miles, granted to the Bishop of Argyle “decem et quatuor *nummatas* terre in Lismore.” MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 64. Duncan, the son of Ferchard, and Laumanus filius Malcolmi granted to the monastery of Paisley “illam *nummatam* terre de Kilma, “upon Lochgilp,” and also “tres dimidias *nummatas* terre apud Kilmun.” Chart. Paisl. 338. In 1270, Engus, the son of Duncan, confirmed the possession of those *nummatas* terre. Ib. 339. In 1295, Malcolm the son, and heir, of Lauman, granted to the monks of Paisley “medietatem “*nummata* terre,” which belonged to the church of Kilmun. Ib. 347.

(k) In 1236, Alexander II. granted to the monastery of Melros, the lake of Dunscore, in Nithsdale, “et illam *denariatam* *terræ*,” which appertained to the same lake. Chart. Melros, 106. Roderick, the son of Reginald, the lord of Kintyre, granted to the church of St. John “tres “*denariatas* terre,” and duas *denariatas* *terræ* to the church of St. Mary, both in Kintyre. MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 63. These grants were before the year 1240. In 1304, Eugenius de Ergadia granted to the bishop of Ergadia “quinque *denariatas* terre cum dimidia sive *nominatas* terre in “*insula* de Lismore.” Ib. 64. David II. granted to Malcolm M'Lode two parts of the tene-ment of Glenelg, viz. “Octo Davatas et quinque *denariatas* *terræ*.” Charters in the Paper Office, 89.

(l) Chart. Dryburgh, 195. (m) Chart. Paisley, 19. See *Cultura*, in Cowel.

(n) In 1359, William, the Bishop of St. Andrew's, confirmed to the monastery of Haddington, “una *costera* *terræ* cum pertinentibus in territorio de Stonypeth,” in East Lothian, of the gift of Robert de Vetereponte. Trans. Antiq. Soc. Edin. i. 110. See *Costera*, in Cowel, and Spelman, in the sense of a coast: In Skinner, and Ash, *coster* signifies a head.

(o) In 1344, David II. granted to Reginald, the son of Roderic, de Insulis, “Octo *unciatas* “*terræ*,” de Garw Morwarne. Chart. in the Paper Office, 97. See Cowel in vo. *uncia*, *terræ*: He says it often occurs in the charters of the British kings.

(g) Kelham's Domesday, 152. The *Aker*, *Akur*, *Ager*, *Æcer*, signified, in the Teutonic lan- guages, merely a field, an arable field, as we see in Andreas, Ihre, Torfæus, Wachter, and Somner. The *acre* came afterwards to signify a definite measure of land. See Cowel in vo. and Kennot's

found in the Scottish charters (*b*). But, the *jugera* was merely the Latin translation of the English acre. The *rood* of land appears more early, and more frequently: it was chiefly confined to towns; and it became a well-known measurement, in the borough tenements, during modern times. David I. gave to the monastery of Dryburgh three *rudes* of land, with a manor, in his burgh of Carail (*i*). From Cowel, we may learn, that the *rod*, or *rood*, of land, is nearly allied to the *virgate*, which may be traced, in the Scottish chartularies. Earl David conferred on the monastery of Selkirk six *virgatas* and a half of land, near the bridge of Norhamtun (*k*). The *perticate* occurs oftener than the *virgate*: and it was a temporary denomination of small parcels of land, near towns, in the south-eastern shires of North-Britain (*l*). Of the same nature with the *perticate*, is the piece of land, which may be met with in the Scottish chartularies, during those days of various usages (*m*).

Par. Antiq. in vo. *Acras*. When Earl David founded the monastery of Selkirk, he gave to it one carucate, "et decem *acras*," in the territory of Sprouston. Chart. Kelso. David I. gave to the monastery of Kelso one *carucate* of land, "et decem *acras* et *maisuras* carucate pertinentes, et tres "*acras* de prato, and also xxx *acras* terræ de territorio Lillescliff," &c. Id. David granted to the monastery of Cambuskenneth the church of Clackmanan, "cum quadraginta *acris* terre." Chart. Cambusken. 61. Malcolm IV. granted to the monastery of Jedburgh one toft, "et septem "*acras*." MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 29. In the time of Joceline, the Bishop of Glasgow, there were conferred on the same monastery "octo *acras*, in territorio de Hotun." Chart. Glasg. 285. In a charter to the monks of Arbroth, K. William granted, "illas tredecem *acras* terre juxta eadem "*ecclesiam*." Dug. Monast. ii. 1053.

(*b*) Malcolm IV. granted to the monks of Dunfermlin "viginti tria *jugera* terre," and a certain field, near Dunfermlin. Chart. Dunfermlin.

(*i*) Chart. Dryburg. William, the son of Patrick, granted to the monastery of Kelso, in Greenlaw, five acres of land, "et unam *rodam*," near Cauchesterlaw. Chart. Kels. 77. Richard Scot, the son of Anselm de Moll, confirmed to the same monastery eight acres and a *rood* of arable land in Moll. Ib. 162-6. In 1505, Robert, the Abbot of Paisley, granted a tenement in Glasgow, containing "unam *rodam* terre burgalis viz. sex *ulnas* terre, in fronte anteriori." Chart. Paisl. 254.

(*k*) Chart. Kelso. In 1457, John, the Abbot of Lindores, confirmed to the burgesses of Newburgh their several rights, and privileges; rendering yearly for the same out of the borough-firms sixpence "monete *currentis*, pro *virgata*, seu *perticata* terre." Chart. Lindores. See Skene in vo. *Zard*.

(*l*) Gaufrid, the son of Waldeve of Lillesclive, granted to the monastery of Melros thirteen acres, and half a *perticate* of arable land, in Wiltun. Chart. Melros, 20. Roger, the son of Bernard, granted to the same monastery, thirteen acres of land, and one *perticate*, in Farningdun. Ib. 48. In 1271, Adam, the son of Duncan, granted to the preaching friars of Aberdon, four *perticates* of land, near Aberdon, towards the *wind-mill*. Sir L. Stewart's Col. 48.

(*m*) Alan, the Abbot of Kelso, granted to Cuthbert Knightson, a burgess of Edinburgh, "totam illam *petiam* terre," with the pertinents, in the barony of Dodingston. Chart. Kelso, 491; and see Cowel, Spelman, Dufresne, and Ken. Par. Antiq. in vo. *Pecia*.

Those

Those several measurements of land, which were all copied from the previous practice of England, by the kings, nobles, and prelates, who from habit knew that practice, were all introduced, with the Saxon polity. During Celtic times, the *Davoch* was the usual division of land, in proper Scotland; and like many other Celtic terms, and usages, the *Davoch* has been retained throughout many succeeding ages (*n*). In several districts of Galloway, of Perth, Forfar, Aberdeen, Banff, Inverness, Ross, Sutherland, the *davoch* appears to have supplied the place of the *carucate* (*o*). The *davoch* was nearly of the same import as the *carucate*, and comprehended eight oxgang: the *bovate*, or oxgang, was probably a subdivision of each: it certainly was a subdivision of the *davoch* (*p*).

In various districts of North-Britain, there also existed topographical divisions of lands, which seem to have arisen from the *ancient extent*, whenever it may have been made; such as the mark and half-mark, the pound, the shilling, the penny, the half-penny, and the farthing lands.

We have seen none of those petty divisions of lands, according to the money of account, within the south-eastern shires, where the Anglo-Saxons early settled, and the Scoto-Saxons afterwards introduced a new policy. And those divisions of mark lands, half mark lands, shilling lands, penny lands, half-penny lands, and farthing lands; all lie in the countries, in the west, and north, which were inhabited by the Celtic people, at the epoch of the old extent.

(*n*) Before the year 1218, Dovenald, the Abbot of Brechin, granted to the monastery of Arbroth "*illa Davoch*," which was called Ballegillegrand. Chart. Aberb. 104. In 1234, Alexander II. granted to the same monastery the land of Des'uen, which is two *davoch*; of Carinbegyn, which is one *davoch*; of Lochkerry, and Tullikarry, which are one *davoch*; of Breckerreth, which is half a *davoch*; and of Tucht, which is a quarter of a *davoch*. Ib. 140. Allan Hostiarius granted to the monastery of Cuper "*duas davatas terre*," in his territory of Lentrathen; viz. Clentolach, and Balcassay. Chart. Cupre, 54. In 1342, William, the son of Hugh, Earl of Ross, granted to Reginald, the son of Roderick of the Isles, "*decem davatas terre de Kennetale, in Ergadie boreali*." Chart. in Pap. Off. David II. granted to Malcolm, the son of Turmode Macclode, "*octo davatas et quinque denariatas terre*, with the pertinents, in Inverness-shire. Id. David II. granted to Torkyle Macclode "*quatuor davatas terre de Assint*." Id.

(*o*) Robertson's Index; Stat. Acco. xi. 427.

(*p*) *Damb*, which is pronounced *dav*, in the Gaelic, signifies an *ox*: and *ochd*, signifies *eight*: hence, the *dav-och*, means eight oxgang: eight oxen were formerly the usual number assigned to one plough. The large parish of Assint, in Sutherland, is divided into four *davochs*, and every *davoch*, contains eight *oxgates*. Stat. Acco. xvi. 124-5. The parish of Kirkmichael, in Banffshire, is divided into ten *davochs*. Ib. xii. 427. The lordship of Strathbogie comprehended 48 *davochs* of land; and these were extended, beyond the original meaning, to 32 *oxgates* in each. Stat. Acco. xix. 290. The Regiam Majestatem, indeed, extended the *davoch* to *four ploughs*, each drawn by eight oxen.

From those intimations, it is apparent, that money was dear, and that land was cheap, during ages of disturbance, rather than periods of industry.

Orkney, and Shetland, derived their measures of land, with their names, from a quite different source, which is altogether analogous to the Scandinavian lineage of the original settlers. And, the universal divisions were denominated from the *merk*, which seems to have formed the basis of all their measures, and weights.

Of the mode of estimating, in ancient times, the rude produce of the land, it is now time to inquire. In 1296, the Abbot of Dundrainan, speaks of a *sack* of wool, in his petition to Parliament (*q*). The Abbot of Mailros also mentions to Parliament, in 1303, his *lasts* of skins (*r*). The *thrave* was the common measure of corn, in the field, as early as the reign of David I, who granted, that the monastery of Scone should receive, as conveth, from each plough land, “decem *travas* avene,” with other rude produce (*s*). This term was derived, probably, from the Saxon *threaf*, a handful, a bundle; and the Saxons may themselves have taken their *threaf*, from the British *drev*, a bundle, or tye. The *thrave* comprehended two shocks, or stooks, which themselves consisted of twenty-four sheaves (*t*).

Of a similar name was the *skep* of meal, which appears very early in the chartularies, and seems to have been borrowed from the English practice. It is, merely, the Saxon *scyp* of Somner, signifying a part, a portion, in general,

(*q*) Rolls Parl. ii. 471. The Abbot of Melros also speaks of *sacks* of wool, in his petition to Parliament, in 1303. Ib. 473. The usual mode, then, of packing, and selling wool, during those times, in the south of Scotland, was by the *sack*. In England, whence this denomination was derived, the *sack* of wool contained twenty-six stone: the serplar of wool, or *pocket*, was half a sack, a sack eighty tod, a tod was two stones, and a stone was 14 lb. Fleta, book i. ch. 12. The statute of David II, which was made, at Perth, in 1365, mentions the *sack* of wool, on which a custom of one penny was to be collected. MS. Paper-Office.

(*r*) Rolls Parl. ii. 473. A *last* signified a burden, in general, from the Saxon *Hlestan*; and thence came to be applied, as a measure, or weight: and a *last* of hides, or skins, contained twelve dozen. 1 James, ch. xxxiii.

(*s*) Chart Scone, 16. David Oliphard granted to the hospital of Soltre “unam *thravam* de “blado,” for every plough, in his demesne. Chart. Soltre, 16. In 1271, an *inquest*, from three neighbouring manors, found, that the hospital had a right to this *thrave* of corn. Ib. 17. Thomas de Haya granted to the same hospital a *thrave* of corn, in autumn, from each plough, in his land, south of the Forth. Ib. 53. In 1228, Alexander II. granted to the same hospital “unam “*travam* bladi,” yearly, from every plough, in his demesne, on the southern side of the Scottish sea. Ib. 41.

(*t*) For the Saxon *threaf*, see Somner, and for the British *drev*, see Owen’s Dict.: *dreva* signifies the number 24: and *dreva-o-ya* means twenty four sheaves of corn, or a *thrave*. The (*d*) of the British was early converted into the (*ð*) of the Saxons.

though

though custom has sometimes reduced it to a certainty (*u*). Nearly allied to the *skep* was the *chalder*. This, as a measure of grain, salt, and other articles of domestic commerce, was probably derived from the English chaldern, or *chaldre*, as it is written, in the Patent Roll of the 10th of Richard II. The *cheldra* appears, frequently, in the charters of David I, Malcolm IV, and William. David I. granted to the monastery of Holyrood eight *chalders* of barley, and eight *chalders* of meal (*x*). The contents of the chalder were probably changed, during the reign of James I. : for, James II, by a charter, in 1459, converted a pension, which the monastery of Cambuskenneth had from the lands of Bothkennar, in Stirlingshire, of seven chalders of grain, *antiquo mensure*, into five chalders, *mensure consueta* (*y*). Whether the *boll* were a measure of as early use as the *chalder* is somewhat doubtful. The boll certainly appears, in the assize of William, whereby he fixed “the multure to be paid by ane free-
“man at the sixteenth veshel; and a firloot out of twenty *bolles*, as knave-
“ship (*z*).” The English seem to have used the *boll*, as a measure, in ancient times (*a*). From them, the Scots appear to have used the same measure. The name is probably from the Anglo-Saxon *bolla*, *vas* (*b*). Yet, the British *bola* signifies a basket: *Bwl* means any round body: and hence *bwlan* came to signify any round vessel, which was made of straw to hold corn (*c*). The Irish

(*u*) Eustacius of Sticcenil confirmed to the hospital of Soltre the donation of Nicolas of Sticcenil, “viz. duas *sceppas* farine avene,” to be yearly received from his granary at Lyda. Chart. Soltre, 46. In a grant of Michael, prior of Gisburne, to Walter the Bishop of Glasgow, of several churches in Annandale, with the tithes of corn, &c. he excepted “quatuor *sceppas* farine,” from every rector of each of the four churches of Cumbretres, Gretenhov, Renpatric, and Kirkpatric. Chart. Glasg. 147. In 1223, there was an agreement between the said bishop, and prior, on the same subject, wherein it was stipulated, that the “quatuor *skeppis* farine” should be paid yearly by each of the four rectors, at a certain competent place. Ib. 152. In a survey of the forest of Inglewood, in 1619, a *skep* was defined to contain twelve bushels. Burn’s Cumberland, Gloss; Kennet’s Par. Antiq. Glos.; and see *sceap*, and *sceppa*, in Cowel, and Dufresne.

(*x*) Charter in Mait. Edin. 144. David I. granted to the monastery of Kelso “xx *celdras* inter farinam et frumentum,” from the mills of Roxburgh, and “xii *celdras* de brasio,” from the mill of Edenham, yearly. Chart. Kelso. In 1172, the Abbot of Paisley appears to have had a right to two *chalders* of salt, yearly, from Kalentyr. Chron. Paisley.

(*y*) Chart. Cambus. 49. The legal chalder, at present, contains sixteen bolles, Linlithgow measure, which are equal to ninety-six bushels English standard measure.

(*z*) Stat. Wm. ch. ix. § 2.

(*a*) Ray; Mortimer.

(*b*) The measure for grain seems to have undergone some change, at the commencement of the reign of William, the Lion: for, he granted to the monks of Kelso three carucates of land in Edenham, in exchange for twenty chalders of wheat, and flour, “de illa mensura que fuit tempore regis David avi mei,” which they received from the mill of Roxburgh. Chart. Kelso, 14.

(*c*) Owen’s Dict.

bolla

bolla is a bowl, or goblet (*d*). The *boll* of whaty wheat was mentioned, prophetically, by Thomas of Ercildon, before the year 1298 (*e*). The *firlot*, which contains four pecks, or a bushel and a half of English standard measure, was probably derived, from the Saxon *Feower-lot*. It was recognized, as we have seen, by the assize of William; yet, seems to have been too insignificant to appear often in the chartularies. In 1338, Sir William of Levingston granted permission, however, to the tenants of the Abbot of Newbotle, residing in Easter Craggs of Gorgie, to grind their corn at his mill of Gorgie, paying to the miller “unam *firlotam* de *celdra*, for every accommodation (*f*). The *peck*, which contains four *lippies*, owes its name to the Saxon *pocca*, as the *lippie* derives its appellation from the Saxon *leap*, a basket, such a *maund*, as carries the seed of the sower (*g*).

After this full exposition, I cannot concur with the late Lord Swinton, nor with James I. of Scotland, who was an excellent poet, but an indifferent antiquary, in supposing, that David I. gave his people, among other benefits, a systematic ordinance on weights, and measures (*h*). Both his Majesty, and his Lordship, who followed him, like other Scottish theorists, confounded David I. with David II. The weights, and measures, were originally introduced by *use and wont*: and, they were all derived from the previous practice of England, except one or two commercial measures (*i*). Some Scottish writers, indeed, suppose,

(*d*) O'Brien, and Shaw's Dict: Johnson derives the English *bowl*, from the Welsh *buclin*: he should have said *bwl*.

(*e*) Bernard of Hawden granted to the hospital of Soltre “quatuor *bollas*” of meal, to be received of him annually, at the feast of St. Nicholas, in Hawden. Chart. Solt. 28. Richard, the son of Michael of Payston, granted to the same hospital “quatuor *bollas*” of good meal, to be received of him at Payston. Ib. 29. William de Moray granted to the same hospital “quatuor *bollas*” of oatmeal, to be received yearly of his farms of Bothville. Ib. 30. Hugh of Bigger, the son of Robert, the son of Waldeve, granting some tithes to the monastery of Lesmahago, excepted “viginti *bollas*” of oatmeal, which the monks engaged to pay yearly to the chaplain officiating, in the chapel of St. Brigid, at Kyp. Chart. Kelso, 185. The *boll* contains four firlots, or six bushels of English standard measure. See *Bolla*, in Dufresne.

(*f*) Chart. Newbotle, 80. See *firlot*, in Cowel, Spelman, and Dufresne.

(*g*) See Kennet's Par. Antiq. Glos. in vo. *Seedcod*; Somner in vo. *Leap*; Spelman, and Dufresne, in vo. *Lepa*: by the Scottish Act of Parliament, in 1618, the standards of dry measure were committed to the magistrates of Linlithgow; and those of liquid measure to the magistrates of Stirling.

(*h*) The Borough Laws, ch. 52, provided, indeed, that, “ane burges may have in his house “ane measure for his cornes, ane elnwand, ane stave, ane pound to wey.”

(*i*) See Sir George M'Kenzie's Observ. on the Stat. p. 118-22, for his remarks, “on the foundation of weights, and measures;” Hunter's *Treatise on Weights, Mets, and Measures*, Edinb. 1690; Lord Swinton's *Proposals for Uniformity of Weights, and Measures, by executing the present Laws*;

suppose, that the *trone* weight was indigenous, in Scotland: but, they seem not to have known, that Fleta treats of *trone*, as a particular kind of English weight, during the reign of Edward I. The *serpleth*, which was probably derived from the French *sarplier*, a sarpcloth, or packing cloth; and which contained four-score stone, was a term applied to foreign, rather than domestic, traffic. The Scottish merchants introduced what is called the Dutch weights, from their early intercourse with the Netherlands. The *lagena*, or flagon, was an ancient measure of wine, oil, and ale, which was also spoken of by Fleta; and was well known, in his age, within the monasteries of North-Britain (*k*).

The useful coincidence of having an uniformity, in the common standard of dealings, within the same island, was delayed by the long wars of the Edwards, and Bruces. The Act of Parliament, which united the two kingdoms, and which provided, that the English weights and measures should be the standards, for the united kingdom, merely restored the ancient rules of general practice (*l*).

The Orkney, and Shetland Islands, have, however, used, at all times, the weights and measures of Norway (*m*). The first settlers brought those weights, and measures, from their original country (*n*). This fact intimates, that the Gothic people of the Orkney, and Shetland isles, are a very different race, from the Gothic inhabitants of Scotland, who came from South-Britain. The Norwegian weights, and measures, have continued to be used in Orkney, and Shetland, notwithstanding the Act of Union; so attached are people to their practices (*o*).

Of commercial circulation, and the balance of trade, it is in vain to treat, during ages, when neither were known (*p*). However the beam may have turned, it is certain, that Scotland greatly flourished, during the Scoto-Saxon

Laws; and see also the late Lord Privy Seal, Ja. Stuart M'Kenzie's Comparison of the English, and Scottish Weights, and Measures.

(*k*) See Cowel, Dufresne, and Skinner, in vo. *Lagen*; and Kennet's Par. Antiq. Glos. in vo. *Lagena*. In the time of Robert I, it was found by an inquest, that the monks of Restennet were in use to receive "*duas lagenas*" of the very best ale, every time that the king came to their neighbouring town of Forfar, and every day, that he remained there, during the reign of Alexander III.:

"When wes sons of ale, and brede;

"Of wyne, and wax, of gamin, and gle."

(*l*) 5 An. ch. viii. art. 18.

(*m*) They consist of *Merks*, *Setteens*, or *Lyspunds*, and *Meils*. Swinton on Weights and Measures, 104-5.

(*n*) James Mackenzie's Grievances of Orkney, 14-21.

(*o*) Id.

(*p*) In 1253, one merk was paid for the expence and risk of conveying twenty merks from Kingussay, in Badenoch, to Berwick. Chart. Moray, fo. 22.

period.

period. Before the demise of Alexander III, she had acquired all that constitutes wealth, and had obtained a high degree of prosperity. The long wars, which followed that event, either for the succession to her crown, or for the establishment of her independence, wasted that opulence, arrested that prosperity, and entailed on Scotland, in the place of both, lasting penury (*q*).

(*q*) We have already seen how the abbeys, and castles, were destroyed by the ravages of war: the chartularies speak of religious houses, whereof *the war had not left one stone standing on another*. But, it is from an examination of those surveys of the lands of Scotland, which have been called, in her policy, the *Old Extent*, during the Scoto-Saxon period, and the *New Extent* of 1366, that the amount of her ruin can be most distinctly estimated. The Manuscript in the Paper-Office, that has been, frequently, quoted, has happily preserved the ample detail of the rents, and profits, which accrued to the crown, from the several shires of Scotland, as they were stated, in an act of Parliament, and which are as follows :

	The Old Extent.			The New Extent.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Berwick	622	2	4	372	17	3
Roxburgh	1,133	15	0	523	17	0
Selkirk	99	9	10	80	18	6
Peebles	1,274	18	6	863	13	4
Edinburgh, with Haddington, and Linlithgow	4,029	16	10	3,030	12	9
Lanerk	4,052	9	0	1,755	19	8
Renfrew				535	9	8
Air	3,358	19	10	1,396	16	2
Dumfries	2,666	13	4	882	15	4
Wigton	1,235	3	4	195	0	2
Stirling	1,749	19	4	687	3	10
Dunbarton	1,442	9	6	96	9	6
The Total of the southern Shires	21,665	16	10	10,421	13	2
Clackmanan	331	0	8	243	14	8
Kinross	65	0	0	38	14	8
Fife	3,465	13	4	2,555	0	0
Perth	6,192	2	6	3,087	1	7
Forfar	3,370	6	8	2,240	6	8
Kincardin	1,088	10	8	722	0	0
Aberdeen	4,448	6	0	2,588	5	2
Banff	1,510	6	0	128	16	8
Inverness	3,164	11	8	1,080	11	9
The Total of the northern Shires	23,635	17	6	12,684	11	2

CHAP. VII.

A Supplemental View of Subsequent Times.

THIS Supplemental View, comprehending the most prominent transactions of subsequent times, will of course extend to almost five centuries of distinguished events. It will naturally resolve itself into the following divisions: I. The *Brucean* period, which began with the accession of Robert I, in 1306, and ended with the demise of David II, in 1371, only comprehends two busy reigns. II. The *Stewartine* period, as it commenced with a new dynasty, in 1371, and extends to the dawn of *the Reformation*, in 1558, will be found to comprehend the unimportant reigns of eight princes. III. From *the epoch of the Reformation*, five-and-forty years of civil contest, and the feeble misrule of a corrupt people, will carry us forward to the accession of King James, in 1603, when the crown of Scotland, and of England, were united, by the voice of policy, and of right. IV. Little more than the effluxion of a wretched century, comprehending civil wars, domestic conflicts, and a memorable revolution, will conduct us to the necessary union of those two congenerous nations. V. And another period of almost equal length will convey the reader of this subsequent history, through great events, and prosperous times, to the Union of Great Britain with Ireland.

I. The reign of Robert Bruce is marked by great efforts; and occasioned mighty changes, both in property, and in power: yet, is it treated by historians, as if it had been a period of romantic adventures, rather than an age of uncommon revolutions. However few, and unimportant, were his first supporters, when he set out for Scone, he was crowned, with the applause of an indignant people. His successes, when he began to try his valour, and his skill, against such gallant soldiers, as the English, were not equal either to his expectations, or designs. It was the battle of Bannockburn, on the 24th of June 1314, which decided the fate of Bruce, and fixed the independence of Scot-

land. Recollecting now the miseries of the succession war, Bruce appears as anxious, as the nation was willing, to prevent, by a parliamentary settlement of the crown, the return of such disasters, and the reiteration of similar dangers. On the 26th of April 1315, the Parliament, which met, in the church of Ayr, settled the descent of the crown on Edward Bruce, the king's brother, in preference to the king's daughter, Margery, who was induced, by the anxieties of the moment, to signify her assent to this postponement (*a*). Edward immediately set out from Ayr, to enjoy, meanwhile, the unstable throne of Ireland. At Dundalk, in 1318, he met the fate, which his rashness merited. Margery, the daughter of the first marriage of Bruce, was meantime given in marriage to Walter, the steward of Scotland: but, the mother of the Stewartine dynasty died, in 1316; leaving an only child, Robert, who was born on the 2d of March 1315-16; and was destined to ascend the throne of his grandfather, the great restorer of the monarchy. Walter Stewart, the gallant husband of Margery, died in 1326. The death of two such important persons, as the king's brother, and daughter, the legal heirs of the crown, dictated a new settlement of the government, by the Parliament, at Scone, in December 1318 (*b*). The war with England, in the meanwhile continued, with augmented animosity, amidst domestic treason. The pressure of circumstances induced the Parliament of April 1320, to write an epistolary manifesto to the Pope, which avowed their determination not to submit to Edward, in such energetic language, as hath made a great impression, in every age (*c*). After all those entails of the crown, an heir was born to the king, on the 5th of March 1323-4: and, in 1326, the Parliament, and the people, swore fealty to David, the infant son of Bruce; whom failing, they equally engaged to acknowledge the title of Robert Stewart, the king's grandson. In this year, the prudence

(*a*) See the act in Fordun, lib. xii. c. 24; Anderson's Independence, App. No. 24; Robertson's Index, App. No. 7: and see Lord Hailes's Remarks on Abercrombie, with regard to this important subject; intimating the probability that, in those times, the pretensions of the uncle were preferable to the right of the daughter. Ann. ii. 56. This was undoubtedly true under the Gaelic constitution. See the *Genealogical Table*, facing p. 416.

(*b*) Anderson's Independence, App. No. 5; Robertson's Index, App. No. 9, for this second act of settlement. The crown was now entailed, if the king should die, without issue male, on Robert Stewart, the king's grandson, and the son of her, who had magnanimously consented to the postponement of her particular rights, for the public good.

(*c*) This memorable document is engraved in the *Diplomata Scotiæ*, pl. 51. The clergy did not sign this epistle: but, they assented to its magnanimous principles, and adopted its manly language. Fordun, lib. xiii. c. 23. They had already, in 1309, issued an unanimous declaration of equal energy, and effect. Anderson's Independence, App. No. 14.

of Bruce induced him to send Randolph ambassador to France, who concluded a treaty, offensive and defensive, with Charles the IVth (*d*). After many conflicts of various success, the rising vigour of the one country, and the universal debility of the other, induced the English government to acknowledge the kingship of Bruce, and to admit the independence of the nation. This acknowledgement was made by the Parliament, at York, on the 1st of March 1327-8 (*e*). This previous act was followed, by the treaty of Northampton, on the 17th of March 1327-8, which settled the peace, between Scotland, and England, as two independent states; and which was also confirmed by Parliament, who again acknowledged the sovereignty of Scotland, according to its limits, at the demise of Alexander III. (*f*). In pursuance of this treaty, and those confirmations, the infant prince of Scotland married Johanna, the daughter of Edward II. Robert Bruce had now by his own efforts, the firmness of the clergy, and the perseverance of his baronage, restored the Scottish monarchy. And, he died of a lingering disorder, the natural consequence of his privations, his hazards, and his struggles, at the premature age of 55, on the 7th of June 1329.

The revolution, which took place, when the Saxon dynasty of kings ascended the Scottish throne, was scarcely greater, than the changes, that happened under

(*d*) Rymer's second letter to Bishop Nicolson, 13. The Abbe Bevy shews, that this treaty stipulated, in case either king died, without issue, the survivor should protect the lawful heir. *Histoire de la Noblesse*, 471.

(*e*) Rym. Fœd. iv. 337: This transcript of that important act was printed from the chronicle of Lanercost; and is supposed to be the only copy in existence. The fact is, that this interesting document was also recorded in the chartularies of Scotland. In 1415, the Chancellor, in the name of *the three estates*, then sitting, at Perth, produced a transcript of that document; and prayed, that it might be recorded, as a memorial of the truth. This curious transaction, with a transcript of the act, is contained, in a MS. Collection, which appears to have been made by John Corss, the deputy keeper of the records, at Edinburgh, 1739; and which is preserved in my library.

(*f*) The late Lord Hailes could not discover either the original, or any transcript of this most important treaty. He was thus obliged to collect the stipulations of it, which he could not accurately adjust, from public instruments. Ann. ii. 126-7. There is a transcript of the treaty of Northampton, which the English writers were not very studious to discover, in the MS. Collection, that the King directed to be transferred, from the Paper Office to the Register House of Edinburgh. Robertson's Index, 100-3. We have now seen, that Edward III. was empowered by Parliament to treat with Scotland, as an independent state: we have also perceived, that the subsequent treaty of Northampton was confirmed by Parliament: yet, in opposition to those two acts of Parliament, Edward, and his successors, continually, revived the absurd pretension of the feudal dependence of Scotland, till the recent age of Elizabeth, when her ministers, in defiance of those laws, revived the same pretension, with the guilty purpose of affecting the life of Mary Stewart: yet, the English queen, who was implicated in that guilt, disclaimed, by proclamation, any design of arrogating the superiority of Scotland. Anderson's Independence, App. No. 10.

the restorer of the Scottish monarchy. Some of the most eminent families, in North-Britain, with *the Cumyns*, at their head, fell before the fortune of Bruce, and forfeited their all to his offended laws. Many subordinate Barons, who owed fealty to those unfortunate families, rose upon their ruined estates, and thereby ceased to be vassals to superior lords. Some of the greatest offices, which had been hereditary, in those eminent houses, such as the Constable, and Pincerna, passed into new families, with large possessions, which raised them to unwonted greatness. Several persons of acknowledged worth, as well as valiance, by marrying the sisters, and supporting the pretensions of Bruce, laid the firm foundations of new, and opulent houses. It was the policy of that able prince to encourage those marriages. It is not, perhaps, too much to say, that one half of the lands of Scotland, as they had been forfeited, were conferred on new proprietors, who gave a different cast to the population of a mixed people (*g*). It was the fault of Bruce, that he sometimes sacrificed his policy to his gratitude. He conferred a principality on his nephew, Sir Thomas Randolph, the Earl of Moray, whose merits, indeed, as a statesman, and soldier, were equal to his reward, vast as it was (*b*). He conferred on Sir James Douglas, whose merits were also great, most extensive estates, in the southern shires, which enabled his descendants, who had less merit, and more ambition, to contend for superiority with the less able successors of the royal donor (*i*). Much as the gratitude, or munificence of that great prince conferred on those, who had fought by his side, in many a conflict, he tried to take nothing away from those, who were innoxious to law. Yet, are we told, in the legend of Boece, that the restorer of the Scottish monarchy, in order to check the growing power of the nobles, summoned them to shew, by what right they held their lands. They accordingly assembled; and the inquiry being made, they cried out, drawing their swords, "By these, we acquired our lands; and with these we will defend them." Such is the romantic tale of the fabulous Boece! By the late Lord Hailes, it was ridiculed, as a fiction (*k*). By the late Historiographer Royal, it was embodied into history, as a fact (*l*). To *the nobles*, to whom Bruce is said to have been so much in-

(*g*) See Robertson's Index to the Records, during the reign of Robert I, for those forfeitures, and grants.

(*b*) See the Charter of Moray; Robertson's Index, 9.

(*i*) Robertson's Index, 10.

(*k*) Ann. ii. 97.

(*l*) Hist. Scot. i. 8. "It seems to have been a maxim, in that age, says the same historian, that every leader might claim as his own the territory, which his sword had won from the enemy: great acquisitions were gained by the nobility, in that way." This assertion, and that maxim, are quite unfounded in fact: there is no example of any man claiming lands, in Scotland, in any age, by right of conquest. There was no other right to lands, during the reigns of Bruce, and his son, except ancient possession, and the grant of the king.

debted, he certainly owed, but little (*m*). It was the concurrence, and firmness of the church, rather than the efforts of the nobles, who were few in number, to whom Bruce owed his final success.

The Scottish constitution, under which the nation had prospered, during the Scoto-Saxon period, came down to Bruce, though it was perhaps somewhat shattered in its frame, amid the conflicts for the crown. The monarchical part of the government was undoubtedly weakened, though the vigour, and valiance of Bruce concealed its defects: nor, did the policy of this great king, when he granted so many lands, and conferred such extensive jurisdiction on his warlike adherents, tend to invigorate that debility. Unlike his predecessors, Robert I. seldom found leisure to distribute justice, personally, to his people: but, in addition to the justiciaries, and the judges of ancient times, the Parliament was now called in, to act *judicially*, as the king's council. If we except some instances, during the late interregnum, when the English modes were copied, there was no example, during the Scoto-Saxon period, much less in Celtic times, of the Parliament performing the function of justiciaries (*n*). This juridical novelty is alone a sufficient proof of the debility of the royal prerogative, which found itself unequal to the due administration of justice, without calling in the

(*m*) *Ib.* 47. At the accession of Bruce, there were not a dozen Earls, in Scotland: and of those, three opposed him in arms, and sunk under his prowess. Of all those *nobles*, only two, the Earls of Fife, and March, were present, in the Parliament of Ayr, when the succession to the crown was settled, except his nephew, the new created Earl of Moray. Robertson's Index, 7. There were only two Earls, with the exception again of the Earl of Moray, who assisted in Parliament, when the second entail of the crown was made, in 1318, *Ib.* 9. None of those Earls appears very forward in battle, during the many conflicts, while the stability of the throne, and the independence of the nation, were so strenuously fought for. Robert I. created only two Earls, his brother Edward, whom he made Earl of Carrick, and his nephew Randolph, whom he created Earl of Moray: and both those warriors had freely bled, before they were belted with the Earl's sword.

(*n*) Robertson's Index, 28. Even in England, the word *parliament* is comparatively of a modern date. The word *parliamentum* was not used, in that country, till the reign of Henry III, who demised, in 1272. Blacks. Com. i. 147. Alexander III. was his contemporary. The use of the word *parliament* did not begin, in Scotland, till the reign of Robert Bruce. Wight on Elections, 6. The chartularies, indeed, attest the common use, not only of the word, but the thing, in that reign: but, the learned Wight quotes a document, "*Litera Atornatus ad Parliamentum*," from the chartulary of Kelso, by Patrick, the Abbot, which induced that intelligent person to think, that the use of the word, *parliament*, must have been as old as 1258. *Ib.* App. No. 4. There was, however, a Patrick, Abbot of Kelso, from 1399 to 1406, as we know from Innes's MS. Collections. That *letter of attorney*, appointing delegates to Parliament, has too modern a cast, for the period from 1258 to 1260: and, the context of the document evinces, that it could not be older than 1399 to 1406, the age of the second Patrick.

legislative

legislative power. It was, in this reign, also, that the enfeebling practice of granting to the baronage *regalities*, which, as they acted independent of the king's courts, greatly lessened the executive power of the crown (o). Though the constituent members of the Parliament were augmented, towards the conclusion of this reign, by the admission of delegates from *the boroughs*; yet, the members, and dignity, of this assembly, were never restored to their former greatness.

The demise of the great restorer of the Scottish monarchy transferred his gory crown to his son, David, a child of five years old. Throughout a reign of more than one-and-forty years, the Scottish king was either an infant, or a fugitive, the prisoner, or the instrument of the English monarch. The ambition of Edward III, which was full as insidious, as it was insatiable; the claims of the forfeited Barons, who were the subjects of England; and the instrumentality of Edward Baliol, who acted, as the *pretender* to the Scottish crown; were the genuine causes of the renewal of a war, which lasted, with short intermissions, five-and-twenty years. The two great supporters of Bruce's throne soon departed from the bloody stage of national conflicts: Sir James Douglas died, in 1330; and Randolph, the Earl of Moray, in 1332 (p). The three battles of Duplin, in 1332, of Halydun-hill, in 1333, and of Durham, in 1346, might seem to have decided the fate of Bruce, and of Scotland: yet, such was the resolute spirit, which then inspired a hardy people, that men came out from every vale, and every hill; and showed by the bravest actions that, while two of them remained, they would not submit to the English king. It was amidst the reiterated hostilities of a lengthened struggle of bloodshed, intrigue, and perfidy, that the Douglasses rose pre-eminent, in power, and in lawlessness, among a warlike baronage. The ambition, and the aims of Edward III, as they grasped the two kingdoms of Scotland, and of France, were disappointed, in all their objects. And, he now began to think how to convert the captivity of David II, to the most profitable purpose. A protracted negotiation, which was full of artifice, ended, during the year 1354, though it was

(o) After so many lands had been conferred on Sir James Douglas, the gratitude of Bruce erected the whole into a *free regality*. Robertson's Index, 10. His favour granted to Robert de Keith, the Mareschal, his licence to "to byde from the sheriffs court." Ib. 2. His impolicy conferred on the Abbot of Arbroth a *regality* over his lands, in Aberdeenshire, like the regality, that he then enjoyed over his other lands. Chart. Arbroth, 199. His favour to the Earl of Moray conferred on his warlike nephew most princely powers; as we see in the charter of Moray.

(p) The prudence of Bruce had induced his Parliament to appoint those two eminent men to be the successive Regents of his son, and kingdom. The subsequent appointment of insufficient men to that high trust had well nigh ruined both the king, and people.

not completed till the year 1357 (*q*). A ransom for the king of ten thousand marks a year, during a long, and captious term, placed his country in the degraded condition of a tributary state. Here began a practice, on the side of the English government, in negotiating with Scotland, which was clearly as illegal, as it was certainly impolitic (*r*). The English kings, who thenceforth aimed at the direct dominion, of North-Britain, would never consent to make a permanent peace; but would only agree to a truce of short duration. The year 1355, is remarkable, for the surrender of the kingdom of Scotland, by Edward Baliol to Edward III. (*s*). The two parties to this transaction entailed, as far as in them lay, on a harassed people, the sad calamities of perpetual war. A few years of insidious intrigue, and low amours, occupied the subsequent life of David II, after his releasement from captivity: he employed his latter days, at the hazard of his personal safety, in trying to persuade his Parliament, to transfer the entailed crown from his father's grandson to Edward III, his father's foe: but, his Parliament was too firm, as well as too resolute, to denude themselves of their rights, or to deprive the Stewart of his title. David II. ended his inglorious career, on the 22d of February 1370-1, in the Castle of Edinburgh, after casting many a lingering look to England, in the 47th year of his age, and the 42d of his reign.

Robert Bruce, and his posterity, are said to have reigned, with an authority not inferior to that of its former monarchs (*t*). But, this position was hazarded, without a perfect knowledge of the past, or accurate consideration of the future. The royal prerogative had somewhat declined, in the possession of Robert Bruce: the hands of his infantine successor could hardly support the sceptre, which seemed too weighty for the vigorous grasp of his powerful father. The death of the two regents, who had been appointed, by the Parliament, to an infant king, left the nation, without a government, while the sovereign was obliged to seek protection in France. The quick succession of regents, during that infelicitous period, necessarily enfeebled a prerogative, which was only exercised by the weak authority of delegated powers. It was in this reign, that

(*q*) Rym. Fœd. v. 793; Ib. vi. 46-52.

(*r*) Two English acts of Parliament had acknowledged, as we have seen, the sovereignty of Scotland: yet, the English government, disregarding both those laws, treated the Scots, as feudaries. This unwise, not to say illegal conduct, threw a brave, and irascible people, into the arms of France.

(*s*) Rym. Fœd. v. 832-6. We have already seen Edward III. purchase the supposititious title of FitzAlan to the Stewartship of Scotland; because the Stewart had a parliamentary right to the Scottish crown.

(*t*) Robertson's Hist. Scot. 73.

the practice of *manrent* began, when the powerful wished for followers, and the weak wanted protection (*u*): this circumstance evinces, with strong conviction, the debility of government, amid the convulsions of those times. Of such a king, it is not likely, that he would, in his proper person, administer justice to his people. Yet, the form of the ancient government remained, while its energies were no longer felt. The Parliament, meantime, continued the practice, which had commenced, during the late reign, of acting full as much as judges, as legislators. We may even see the feeble David giving his grants “in pleno parlamento,” as if his prerogative had been unequal to the executive government of the ancient kings. In 1367, commenced a parliamentary practice, which seems not to have been quite constitutional, of appointing a committee of Parliament, with the whole power of the legislature, under the pretence of commodiousness (*x*): this practice, however, continued long; and is supposed to have given rise to the anomalous institution of *the Lords of articles*, in subsequent ages. The Parliament, in this reign, gained lasting honour by its firmness: it explicitly refused the impolitic solicitations of the king, to place a son of Edward III. in the entail of the crown, in the room of *the Stewart*, the grandson of the great Bruce, the son of Margery Bruce, who had herself merited well of the nation (*y*). The feebleness of David II. required the meeting of many parliaments, during this long reign; and their acts would be curious, if they were ascertained as records. The *new extent* was certainly settled, in 1366, under parliamentary authority; and it attests the deplorable state of Scotland, after an inveterate war of seventy years, with few intermissions. While there was but little change in the state of the ancient peerage, there were very few Peers added to the old, during this disastrous reign (*z*). The same enfeebling impolicies of granting regalities in fee, and sheriffships for life, which had begun under the father’s rule, was continued with greater profusion, by the son (*a*). In all those grants, and in that impolicy, we see David II. in the act of abdicating a part of his authority, by transferring his prerogative to his Barons, without any attempt, on his part, to lessen the power of the nobles (*b*).

(*u*) The first transaction of this sort, which I have met with, is an indenture, between John, Lord of *the Isles*, and John of Lorn, in 1354, to be found among the public archives, at Edinburgh.

(*x*) Lord Hailes’s An. xi. 261, with the MS. which he quotes.

(*y*) She had been a hostage, in England: she had consented to postpone her own right to the crown, in order to let in her uncle Edward Bruce, for the public good.

(*z*) Malcolm Fleming was created Earl of Wigton, in 1342. William Douglas was made Earl of Douglas, in 1357. Robertson’s Index, 31. John Stewart, the heir of the Stewart, had the revived title of Carrick conferred on him, in 1369. Ib. 42; Crawford’s Peerage, 493, 72.

(*a*) See Robertson’s Index, during David II’s reign, for those impolitic grants.

(*b*) This is a very different conclusion, from what we may see in Robertson’s Hist. Scot. i. 46.

II. Not-

II. Notwithstanding the intrigues of Edward III, and the solicitations of David II, Robert, the Stewart of Scotland, at the ripe age of fifty-five, succeeded to the crown, without further opposition, under the parliamentary entail of December 1318 (*c*). All persons acknowledged a title, which, as it had been often legalized, by constitutional authority, could not possibly be disputed. The very person, who is feigned to have pretended a title to the crown; and who was of great importance; hastened to swear allegiance to the legal heir. The Stewart was crowned at Scone, on the 26th of March 1371 (*d*). And recollecting the mischiefs of a doubtful succession, and even of female heirs, he hastened to settle, by an act of Parliament, the descent of the crown on his sons, successively, and their heirs male (*e*). In his usual administration, he seems to have been willing to cultivate amity with England, by paying the instalments of David II.'s ransom, whereof there still remained unpaid 52,000 merks (*f*). But, he appears to have been still more solicitous to renew the *old league* with France; as it was deemed a convenient policy, in that age, for the weak powers to unite against the strong (*g*). The impolicy of England continued, in de-

(*c*) Anderson's Independence, App. 25; Robertson's Index, 9. Yet, Legend, under the form of history, came out with an assertion, that William, the Earl of Douglas, "uniting in himself the dubious pretensions of Cumyn, and the solid title of Baliol," unexpectedly claimed the crown, on the demise of David II. This fiction became a party question, which was pertinaciously debated, about the year 1747, at Edinburgh. In 1748, the learned Ruddiman published a *demonstration*, that William, the Earl of Douglas, had neither any relationship of blood, nor connection of family, with the Cumyns, and Baliols: and he might have added, that the Earl of Douglas had no alliance of marriage with the Stewarts. When Goodal published his edition of Fordun's chronicle, he repeated the proofs of Ruddiman, in order to warn the reader against that legend. Yet, the late "History of Scotland from the accession of the house of Stewart," repeats the same legend, in opposition to Ruddiman's proofs, and to Goodal's warning. What pretence of title could Douglas have, in the face of so many acts of Parliament, which had recognized the Stewart, and his heirs! The whole clergy, by an unanimous declaration, in 1309, had exploded the title of Baliol, and recognized the right of Bruce, and his posterity. Anderson's Independence, App. No. 14. It is incredible, that the Parliament could meet, at Lithgow, according to the Legend, to appoint a successor to David II, when every constituent member must have known, that a successor had been already appointed by law. The whole story of Douglas's claim is an egregious fable, which was scarcely worth the repetition; and which, we may hope, will never be again repeated!

(*d*) Robertson's Index, App. 13. (*e*) Ib. 14; Hay's Vindication of Elizabeth More, 115.

(*f*) Robertson's Index, 109.

(*g*) Ib. 3: Rymer's second letter to Bishop Nicolson, which was written to disprove the *pretended old league*, with Charlemagne, and to assert the *true old league*, by John Baliol, contains a copy of the treaty between Robert II, and Charles, the good, dated, at Edinburgh, the 28th of October 1371. MS. Paper Office.

clining to acknowledge the sovereignty of Scotland, by treaty, though it had been recognized, by several acts of the English Parliament. A thousand inroads on either side, which were of little importance in themselves, only engendered ill-will, and enmity, between contiguous nations. The battle of Otterburn, which was fought, in 1388, was more remarkable, for the obstinate valour of the chiefs, than for any national result. In the subsequent year, the Parliament, which is said to have assembled, at Edinburgh, recognized the king's second son Robert, the Earl of Fife, and Duke of Albany, as governor of the kingdom, during the advanced life of the reigning sovereign. Robert II. died, on the 19th of April 1392, in the 75th year of his age. This prince, the first of the Stewartine dynasty, left many children, by two wives, and several concubines (*b*). The numerous brothers, and sisters, of Robert Bruce, brought him a great accession of strength: the issue of Robert II, by dividing power, and subdividing property, induced prodigious weakness in his government, and unceasing penury, in his revenue (*i*).

There is not a trace of any attempt by Robert II, who seems to have delighted in domestic enjoyments, to limit the power of the nobles, whatever he may have added, by his improvident grants, to their independence. He appears not to have attempted to raise the royal prerogative, from the debasement, in which the imprudence, and misfortunes of David II. had left it. By con-

(*b*) See Crawford's Hist. of the Stewart family, 17-20.

(*i*) Robert II, who came of age, in 1337, appears to have formed an early connection with Elizabeth More, the daughter of Sir Adam More, by whom he had several children, before their marriage. In 1347, at the age of thirty-one, he obtained a Papal dispensation, for his marriage with that Lady, whom he espoused, in the face of the church, during the year 1349; as Fordun, the contemporary historian, had truly stated. This dispensation, from the Vatican, is printed, in Andrew Stuart's Gen. Hist. of the Stewarts, 418. This dispensation, and subsequent marriage, legitimized the previous issue of Robert and Elizabeth, according to the legal notions of that age: the Scottish Parliament of 1371 recognized that principle, when the legislature acknowledged John, the eldest son of that marriage, to be the heir of the crown. In 1355, Robert obtained another Papal Dispensation, for marrying Euphemia, the daughter of the Earl of Ross. Ib. 420. Of those marriages, the most absurd stories were related by the Scottish historians, who disregarded the authority of Fordun. Buchanan, who was very capable of deliberate falsehood, boldly asserted, that Euphemia was the first wife, and Elizabeth, the second spouse of Robert, without caring to what confusion such falsehoods might lead. And party, during the agitations of civil war, entering into the question, in respect to the legitimacy of John, the eldest son of Robert II, pertinacity continued to dispute with demonstration. But, the publication of those dispensations, from the Papal records, will probably silence for ever the loquaciousness of calumny, since neither party, nor person, can hope to gain, from maintaining unprofitable fiction.

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senting to an act of the Legislature, which appointed his second son the Lieutenant of his kingdom, he seems to have abdicated his own power (*k*).

John, the eldest son of Robert II, succeeded to the throne, under the parliamentary entail of the crown, 1371, by the more popular name of Robert III. He had scarcely seized the sceptre in his feebleness, when *the wolf of Badenoch* spread devastation through Moray. So mild a prince, and so weak a man, was not very likely to make any attempt upon the power of others, when he could scarcely support his own. In 1398, he created David, his eldest son, Duke of Rothsay, from the royal castle of that name in Bute, an ancient possession of the Stewarts. This prince acted wildly, which was the fashion of the age; and he entered into an unworthy marriage, according to the manners of his father, and grandfather. He was assassinated, by his uncle the Duke of Albany, with the concurrence of Archibald, the Earl of Douglas, his brother-in-law (*l*). In his intercourse with England, which continued to make cessations from war, rather than treaties of peace, short truces, and frequent inroads, only embittered the spirits of rival nations. In 1402, the battle of Homildon was fought on the marches, between Douglas, and Percy, with the obstinate valiance of personal rivalry. The Scottish spears were obliged to yield to the English bows. Such conflicts displayed the bravery of the contiguous people: but, they only ended in some short cessation, which led to a subsequent inroad (*m*). In the midst of that warfare, the Scottish king, on the 10th of December 1404, settled on his son James, the heir of his crown, the whole

(*k*) He constituted his fourth son, Alexander of Badenoch, Lieutenant, from the limits of Moray to the Pentland Frith. Robertson's Index, 118. This person was long known by the name of *the wolf of Badenoch*. Such was his savageness, that he well deserved this title. He seized the Bishop of Moray's lands in Badenoch; and being excommunicated, he, in resentment, burnt the town of Forres, the choir of the church, and the manse of the archdeacon, in May 1390; and in the subsequent June, he burnt the town of Elgin, the church of St. Giles, the Maison-dieu, and the cathedral, with eighteen houses of the canons. For all this mischief, and sacrilege, he made some reparation to the church; but, he was not hanged! Shaw's Hist. Moray, 276. Robert II. gave to his son David the Earldom of Strathern, which he erected into a *free regality*, including the four pleas of the crown. Robertson's Index, 95. To John Dunbar, and Margery, his wife, the king's daughter, Robert gave the Earldom of Moray, with the four pleas of the crown. Ib. 96. Among other officers, such as sheriffs, coroners, mayors, serjeants, he conferred on Andrew Dempster, and his heirs, the office of Dempster, in Parliament, and in the justiceairs, and in the sheriff court of Forfar. Ib. 180-2.

(*l*) In Lord Haile's Remarks on the History of Scotland, 278, may be seen a sort of parliamentary remission for that odious deed, in the form of a charter from Robert III, who had still another son, the only hope of his years.

(*m*) See Ridpath's Border History, throughout.

Stewartry, as a *free regality*, during his life, for an appanage to the prince of Scotland (*n*): he thus denuded himself of the extensive property, and influence, which belonged hereditarily to the Stewarts. Recollecting the fate of the Duke of Rothsay, he deemed it prudent, however, to send his only son, to be educated in France, under a friendly prince, who owed him protection, from treaty. But, during a treacherous truce, the prince was taken, on the coast of England, as a convenient prize, on the 30th of March 1405. The aged king, worn out with infirmities, and cares, and bereft of the only hope of his age, died on the 4th of April 1406, at his Castle of Rothsay; leaving the heir of his crown, in the hands of his adversaries, and the administration of his kingdom to the misrule of his ambitious brother, the Duke of Albany. The two first kings of the Stewartine dynasty seem to have acted as barons, rather than as kings: their privacy induced unimportance; and their facility gave rise to crimes (*o*).

Robert III. was scarcely dead, when the Parliament recognized the title of the captive prince, and confirmed the regency of the ambitious Albany. The regent amused the Scottish people, with fruitless negotiations, for the king's release. The English are said to have made some amends, for detaining James, by their care of his education: yet, was it obviously the policy of the English government, from the capture of David, in 1346, to obtain the possession of the Scottish king, either by force, or fraud. Nothing could be more wretched than the administration of Scotland, while the sovereign was a captive, and the governor a regent. The ravages on the borders were the natural consequences of that impolicy, which preferred a precarious truce to a permanent league, with the delusive hope of obtaining the sovereignty, at some moment, propitious to ambition. The domestic administration of Albany was not more happy for internal quiet. The year 1411 is memorable, for the battle of Harlaw, in Aberdeenshire, which was fought for the Earldom of Ross, between Donald, the Lord of the Isles, and the Earl of Mar; the one commanding the Celtic

(*n*) See the charter in Carmichael's Tracts, 103.

(*o*) Their marriages, concubinage, and their issue, have been already mentioned, as the lasting causes of singular debility, in the monarchy. The statutes of this reign, as they have been published by Skene, speak of "the misgovernance of the realme; of the great and horrible destructions, ravages, burnings, and slaughters, that are so commonly done throw all the kinrick." Such were the necessary effects of the feebleness of the sovereignty, and the jurisdiction of the baronage. How many *regalities*, and *judicial offices*, for life, were granted by the imprudence, or weakness, of Robert III., may be seen in Robertson's Index, 127-157. In Sir Robert Gordon's case, claiming the Peerage of Sutherland, App. 29, there is a bond of manrent, from James, the Earl of Douglas, to Robert III., which would be extremely curious, if it were genuine.

people of the Hebrides ; the other, the Saxon inhabitants of Aberdeen, and Angus : this domestic conflict, for an object, which, in other times, the law would have decided, was valorously contested till the Saxon steadiness prevailed over the Gaelic ferocity : the Lord of the Isles was obliged at length to make his feigned submissions. There were other internal commotions, which were less bloody, that mark however the sad weakness of the established government. After many years of ambitious misrule, the Duke of Albany died, at the age of eighty, in 1419. And the office of Regent descended to his son Murdach, as if he had been the lawful king, from ancient descent. Such, then, was the anomalous nature of the Scottish government, in that wretched age ; consisting of a captive king ; a feeble regent ; an uncontrouled baronage ; and a misgoverned people.

The Scots had now, under illustrious leaders, made themselves felt, in France. And the Protector, Bedford, adopted the solid policy of setting at liberty their captive king ; of enfeebling his government by an enormous ransom ; and of engaging his amity, by the seductive means of marriage. James I, who has not been celebrated beyond his merits, married the object of his love, Joan, the elegant daughter of the Duchess of Clarence. And, on the 19th of April 1424, he returned to his kingdom, at the age of thirty, amid the acclamations of a harassed people. This accomplished prince now employed upwards of a dozen years, in restoring the government, and promoting the interest of his kingdom (*p*). The regent Murdach, and his sons, and connections, were now made to pay the forfeit of their lives to the offended laws. The Lords of the Hebride Isles, and the chieftains of the Highlands, who had been completely lawless, under the long regencies of late times, were obliged to submit to regular government. He cultivated amity with England ; yet, made he an alliance with France, and a commercial treaty with Flanders. But, though he delighted in the arts of peace, he was not afraid of the hazards of war. In 1436, he conducted a large army to the English borders : yet, amid his vast preparations for hostility, he found that, his influence was not equal to his authority ; and learning the discontents of his Barons, he thought it prudent to dismiss his undisciplined army. James retired to his usual residence at Perth, where he was assassinated by his relation, the Earl of Athol, by Robert Graham, and other conspirators, on the 20th of February 1437. The terrible punishments, which were inflicted on the several assassins, attest the popularity of James, and the savageness of the age.

(*p*) See the Black Acts of Parl. throughout.

The laws of this reign, genuine as they are, furnish the most satisfactory state of its domestic œconomy. Like *Justinian's Codex*, the statutes of various parliaments open with declarations, in favour of the church. The first act of James's Parliament renewed the statute of Robert I, "for the honour of God" and the halie kirke." It was observed, that this act was made, for inducing the clergy to support the king against the regent (*q*). The act, for protecting *the church*, was followed by three acts, for securing *the state* (*r*). The patience, and inactivity of the nobles, when they saw the king punish the highest of their order, is not, then, amazing, when we see such statutes made, for preserving quiet, and enforcing law (*s*). The acts of the first Parliament of James show a systematic purpose of wise statesmen, to establish legislative acts, as the just terror of the strong, and as the safest shield of the weak (*t*). It is, perhaps, too narrow a view of the policy of James, to attribute all those salutary measures, as so many means to aggrandize the crown, and to depress the nobles (*u*). If during eighteen years residence, in England, he saw a regular administration of government; wise laws enacted; and a nation flourishing, and happy; because all ranks of men were accustomed to follow those rules (*x*); it is not too much to suppose, from the context of the statute-book, that it was the salutary object of a wise prince, to oblige every order, in his kingdom, to respect his government, and to obey his laws. Amid a thousand regulations, for the benefit of his people, two measures were long attended, with important effects; the one produced, in 1427, a change in the constitution of Parliament (*y*);

(*q*) Sir Geo. Mackenzie's *Observ. on the Stat.* i.

(*r*) There was one of those acts, "for observing sicker peace within the realm, and prohibiting private war;" there was another, "that no man should rebel against the king's person;" and there was a third, declaring those to be rebels, who should disobey the king's command against notorious rebels. *Black Acts*, ch. ii, iii, iv.

(*s*) Robertson's *Hist. Scot.* i. 51,

(*t*) The *Black Acts*, ch. iv. for enforcing the administration of law, and justice. The great and small customs were confirmed to the king. *Ib.* ch. viii. And he was empowered, to inquire by inquest of the country, what lands, and rents, belonged to the king's predecessors; David II, Robert II, and Robert III. *Ib.* ch. ix. This act is supposed to have given just alarm to the nobles. Roberts. *Hist. Scot.* i. 52. Yet, Sir George Mackenzie had observed, "that on such inquests the king needs produce nothing to prove, that he is superior; for the king is presumed to be general superior; and is infest *jure coranæ*, in all the lands of Scotland:" in this observation, we may see a trait of the municipal law of North-Britain, in its earliest form.

(*u*) Robertson's *Hist. Scot.* i. 48-51.

(*x*) *Ib.* 49.

(*y*) This was the 101st act of the 7th Parl. of James I, the 112th of the *Black Acts*, for enabling the Barons, and freeholders, to appear in Parliament, by *commissaries*, while the king was to summon, by special precept, the bishops, abbots, priors; Dukes, Earls, Lords of Parliament, and Ban-rents.

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and the other, ameliorated the administration of justice, in 1425 (z). James appears to have been early ambitious to emulate David I, as the legislator of Scotland (a). Happy! had he lived to execute strictly the laws, which, in so many parliaments, he had wisely enacted, for the general good of a wretched people.

The assassination of James I, in an evil hour for his people, transferred his bloody sceptre to his son James, in the seventh year of his age. He was crowned, as we know from the record, on the 20th of March 1437. Here, then, commenced those successive minorities of seven of the Scottish sovereigns, which history has stated, as so fatal to the royal power; so harassing to their subjects, and so destructive of the interests of the nation (b). Two of the ablest ministers of the late king were entrusted, by whatever authority, Crichton, as Chancellor, and Livingston, as governor of the king's person. To the jealousies, and distractions, which were incident to such an administration, in such an age, was superadded the marriage of the queen dowager to Sir James Stewart, in 1440, who formed pretensions to power, that only weakened the hands of ministers, which were already too weak, from rivalry. Much of the history of that period turned upon the result of the several pretensions of those three competitors, for the charge of the king's person. A truce of unusual length was made with England, while the odious factions of Scotland were engendering civil war. Archibald, the Earl of Douglas, who was at the head of the most potent family, in North-Britain, took the lead in raising the standard

(z) By the 65th act of the 3d Parl. James I it was enacted, that the king might appoint the Chancellor, and three discreet persons of the three estates, who were to act, as *the session*, wherever the king should think fit, three times in the year, for the determination of such causes, as were before adjudged by the king, and his council. Mackenzie's Observations on the Stat. 18. In fact, James sat, personally, on the trial of the Duke of Albany. This was the ancient practice; and it was followed by his successors. See Robertson's Parl. Record, throughout.

(a) In 1425, it was enacted by Parliament, that six wise men of the three estates should examine the books of law, that is, the *Regiam Majestatem*, and *Quoniam Attachiamenta*; and amend what needs amendment. 3 Parl. Ja. i. 54.

(b) Robertson's Hist. Scot. i. 34. A brief statement will justify that representation. In 1437, succeeded James II, when he was only six years and four months old. To him, followed his son James III, in 1460, when he was but six years and seven months old. On his assassination, he was succeeded, by his heir, James IV, when he had advanced to sixteen years and three months. He was succeeded, when he was slain on Flodden-field, by James V, an infant of one year and five months old. On his premature death, succeeded his daughter, Mary, a child of seven days old. And on her expulsion, James VI, her son, who was born, in June 1566, and was crowned, in July 1567. Such a sad succession of infant sovereigns is unexampled in the history of any other kingdom; and would have deranged the best established government.

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of independence, during the king's minority. He died in 1438. The two sons of that great Baron, were, by a barbarous deed, made to pay, in 1440, the forfeit of their father's guilt. This treacherous violence did not add any thing to the stability of the perpetrators of that unjustifiable action. In 1444, the king, at the age of fourteen, assumed the government; and chose the young Earl of Douglas for his favourite. In attempting to avenge the wrongs of his family, this headstrong chief raised a civil war, wherein he seems to have delighted. In that age, one Douglas rose after another, who, by their successions, and marriages, became each more powerful, and turbulent, than his predecessor. In 1450, the Douglasses rose to pre-eminence: they incited the jealousy of the king; they provoked the enmity of the nobles; and by their various oppressions, they roused the hatred of the people: William, the Earl of Douglas, became the terror of all those, who did not contribute to his power. He intrigued with the king of England: he entered into a league with several of the Scottish Barons against their common sovereign: he put to death, by his own command, some eminent persons, who refused to worship his ambition. He was at length summoned to court; but he refused obedience, without a safe conduct: and declining, in a personal conference with the king, to dissolve his illegal combinations, James II, on the 13th February 1452, by a stroke of indignation slew this haughty chief (*c*). The Douglasses flew to arms: but, they were every where overpowered. And in August 1452, James Earl Douglas yielded a feigned submission to the king; and was received into favour, which he again abused. The king perceiving his ill faith, promptly invaded his country, and secured his strengths. The Earl, bringing a powerful army into the field, made a feeble attempt to relieve his castle of Abercorn, which was besieged by the royal forces: but, his partizans, seeing his indecision, placed themselves under the king's standard. The contest was now at an end, which was to decide, whether the house of Stewart, or of Douglas, was henceforth to govern Scotland. In June 1455, the Earl of Douglas, his mother, his brothers, his adherents, were forfeited by Parliament (*d*). While they were thus driven from Scotland, they were received into the protection of England. Those rebellious Barons, attempting to penetrate from England into the south-

(*c*) On the 12th of June 1452, the three estates passed a declaration, upon the death of Douglas, who was deemed by them to have been in actual rebellion, in favour of the king's conduct, who is adroitly justified, for that unworthy act.

(*d*) Two years had scarcely elapsed, when the forfeitures of the Earl of Douglas were conferred by inexperience on the Earl of Angus, a chief cadet of this ambitious family, who ran the same career of disloyalty; and in his turn was also forfeited.

western marches, were defeated by the Earl of Angus, the king's Lieutenant. The subsequent year was distinguished by an inroad from the south, and by an invasion from the western isles: but, the result of both those hostile intrusions was some years repose. The encouragement, which all those rebels received from the English government, amidst the renewal of so many cessations from war, was known to James II, who resented those insidious measures. And taking advantage of the civil war, between the contentious families of York, and Lancaster, the Scottish king led an army to the siege of Roxburgh, in July 1460: he was here slain, by the bursting of one of his own cannon, in the twenty-fourth year of his turbulent reign, and the thirtieth of his premature age. His heroic queen, Mary of Guelder, encouraging his army to persevere, the castle, which had so long defied the skill, and valour of the Scottish people, was taken, and razed.

The great efforts of the government of James II. were not so much to lessen the power of the nobles, as to protect the sovereignty against the overpowering ambition of one family (*e*). Amid the turbulence of the times, many salutary laws of a more general tendency were passed, which, if they had been prudently executed, would have meliorated the condition of every order in the state. But, it was not the fashion of a rude age to consider an act of Parliament as the rule, which, as all had assented to its enactment, every one was bound to obey. And there is even reason to believe that, in proportion as several classes of men were exempted from attending in Parliament, the *three estates* became less numerous, and less respected (*f*). When the nobles saw the whole power of Parliament delegated often to a few of its members, their disobedience was the necessary consequence of their contempt (*g*). Yet, the legislators of those times

(*e*) Several of the wise laws, which were passed by *the three estates*, during this reign, point directly at the lawless outrages of the Douglasses. Sir Geo. Mackenzie's Observations on the Stat. 34-5-41.

(*f*) If the members of Parliament, who generally attended, in those times, be compared with the constituted members of the Parliament, at Brighthelm, in 1290, they will appear very inconsiderable, and inefficient. Robertson's Parl. Record, 153-231.

(*g*) The first act of Parliament, during this reign, was a *declaration of fidelity* to the king. This is said by Sir George Mackenzie, in his Observ. 33, to have been unprecedented. Yet, this practice is as ancient as the age of David I.; and was continued, throughout the Scotch-Saxon period: nor, was the ecclesiastical estate required to give the oath of allegiance on such occasions. (2.) The act of revocation of the property of the crown is said to have been made now, for the first time. Id. Such acts were often repeated; but, without the desired effect. (3.) An act was passed; prohibiting the disposal of the annexed property of the crown: yet, was this salutary law disregarded; because every one had an interest to disobey it. lb. 45. (4.) Several

times meant well; and if the prerogative of the king was weak, and the people wretched, the defect was not so much in the law, as in manners, which led to disobedience, and to crime, rather than to habits of submission, and the practice of morals.

The demise of James II, in 1460, transferred his blood-stained crown, to his infant son, James III. A turbulent reign of eight-and-twenty years ended in the revolt of the Barons, and the assassination of the king. The Duke of Albany, the king's brother, was the most treacherous of those subjects, for his own ambitious ends (*b*). Next to him in baseness, though his superior in power, was the Earl of Angus, who had now succeeded the Earl of Douglas, in his pretensions, and atrocities (*i*). We may judge what must have been the imbecility of the government, and the manners of the age, which could allow such a man to live, after committing such a crime. The family of the Boyds, uninstructed by experience, raised themselves, by the king's favour, to pre-eminence, only to be envied, and undone. James III, by making a prudent marriage, with the princess of Denmark, acquired the Orkney, and Shetland Isles: those advantageous acquisitions were annexed, by act of Parliament, to the crown, though a thousand statutes, in such lawless times, were unequal to the end of preserving such possessions from the frequent grasp of necessitous rapacity.

veral acts were passed to prevent the granting of *regalities*; and to retain those jurisdictions, in the crown, which should return to it, by escheat, or forfeiture. 1b. 35-43-47. But, the ambition of the Barons easily prevented the effect of such salutary laws. (5.) The 76th act of the 14th Parl. of Ja. II, declared that, no freeholder should be forced to come to Parliament, unless he held a 20 l. land of the king. This statute marks the passion of the age, for exemptions from parliamentary duties; as indeed we may see in the record, that there were often as many members, who were absent, as were present. Robertson's Parl. Record, 231. (6.) There were many regulations passed, for the promotion of agriculture, though perhaps the agricultural theorists of the present times would not think them quiet judicious, particularly the laws against *regrators*. In 1449, first appeared, as Sir George Mackenzie observed, p. 35, the well known expression in the criminal law of Scotland, *art or part*, which may be seen in the 9th act of the 5th Parliament of James II.

(*b*) Rym. Fœd. xii. 154, attests the detestable treachery of this prince, who sold his country to Edward of England. For his treason, he was attainted in Parliament. Black Acts; Parl. Record. He fled to France, where he died. He was the father of that Duke of Albany, who, as regent, misgoverned Scotland, during the minority of James V.

(*i*) This Earl, at the head of his partizans, in 1482, executed six of the king's principal servants, in the king's presence, in the midst of his army, at Lauder-bridge. For this atrocious act, including murder, and treason, he was never called in question. He was soon taken into favour. He was at the head of those, who assassinated this unfortunate king: yet, after enjoying the greatest offices of the state, he died quietly, in 1513.

Lord

Lord Hamilton, by marrying the king's sister, Mary, connected himself with the royal family; but, at the same time, weakened the royal prerogative: the great-grandson of this union lived to be the regent, during the minority of Mary Stewart; and to be declared, next to her, the second person in the kingdom. But, it was the Earl of Angus, who continued to act a character, as artful as it was insidious, who conspired with several of the nobles to dethrone the king. Calumny, operating on the manners of the age, was made to produce a revolt. James III. tried, by the pacification of Blackness, to reconcile conspirators, who were too powerful to be punished, by the existing powers in the state, legislative, and executive. But, as their rebellious object was to overthrow an unstable throne, the arts of reconciliation were tried, without success. The conspirators, by an effort of treachery, and force, placed the prince of Scotland, a youth of sixteen, in the front of their enterprize. The two armies met, in bloody conflict, near Stirling, on the 11th June 1488, when the king was obliged to flee before his son. In his flight, having fallen from his horse, he was slain, by a treasonous stroke of rebellious malice, in the 29th year of his unhappy reign, and in the 35th of his premature age.

If we were to form an opinion of the manners of those times, from the acts of the Parliament, during the reign of James III, we should suppose them to have been more refined, than the actions of the same period evince. The estates again confirmed the rights of *the church* (k). Yet, we have seen from events, how little effect religion had on the morals of the age. One of the first acts of this reign was, to give the king the right of presentation to all benefices of ecclesiastical patronage, while the episcopal sees were void (l). The king was empowered to hold plea of any matter, personally, *at his empleasance*, as it was wont to be of before (m). The Parliament again delegated to a few of its members the whole legislative power. The *substitution* of the supreme power has

(k) Black Acts, ch. i.

(l) Innes's MS. Chronology, which quotes the Parl. Record of the 13th October 1462; Wilkins's Concilia, iii. 582; Carmichael's Tracts, 41. Yet, the Black Acts of this reign begin with those of 1466, which are said to have been made, in the first year of James III, who came to the throne, on the 3d of August 1460. In this error, concur the laws and acts, 1682, in 12°, which are deemed so accurate.

(m) 5th Parl. Ja. III. 26. Sir George Mackenzie, in expounding this act, runs back into *the Scriptures*, and into the canon, and civil laws, without seeming to know, that this was merely a declaration of the ancient law, as it was practised, throughout the Scoto-Saxon period, and indeed in subsequent reigns: this act was only in affirmance of the fundamental power of the king, as supreme judge of his people. Observ. on the Acts of Parl. 67.

been noticed, as dangerous to the state (*n*). Yet, was it not felt, in that age, as begetting contempt, which induced disobedience. The *Leges Burgorum* were declared to be a part of the law; and the books of *Regiam Majestatem* were called *his Majesty's laws* (*o*). In those declarations, we may perceive the truth of what has been intimated, that the legislators of those times were not very accurate antiquaries: yet, did the estates display a very just anxiety, for the preservation of their *Rolls*, and *Registers*, by directing that, they should be put into books (*p*). With an allusion, perhaps, to the atrocities of that period, the three estates declared, that murders, much less assassinations, should not be entitled to sanctuary (*q*). During this terrible reign, the Parliament displayed greater zeal, than knowledge, perhaps, for promoting the agriculture, and fishery, and for regulating, the trade, the coinage, and shipping, of a people, who still wanted credit, and capital, and circulation, for the enjoyment of an active, and gainful trade (*r*). The legislative acts of this reign show to an inquisitive eye some progress in society, though its history attests, that there had been none in the morality of character, or in the softnesses of life.

James IV. was placed on the bloody throne of his father, on the 11th of June 1488, by the loud acclaims of a rebellious faction. The same Barons, while stained with the blood of their prince, and their peers, met in Parliament, wherein they passed an act of self-approbation, on “the debait of the field of Stirling,” with a condemnation of the late king, and his “perverst counsall.” The same faction conferred lands, honours, and offices, on one another, in contempt of the recent laws. After some inefficient struggles, those Barons, who had remained loyal, submitted to the new government, since they could not re-establish the old. And the Parliament of 1490 passed an act of “universal concord” amongst the king’s lieges,” with other healing laws, for promoting general quiet. The affairs of the two contiguous nations became henceforth completely

(*n*) The parliamentary record is full of such substitutions, in that age. The Lord Advocate remarked, that the burrows of Scotland might meet of themselves, in favour to commerce; but, no other estate, without the king’s authority. *Observ. on the Acts of Parl.* 92.

(*o*) *Ib.* 77-8.

(*p*) *Ib.* 74. How much the parliamentary record has been dilapidated, since that age, needs scarcely be mentioned.

(*q*) *Ib.* 69. Sir George Mackenzie remarked that, the *cunzie* house pretended to be a *girth*, or sanctuary, in Scotland, like the *mint*-house, in England. *Observ. on the Stat.* 69.

(*r*) The Black Acts throughout. The Lord Advocate remarked that, Bruges had formerly been *the mart* of Scotland: but, that in this reign the Scottish trade had been removed to the ports of France. *Observ. on the Stat.* 60.

interwoven.

interwoven. Henry VII. cultivated peace with James IV; yet was he not unwilling, or ashamed, to practise any unworthy art, or to take any unfair advantage (s). He persevered, however, in his salutary purpose, of cultivating amity, which best suited his designs. From the year 1492, a long peace ensued, which was equally advantageous to the two kingdoms. Notwithstanding various obstructions, he married his daughter, Margaret, to the Scottish king, who was altogether worthy of her. She came into Scotland, with a splendid train, in 1503. This must be allowed to have been one of the most fortunate events, in the annals of Britain; as it produced, at the end of a century, amidst many changes, the union of the two crowns (t). During this reign, Scotland appears to have risen considerably in the estimation of foreign powers. James IV. negotiated with most of the powers of Europe; and he sent effectual aid to some of them. Henry VIII. renewed the peace, on his accession, in 1508: but, his aims were less steady, and his objects less salutary, than those of his father. In an evil hour for James, who was more chivalrous, than politic, he was made knight to the queen of France, in 1512, according to the romantic notions of a romantic age. He, in consequence, made preparations for war with England. He soon passed the Tweed, with a gallant army. In the battle of Floddon, which was valorously fought, on the 9th of September 1513, the Scottish king lost the flower of his nobility, and his life, in the 39th year of his age, and the 25th of his reign.

Like the other Parliaments of that age, *the estates*, during the year 1489, passed an act “for the freedome of halie kirke:” it seems now, for the first time, to have been made criminal for any one to intermeddle with “the profits, or duties of halie kirke (u).” This act, in favour of the church, and the clergy, which did not long protect them from rapacity, was very properly followed by legislative declarations, “for universal concord among the king’s lieges (x).” They endeavoured also to protect the king’s privileges, considering him, however, as *a minor* (y). But, amidst such manners, they tried in vain to restore the royal prerogative to the necessary vigour of ancient times (z). The authority of Parliament was not either enlarged, or strengthen-

(s) In 1491, he gave money to Lord Bothwell, and Sir Thomas Tod, on an engagement, to deliver to him the king of Scots. Ayloffe’s Cal. 313. In the same year, Henry entered into a treaty, offensive, and defensive, with Archibald Earl of Angus, and his son, George. Id. This is the same insidious Earl of Angus, who dethroned the late king, and continued to embarrass the present.

(t) Ib. 314-16.

(u) 2 Parl. Ja. IV. 7.

(x) Ib. 8.

(y) Sir George Mackenzie’s Observ. on the Stat. 97.

(z) Ib. 115.

ed, when additional exemptions were given to those members, whose duty required them to attend (*a*). Yet, was the general principle of former ages again recognized, that the king, by his precept, might summon any of his subjects, to give their presence, and advice, in parliament (*c*). And considering how much of the public revenue was paid, by *the Burrows*, it was a salutary provision, that they should be always summoned, as one of the three estates, when contributions were intended to be asked (*d*). There seems to have been much zeal, for promoting domestic œconomy, though the best means were not always used. Agriculture was promoted; weights and measures were settled; *craftesmen* were regulated; coins were struck, money was debased (*e*); and shipping were required to come first to free burrows. In addition to all those regulations, it was enacted, under a penalty, that Barons, and freeholders, should send their *eldest* sons to the schools, to learn *Latin*, and law (*f*). It had been of much more importance, to have taught them *morals*, and *manners*, of which this nation had none, for many an age: and the history of those reigns attests, that a people must be misgoverned, and wretched, who are unprincipled, and unmannered.

From Floddon-field, was transmitted the blood-stained sceptre of James IV. to his son of the same name, who had been recently born, on the 5th of April 1512. The Lords of the Council gave it as their opinion to the queen, “that the king be crowned on the 21st of September, in the kirk of the castle of Strivling (*g*).” The queen seems to have had power to take upon herself the government of her son, and the regency of the kingdom, at least while she remained single: but, no motive could induce her to continue a dignified widow, the guardian of her child, and the governor of his kingdom: in the 25th year of her age, she married the young Earl of Angus in 1514 (*h*); and after her divorce from him, Henry Stewart,

(*a*) 6 Parl. Ja. IV. 78. Sir Geo. Mackenzie’s Observations, 114. It was undoubtedly a wise provision, that every part of the Scottish territories should be ruled by the king’s laws, and by none other, with an allusion to the Hebride, the Orkney, and Shetland Isles. 6 Parl. Ja. IV. 79.

(*c*) Sir G. Mackenzie’s Observations, 114.

(*d*) 6 Parl. Ja. IV, 85. The royal burrows used to pay “one *sixth* of the taxation of Scotland.”

(*e*) The legislators of that age were aware that, a fraud was committed, when money was *advanced*: and, they enacted, that debts should be paid, according to the value, when the debt was contracted.

(*f*) 5 Parl. Ja. IV. 54.

(*g*) Robertson’s Parl. Record, 525. Crawford says, he was crowned at Scone, the ordinary place of inauguration. Hist. of the Stewarts, 34; and Dr. Henry adds, in December.

(*h*) Of this marriage, was born the Lady Margaret Douglas, who married the Earl of Lennox; and who had by him Lord Darnley, the husband of Mary Stewart, and the father of James VI.

a second son of Lord Avondale. The firmness, with which the Scotch people heard of their defeat at Floddon, and of the threatened invasion from England, does them great honour: they resolved to defend their land to the last extremity. This resolution to resist saved them from invasion. The queen's marriage with the Earl of Angus induced the estates to choose the Duke of Albany, the son of that Duke, who was the brother of James III, and was expelled, as we have seen, as their regent. He seems to have been well qualified, for this station, among an unprincipled baronage, by his talents, and vigour. The calm, which ensued, only produced a conspiracy, for his removal. The conspirators were protected by Henry VIII, who saw, with uneasy eyes, a Frenchman of abilities at the head of the hated nation. He intrigued with the Scotch Parliament, who gave him a spirited answer. The year 1520 is the disgraceful epoch of the complete formation of the English, and French parties, in Scotland, the natural consequence of the infancy of its king, and the factiousness of its baronage. Amid their preparations for war with England, the Duke of Albany departed to France. On his recess, in 1524, the king was declared, by Parliament, to be of sufficient age to govern, though he was only twelve: and to assist his youth, the queen, and a council, were assigned him. The Earl of Angus soon after besieged the king, the queen, and the council, in Edinburgh Castle. He was thus enabled to obtain the king's person; and, in 1525, to seize the whole government. Various attempts, which were attended with great bloodshed, were made to free the king from this thralldom, which he bore, with extreme impatience. In 1528, he himself accomplished, by address, and vigour, what had been denied to arms, by making his escape, from Falkland palace, where he was detained, to Stirling Castle, where he was free. His Barons crowded around him, when they saw, that he could act for himself. Angus, and his friends, were attainted by the Parliament of Scotland; but were of course protected by the government of England. The retreat of those turbulent men restored that tranquillity, which had been disturbed by their ambition. This internal quiet enabled James V. to inflict on the borderers, who were guilty of almost every crime, the most exemplary punishments. An unusual quiet of several years ensued, from this act of rigid justice. The king's enterprize led him to visit the Orkney, and Hebride Isles, where he endeavoured, with some success, to make his government respected. He now sailed to France, where he was a welcome visitor; as he sought a wife among her accomplished daughters. In May 1537, he brought with him Magdalene of France to his own kingdom, where they were received with the sincerest gratulations. But, she lived not to see the pageants, which were preparing, for her reception. The king did not, however, hesitate to affiancé another Lady of France, Mary of Loraine, the

the widow of Longueville. She brought him two sons, in two years, who did not live long. Henry VIII. tried in vain, for several years, by various intrigues, to bring the Scottish king to his purpose of change. The negotiations were followed by warfare. But, James V, who was not aware, that his nobles had been corrupted by his uncle, Henry, soon found from grievous experience that, in his army, he had neither authority, nor influence. And when his troops approached the western border of England, they deserted their leaders, who fell into the hands of the English, without striking a blow, at Solway-moss. James V, who was already afflicted with the loss of his two sons, when he learned the misconduct of his army, gave way to despair, which brought him to his end, on the 14th of December 1542, in the 31st year of his age, and the 30th of his reign. While he languished on his deathbed, he was told, that his queen had brought him a princess: but, he only said, in a feeble voice, "that it had come by a lass, and would go by a lass."

The laws of this reign do not admit of much review. Like their predecessors, when the clergy had less influence, the three estates renewed their former declarations, in favour of the freedom, and privileges of the kirk (*i*). There were many acts made, for promoting essential objects of domestic œconomy: the planting of woods was encouraged: the breeding of horses for war was promoted: fishing was incited: and traffic was regulated. Depredations, robberies, and spoils, were subjected to additional penalties. There was a general remission of crimes. There was passed an act of revocation of improvident grants, during the king's minority, which was followed by another, for annexing many lands, and regalities to the crown. But, the legislative measure of the present reign, which was attended with consequences, as lasting as they were important, was the establishment of *the College of Justice*, with a body of lawyers. It is apparent, that there was some progress in jurisprudence, as well as in manners; and it only required to bring to some maturity the interests, and happiness of the people, that the life of a king of so much knowledge, and vigour, should have been prolonged throughout a longer term.

James V. was immediately succeeded by his daughter, Mary, whatever theorists might write against *the regiment of women* (*k*). The Parliament soon recognized her title, by appointing the Earl of Arran her tutor, and governor

(*i*) Parl. I, Ja. V. 1.

(*k*) Knox wrote on that topic. The royal historiographer seems to consider the rule of women as somewhat unprecedented in Scotland: but, he did not sufficiently recollect, that *the maiden of Norway* had succeeded to the crown, with universal concurrence; and had been as much, and as roughly courted, as Mary Stewart. He forgot, that the crown had been entailed on Margery Bruce.
of

of her realm. He was also declared the second person in the kingdom, being the great-grandson of Mary, the sister of James III. And the queen was crowned, on the 9th of September 1543, at Stirling, amid domestic faction, and foreign war. The queen-mother contended for pre-eminence with the Earl of Arran, and Cardinal Beaton, a man of great talents, but of inordinate ambition, who was at the head of a third party, and pretended to rule, because he was regarded as the most fit: the whole nation was divided into two great factions, the English, and the French, who spread universal corruption through the land: and, the reformers began to raise their heads, in opposition to law, and in the face of prosecution. In this state of Scotland, under their youthful queen, and a wretched government, Henry VIII. imitated the policy of his father, though with less artifice, by endeavouring to obtain possession of the Scottish sovereign, as a captive, or a daughter-in-law. The firmness of the Parliament, and the indignation of the people, disappointed both those aims of the English king. He invaded Scotland by sea, and land, without obtaining a royal heiress by so rough a courtship, or a captive either by open force, or by private intrigue. The Parliament, after they had assented to the views of Henry, were provoked to marry their sovereign to the heir of France, to which she was sent for safety, for her education, and espousals: she departed in 1548, and returned in 1561. Meantime, the assassination of Cardinal Beaton, the chancellor, in his castle of St. Andrews, in May 1546, by Norman Leslie, and other conspirators, deranged the government of a distracted country (*l*). The whole power of the Regent was unable to retake this castellated house of the Cardinal Archbishop, supplied as it was by the English government. The galleys of France compelled the conspirators to surrender, in the subsequent year. The queen-mother, in order to strengthen her popularity, solicited their pardon. Scotland was freed from a languid and harassing war, by a peace between England and France, in June 1546. The death of Henry VIII, in January 1547, rekindled the flames of war, in Scotland, with the vain hope of terrifying a people, who had long been used to devastation. The battle of Pinkie, on the 10th of September 1547, only irritated the gallant nation, which had withstood the Edwards of former times, though the English government tried, by intrigue, to secure the principal entrances into the kingdom (*m*). Their perseverance met with the usual reward of valour. Their rights

(*l*) The Privy Council Register attests the participation of Henry VIII, in this odious deed: Edward VI. pensioned the assassins, and sent them a reinforcement of men, gunners, arms, and ammunition, for retaining the castle. Privy Council Reg. May 1547.

(*m*) The Privy Council Register evinces that, the Earl of Lennox was engaged to deliver Dun-

rights were recognized, and their interests protected by the peace, which was concluded between England and France, on the 24th of March 1550. Throughout Scotland an unusual quiet ensued, Nothing disturbed the general tranquillity but the intrigues of the queen-mother, for the supreme rule. With the influence of France, and her own address, she obtained her ambitious object, in 1554. She did not, however, use her power with a moderation, quite equal to the prudence, wherewith she had gained it. By endeavouring to obtain a land-tax, for maintaining a small body of troops, she disgusted a necessitous baronage, who felt this unusual measure. She attempted to involve the contiguous nations in war, for the interests of France. The army, which her solicitations had raised, advanced, indeed, to the Tweed, in 1556; but, neither entreaties, nor artifice, could induce a dissatisfied people to cross that conterminous stream. In the subsequent year, the king of France solicited the marriage of the Scottish queen with the Dauphin. Commissioners were chosen by Parliament, to witness that important ceremony. Nor, were they inattentive to secure, by the marriage contract, the privileges of the people, and the independence of the nation. And the marriage was celebrated, with all the pomp, which that refined court could display, on the 14th of April 1558. Every effort was now made to identify Scotland, and France. The people of the two nations were mutually naturalized. And the Dauphin was admitted into a full participation with the Scottish queen, in the government of her country, under the indefinite notion of enjoying *the matrimonial crown* (n).

Of *the Stewartine period*, it may here be proper to take a short review, under several heads: (1.) To look upon the condition of the great body of the people is always interesting. The practice of *villeynage* existed, as we have seen, throughout the *Scoto-Saxon period*. This degrading practice has been traced to the commencement of the fifteenth century (o): it did not exist, in Scotland, at the beginning of the sixteenth (p): and it plainly follows, from this important fact, that the discontinuance of slavery took place, under the mild reigns of the Jameses, upwards of a hundred years, before the practice of bondage had been discontinued, in England. (2.) The prerogative of the king, through-

barton Castle into the hands of the English. The Earl of Argyle offered his devotion. Privy Council Reg. of date 15th February 1547-8. Lord Grey was paid money, for delivering Broughtay-castle on the Tay. Ib. 15th January 1547-8. And a citadel was ordered to be built at Dundee. On the 17th of June 1548, forty shillings were issued to Mr. Cecil, as a reward to Mark Brown, for a plat of the coast about the river of Taye, in Scotland. Privy Council Reg. of that date.

(n) See Robertson's Parl. Record, 730-9.

(o) See before, p. 723.

(p) Stat. 1 Parl. Ja. V. 2: 3 Parl. Ja. V. 6.

out the *Scoto-Saxon period*, was the same, if not greater, in Scotland, than it was, in England, even under so able a prince as Edward I. (q). This prerogative came down to Robert Bruce, though it was perhaps somewhat lessened, in its transmission, from the contest for the crown. The princes of the Stewarline dynasty only busied themselves to enfeeble their just authority, without being conscious of their own impolicy: by their improvident grants of regal jurisdictions, they raised up their Barons to dispute their legal jurisdiction. Under so many minorities, the royal prerogative became quite debased. Yet, are we assured that, “those Scots kings endeavoured to extend the royal authority;”—that, “each king pursued some plan, for humbling the nobles (r).” (3.) It was altogether consistent with such improvidence, that Robert III. settled *the Stewartry* on the prince, as an *apanage*: under such a state of society, while the law was set at nought, this appointment merely raised up a principality, within a kingdom, and degraded still more the just authority of the royal prerogative. (4.) The change in the constitution of Parliament, by admitting representatives, and dispensing with the attendance of the constituent members, tended to lessen its authority. It was no longer

(q) The views, which have been given of the royal prerogative, or legal capacity of the king, were represented from the records of the kingdom. See before, Book IV. ch. iv. of *the Law*. The late royal historiographer gave a view of the Scottish constitution, by analogy, from *some feudal law of some country*. Robert. Hist. Scot. i. 15. Barrington, an antiquary lawyer, could not find the *feudal law*, in England, as we have seen. A more recent historian of the law of England was as little successful, in finding, in that country, the feudal law: he rather considers the theories, touching the feudal law, as visionary. See Reeve's Hist. of the Law, i. 45-6. These observations apply to the jurisprudence of Scotland. During the *Celtic* government of Scotland, there was no *feudal law*, in that country. During the *Scoto-Saxon* period, whatever of *feudism* they had, came out of England. And we may thus perceive, that it is quite absurd to reason, analogically, from the feudal law, a nonentity, in opposition to the records of the country. See before, p. 696. Yet, said the royal historiographer, “the royal authority was never great,”—“the king's judicial authority was extremely circumscribed.” Hist. Scot. 20. 111. “The *thanes*, he adds, “were the equals, and rivals of their prince.” Ib. 29. This was said in opposition to the records, which demonstrate, that the *thanes* were mere land stewards, or bailiffs, who had the management of the *villeyns*. See before, p. 717.

(r) Robertson's Hist. of Scot. 45-46. Nothing can be more apocryphal, than this *theory* of the royal historiographer; nothing can be so little supported by facts; and nothing can be more inconsistent with analogy. The understanding is shocked, when we hear it gravely said, that an infant, or a captive prince, pursued a plan for humbling the nobles. When the Earl of Douglas bearded James II; when he refused, to obey the command of the supreme magistrate, to dissolve an illegal combination, he put himself in a state of rebellion against lawful authority; as the Parliament very properly reasoned, in justification of that stroke of indignation, which cut down the traitor. But, what policy can be found in a burst of indignation!

reverenced, as the seat of wisdom, and of valour. Yet, the statutes of successive Parliaments evince much good sense, and much solid policy. It was only to be regretted, that the royal prerogative was too weak, or too irresolute, to execute the law, in protection of the people. (5.) The *judicial* power was wholly possessed, and executed by the king, as the fountain of jurisdiction, during the Scots-Saxon period, as we have seen (s). When the Parliament, under Robert I, began to act, by its committees, in a judicial capacity, it merely acted as the king's court. The king, sitting on his bench of justice, continued to exercise the high trust of justiciary. The judicial power of the crown was recognized by Parliament, as an ancient authority. At length, under James V, the Prince, the Parliament, and the Pope, concurred to establish the *College of Justice*, which continues to distribute law, and right, to the people, under happier influences (t). (6.) The Scotican church had no longer the influence, or the power of ancient times. The form remained: but, the spirit had fled. In 1471, Bishop Graham obtained a bull from the Pope, erecting the see of St. Andrews into an archbishoprick; and he was imprisoned, by the king, for his presumption. In January 1488-9, the bishoprick of Glasgow was erected, by act of Parliament, into a metropolitan see, such as the archbishoprick of York (u); and the goods, and liberties of the church of Glasgow were confirmed by a charter of James IV. (x). During the feeble reign of Robert III, *collegiate* churches were first erected; and the passion for such establishments continued, till the infancy of Mary Stewart saw a new spirit arise, which was more studious to throw down ancient fabrics, than to erect new superstructures (y). (7.) The Parliaments of those untutored times appear to have been aware of the value of *education*, since, without instruction, laws are enacted in vain. Scotland certainly enjoyed the benefit of schools, in very ancient ages. It was reserved for the *Stewartine* period to see six colleges erected, within that kingdom, for the instruction of youth (z). Yet, the great

(s) In Book IV. ch. iv. of the Law: yet, says the royal historiographer, "the king's judicial authority was extremely circumscribed." Hist. Scot. 20.

(t) 7 Parl. Ja. V. 93. (u) Innes's MS. Chron. which quotes the record. (x) Id.

(y) From 1392 to 1545, there were established, in Scotland, thirty-five collegiate churches whereof eleven were founded, under James II: they consisted chiefly of a dean, or provost, with prebendaries, or canons, and singing boys; and they were endowed with rents, advowsons, and other ecclesiastical rights, and privileges.

(z) In 1412, the University of St. Andrews was founded by Bishop Wardlaw: St. Salvador's College was erected by Bishop Kennedy, in 1458: St. Leonard's College was erected by Prior Hepburn, in 1512: St. Mary's College was erected by Archbishop Hamilton, in 1552. The University of Glasgow was founded by Bishop Turnbull, in 1453. And the University of Aberdeen was established by Bishop Elphinston, in 1500.

defects of that country, for ages, after the liberal foundation of those scholastic institutions, and even long after *the Reformation*, was want of suavity of manners; want of habits of submission to law, or regard to the fitnesses of things.

III. The epoch of *the Reformation* will be for ever memorable, as the thing itself will always be deemed important, for its object, though its means were not always either legal, or fit. The dawn of the Reformation may be traced to the reign of James I, when a Wikcliffite was condemned; and a law was passed, for the punishment of *heretics*, and *lollards* (a). Ages elapsed, before *toleration* was thought either politic, or useful, for blunting the asperities of controversy, or softening the rigidities of zeal. And James V. condemned, in his Parliament, “the damnabill opinionis of the greit heretike Luther (b);” and passed other laws “against heretikis (c);” while Patrick Hamilton, a man of some family, who was fervent with zeal, was condemned to the flames, by a sentence, rather harsh, than illegal. This prince resisted the several applications of Henry VIII, his uncle, for reforming his realm, according to the wild plan of that rough reformer. The many acts, which were passed, during the *Stewartine* period, as we have seen, in support of the privileged rights of the “halie kirke,” are satisfactory proofs, that the power of the church was in its wane. Before the demise of James V, the Abbots, and Bishops, adopted the practice of relinquishing some of their privileges, and property, to some powerful Baron, to protect their rights against violence (d). Those bonds of *man-rent* began, during times of anarchy; and were continued by the Bishops, when they felt themselves insecure, during the progress of innovation, and the imbecility of law (e). It was under the minority of Mary Stewart, that the reformers began to quicken their steps, to avow their opinions, and to propagate their

(a) 2 Parl. Ja. I. ch. 31. of the Black Acts: Innes remarked of Skene that, he had castrated the word *lollards* in his edition of the statutes.

(b) Black Acts, 1535, ch. viii.

(c) Keith's Hist. 12-15.

(d) The Duke of Chatelherault, the second person in the kingdom, gave a bond of *manrent* to the Bishop of Glasgow, who had been once so powerful. Innes's MS. Chronology, under the years 1545, and 1558. The Earl of Crawford was the baillie of the Bishop of St. Andrews, as the consideration for his support. Rel. Divi Andreae, 77. The Earl of Huntlie, and his friends, were under bonds of *manrent* to the Bishop of Aberdeen, for maintaining the Catholic faith. Keith's Hist. xv. Norman Leslie, the principal assassin of Cardinal Beaton, had given a bond of *manrent* to that eminent person, on the 24th of April, a year before his assassination. Innes's MS. Chronology, under 1545.

(e) In 1555, the Stat. 6 Parl. Mary 43, prohibited all particular leagues, and bonds of *manrent*, as illegal.

doctrines.

doctrines. But, it was not till the 3d of December 1557, that a few persons of rank entered into a regular bond, for renouncing the established church, and for supporting *the congregation of Christ*, with their whole diligence, power, and substance (*f*). From this epoch the reformers were known by the name of *the Congregation*. The statute-book attests how many laws were made, in that age, for reforming the state. The frequent councils of the Scotican church evince how readily the constituted authorities concurred, in the general desire, for reforming ecclesiastical abuses. Yet, when the zeal of innovation is roused, the reasonable voice of just legislation is no longer heard. The torch of civil war was now carried through the land. Other events infused a still more inveterate spirit into domestic dissention. When Mary of England died, in 1558, Henry II. of France directed the Queen of Scots to assume the title, and arms of the English crown. Elizabeth never forgave this assumption: in vain did her cousin, Mary Stewart, apologize, by saying that, when she had done this, she was like other married women under the power of her husband, and was also identified with the government of France; but when her husband died, she had desisted from pretensions, which she now disclaimed. From this time, Elizabeth never ceased from inciting the factions of Scotland; she encouraged the reformers; she furnished them with a fleet, an army, and money, for supporting their efforts against the established government. France also sent an army to Scotland, for maintaining the rights of her queen, and the pre-eminence of her rivalry. Whether England, or France, should henceforth influence Scotland, was now contested, in many a bloody conflict, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, during the year 1559. Every mischief of anarchy ensued; and the contending parties became somewhat desirous of mutual reconciliation. Meantime, died Henry II. of France, and the queen-regent of Scotland: the principal reformers, with the Duke of Chatelherault at their head, entered into a licentious treaty with the Duke of Norfolk, the Lieutenant of Elizabeth, which had for its egregious pretence the security of the ancient liberties of Scotland, and, for its principal end, the expulsion of the French (*g*). The English, and

(*f*) Keith, 66. How illegal this association was, we have lately seen. Here is an example of half a dozen persons, with the Earl of Argyle, the Justice General of Scotland, at their head, who oppose the laws, and defy the government. When we behold the Justice General trample the laws under his unhallowed feet; when we see a matrimonial king assassinate the secretary of the real sovereign, in her presence; when we see the Chancellor assist in that aggravated murder; when we behold the Peers of the realm acting as assassins; we must expect something extraordinary, in the annals of a people, who lived under such rulers.

(*g*) This was the treaty of Berwick, which may be seen in Keith, 117.

French

French ambassadors soon after arrived, to adjust the mutual wrongs of their nations. As there was little to be adjusted, such dextrous negociators soon formed a treaty of amity (*b*). In this document, however, the reformers are not included: some concessions appear to have been granted to their application, though what they were seems to be strenuously disputed (*i*). The English, and French armies, immediately retired. And the congregation proceeded to assemble a parliament, without the authority of their sovereign, as if no such treaty had been made, or such concessions had been granted (*k*). Yet, did they proceed to overturn the whole ecclesiastical establishments of the kingdom by acts, which they might have foreseen would never be ratified, by their sovereign (*l*). They adopted another unusual measure. The convention sent an embassy to Elizabeth, offering her the Earl of Arran for a husband, in order to promote perpetual amity. She civilly declined this match, which they had no authority to make. But, she assured them, that she would not neglect any thing, for the common defence of the two realms against any common enemy. This intimation, which plainly pointed to the sovereign of Scotland, as the common enemy of Elizabeth, and of the reformers, was soon rendered nugatory, by the death of Francis II, without issue, on the 5th of December 1560. Mary, when she

(*b*) *Ib.* 134. The principal stipulation consisted in the engagement of Francis, and Mary, to discontinue the use of the arms of England. It is apparent, that Elizabeth's ambassadors gave the law to the French upon every point.

(*i*) See the supposed *concessions*, in Keith, 137. If these be genuine, Monluc, and Randan, did not understand the meaning of their own terms: for, they gave away from the king and queen the whole sovereignty of Scotland to the predominant faction. "The sovereign authority," says the late royal historiographer, "was by this treaty, transferred wholly into the hands of the congregation; that limited prerogative which the crown had hitherto possessed, was almost entirely annihilated; and the aristocratical power, which always predominated in the Scottish government, became supreme, and incontrollable." *Hist. Scot.* i. 241. Mr. Whitaker strenuously insists, that the whole is a forgery. *Vindication of Mary*, iii. 463. Some *concessions* were granted: but, the contents of the only copy, which remains, are so extravagant, that sober men may well hesitate, before they receive it, as genuine. We may, however, see how studious the king's historiographer is to display his egregious want of knowledge of the Scottish constitution.

(*k*) Keith, 146.

(*l*) See in Keith, 151, "the acts made in the pretended parliament of August 1560." There were not wanting those, who protested at the time against this convention, as an illegal assembly. But, from the names, and numbers, of the persons, who were admitted, it plainly appears not to have been a parliament, consisting of constitutional members. The queen declined to see the messenger, who was sent to solicit her confirmation of those acts. And the Regent Moray, after he had deposed the queen, in the first Parliament of James VI, ratified those several measures, as if they had been passed, in a lawful parliament. *Sir Geo. M'Kenzie's Observ. on the Stat.* 172.

ceased.

ceased to be considered, as queen of France, was courted both by the Protestants, and Papists of Scotland: each party sent an envoy, to lay before her its pretensions, to offer its attachment, and to solicit her return to her native kingdom. Meantime, Elizabeth intrigued with the reformers, in Scotland. Mary declined to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, which seemed to have sacrificed her just authority, the established constitution, and her people's safety. And Elizabeth refused to grant a safe-conduct to the Scottish queen; and attempted to intercept her passage to Scotland: yet, did she arrive safely in the port of Leith, on the 19th of August 1561.

Mary Stewart was now, at the age of nineteen, to enter on the difficult task of governing a corrupt people, and a factious nobility. As she was aware, that the Protestants were the most numerous part of her subjects, as well as the most enterprising, she placed her administration in their hands. She gave her chief confidence to James Stewart, her bastard brother, who, as he had been born, in 1533, was at the age of twenty-eight; and who was soon created Earl of Moray, by her goodness, rather than her gratitude (*m*). She issued a prudent declaration, for continuing the state of religion, as she had found it, on her return: yet, the *concessions*, whatever they were, of the treaty of Edinburgh, seem not to have been any more recollected; so that she possessed all the constitutional prerogatives, which had come down to her from her ancestors. Queen Elizabeth congratulated Mary on her safe arrival; professed her sincere regard; but pressed for the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh; and she continued to intrigue with the Scottish nobles, and with the reformer Knox. Under such circumstances, it was impossible to govern such a people, with the best intentions, and talents, to any salutary end. The year 1560 is the epoch of the first assembly of the reformed church, which soon assumed an authority, and claimed a submission, that the Parliament had not lately enjoyed. The year 1565 is memorable for the restoration of the Earl of Lennox to his rights; for the arrival of his son, Lord Darnley, the cousin of Mary Stewart, and the great-grandson of Henry VII, by his daughter Margaret. At the age of nineteen, he was introduced to the queen of Scots, who had been courted by many wooers, to each of whom the envy of Elizabeth had made some objection: considering the birth, the age, the connections of Darnley, there could not easily have been found a less objectionable match, for Mary Stewart. The intrigues of Elizabeth were again interposed to disappoint the wishes of the rival queen, though she had connived at his journey to Scotland, in the hope, that it might

(*m*) The epoch of the birth of Moray, which has been hitherto unknown, is ascertained by the MS. Letters of the famous Leslie, the Bishop of Ross.

lead to a matrimonial union. Yet, Mary married Darnley, on the 25th of July 1565, though it was opposed by some of her nobles, who had an interest, in preventing the birth of an heir to their crown. The Earl of Moray, the Duke of Chatelherault, the Earl of Argyle, and others, broke out into rebellion. But, as they were not cheered by the voice of the people; as they were closely pursued by the queen's army, the conspirators were obliged to seek for shelter, under the previous promises of Elizabeth, who yet disavowed them. The year 1566 was marked by a still more atrocious conspiracy. This was a combination of Darnley, the nominal king, Morton, the Lord Chancellor, Maitland, the Secretary of State, Lord Lyndsay, Lord Ruthven, and other conspirators, for the assassination of David Rizzio, the queen's private secretary, and one of her lutenists. Their odious purpose was executed on the 9th of March, at seven in the evening, in the queen's closet, within the palace of Holyroodhouse, while the queen was at supper, with her sister, the Countess of Argyle. The conspirators dragged Rizzio from the queen's presence, and gave him a thousand mortal stabs. So foul a murder, and so aggravated an offence, were never committed before, in any country, in any age (*n*). After two days imprisonment, in her palace, the queen prevailed on Darnley to flee with her to Dunbar, where she was immediately joined, by her more loyal Barons. The principal conspirators were now obliged to seek for that shelter under Elizabeth, which she never denied to the perturbators of Mary's peace. Meantime, Moray, and the other rebels, who had found protection in England, returned, at this critical moment; and found favour with the Scottish queen, amidst her distresses. The great object of that frightful assassination was now accomplished, by the restoration of Moray (*o*). On the 19th of June 1566, the queen was delivered, in the

(*n*) The motives of that terrible assassination may thus be disclosed. Darnley, who had been created an Earl, and a Duke, and declared king, by Mary, before their marriage, continually urged the queen to confer on him the *crown matrimonial*. The old law of Scotland knew nothing of a *matrimonial crown*: but, Mary herself explains what she understood, by his solicitation, viz. "the haill government of our realm." Keith, 332. Darnley, a weak, and profligate young man, had been pushed on by his associates, to urge this claim, and to concur in that murder, in order to create a breach with the queen; and to ruin both. Morton, the Chancellor, entered into this odious conspiracy; in order to prevent the meeting of Parliament, which was to have assembled, three days after the murder; and which was to have forfeited Moray, Argyle, and other rebel lords, on account of the queen's marriage. Lindsay, and Ruthven, who were two of the most ferocious lords of those savage times, had been taught to look on Rizzio, with indignant eyes, as a foreigner, who had intruded himself into the queen's favour, by scandalous artifices.

(*o*) Moray soon after procured the pardon of Morton, Lindsay, and Ruthven. We thus perceive, from the facts, that the principal conspirators, during those wretched times, played the whole game of treason into each other's hands, for purposes, the most interested, and for ends the most base.

Castle of Edinburgh, of a prince, who was destined, in the midst of such hazards, to unite the two congenerous crowns. It is singular to remark, that only two persons, Thomas Scott, and Henry Yair, were condemned, and executed, for two such crimes, as the assassination of Rizzio, and the treason against the queen (*p*).

The year 1567 is memorable for events, which were still more extraordinary; and which were the natural effects of those previous conspiracies. On the 9th of February, Lord Darnley was himself assassinated, in a lone house, without the walls of Edinburgh (*q*). The Earl of Bothwell was immediately suspected of being the chief perpetrator of this hideous crime (*r*). The Lord Chancellor Morton, who had returned from England a month before, knew Bothwell's fell intent, without preventing it, without revealing it: but, there was nothing to prevent him, from pointing the public indignation against Bothwell (*s*). Lethington, the Secretary of State, knew the design of Bothwell, without disclosing it (*t*). The agents of Elizabeth sent from Edinburgh many intimations to her ministers of such a plot against Darnley (*u*). And Mary herself seems to have been the only person of any consequence, who was unacquainted with a design, which was attended with such mighty consequences (*x*).

Various

(*p*) Arnot's *Crim. Trials*, 377.

(*q*) Birrel's *Diary*.

(*r*) Keith's *Hist.* 365.

(*s*) James Earl of Morton was appointed Lord High Chancellor, for life, by a commission, dated the 7th January 1562-3. *Crawf. Off. State*, 425. He was named a member of Mary's first Privy Council: yet, he sowed dissention between the queen, and Darnley. He seems to have been the principal adviser of Darnley. He was actually present at the assassination of Rizzio. He was denounced a traitor, for being the principal instrument in that murder: and, he was obliged to seek shelter in England. Yet, was he pardoned for that horrible crime. Keith, 187. 326-7-30-334. On the scaffold he confessed his knowledge of the murder of Darnley, both before, and after the fact. See his *Confession* in Bannatyne's *Journal*, 493-9.

(*t*) The Secretary of State was one of the assassins of Rizzio; yet, received a pardon from the queen for that odious deed. Keith, 334. He knew of the design upon Darnley. *Ib.* 355.

(*u*) *Ib.* 287-329.

(*x*) See Mary's letter to the Archbishop of Glasgow. Keith viii. Yet, has it been made a question, for debate, from that age to the present, whether Mary had been an accomplice in the murder of Darnley, her husband. The prejudice of the late Lord Orford led him to say, "that a plea of such length serves rather to confirm than weaken the evidence for the fact." *Cat. of Royal and Nob. Authors*, ii. 206. But, it had been an observation full as just, as well as logical, to have said that, since the criminations of two hundred and forty years have not proved her guilty, she ought to be fairly deemed innocent. Party has, however, entered into this question, with its usual unfairness; and it is supposed, that she ought to be presumed to be guilty, rather than innocent; it being more likely, that a wife would murder her husband, and a queen act as an assassin, than that nobles, who were accustomed to crimes, should perform this atrocious action, and

Various motives concurred to produce the assassination of Darnley. A wretched age was familiar with such crimes. A corrupt baronage was in the habit of perpetrating, with impunity, the most horrible deeds. Darnley had made himself obnoxious to several persons of great influence. He had offended the Earl of Moray, who did not soon forget, or easily forgive an injury. He had enraged Morton, the Chancellor, and the other assassins of Rizzio, by disavowing them, after he had participated in their guilt. And, the Earl of Bothwell seems to have entertained a criminal passion for the queen, as well as a fixed hatred for Darnley. Suspicion soon settled upon Bothwell, as the principal

and cast the offence, from themselves, on an innocent person. The same inconsistency argues that, as she was educated in a corrupt court, she must have been corrupt: yet, her sonnet, and her sorrow, for the loss of Francis, her first husband, attest that, her heart was yet uncontaminated with corruption; and the steadiness, with which she adhered to her faith, amidst twenty years persecution, evinces that, religion had its proper influence upon her soul. Hitherto, in this argument, no positive evidence has been adduced to prove her guilt; and, therefore, she ought to be acquitted as innocent. But, at length, certain *letters, sonnets, and contracts*, between Mary, and Bothwell, have been introduced, as proofs of a guilty intercourse, rather than a direct participation in the crime: and those *letters, sonnets, and contracts*, were first produced by the Earl of Morton, the queen's chancellor for life, who pretended to have found them in the custody of Dalgleish, a servant of Bothwell. Yet, this wretched magistrate had committed murder, and treason, at the assassination of Rizzio; he knew of the design to assassinate Darnley, yet, he concealed it; and was thereby guilty of misprision; he knew of the crime, and was of course a participant; for which he was brought to the scaffold, where *he acknowledged his crimes*: now, this convicted criminal would not be admitted, as a witness, in any court of justice, within Great Britain: and, the production of such documents by such a wretch, at such a time, casts strong suspicion on such papers, which were contaminated by his guilty touch. (2.) When those suspicious epistles were first introduced into the Privy Council, they appeared, as the register attests, "to have been *written, and subscribed*, by her own hand, and sent to James Earl of Bothwell. (3.) When those *previe letters* were first brought into the Scottish Parliament, they appear only to have been "haelie written with "her awin hand," as the record evinces, and not subscribed by her. (4.) When those dubious letters were first produced before the commissioners, at York, for judging of the proofs of her guilt, they seem to have been *superscribed* to Bothwell; yet, they afterwards appeared before Elizabeth's commissioners, at Westminster, without any superscription to any man; and those letters, thus finally appear to have been neither subscribed by Mary, nor superscribed to Bothwell. (5.) When those letters were first produced before the Privy Council of Scotland, they were written in the *Scotish* language; so they appeared to the commissioners, at York; but, when they were produced to the commissioners at Westminster, they were written in *Fren. b.* The whole thus appears "to have been a *juggle* of state, to cozen the people into obedience." The sonnets, and contracts, have been equally convicted, by their own contexts, of forgery. I have read the whole controversy on the genuineness, or forgery, of those documents; I have ransacked the Paper-Office, for information on this interesting subject; and there does not appear to me to be a tittle of evidence, exclusive of those despicable forgeries, to prove, that Mary Stewart had any knowledge of the murder of her husband.

perpetrator of that foul offence. Placards were affixed to the public places of Edinburgh, accusing Bothwell, with others, as the guilty persons. The Earl of Lennox, the father of Darnley, continually prayed for justice of the queen (*y*). The Privy Council, on the 28th of March 1567, ordered the trial of Bothwell, on the 12th of April following; the Earl of Lennox was directed to attend; and all persons, who had any knowledge of this business, were warned to appear. The Earl of Lennox now declined to attend as the prosecutor, owing to whatever cause, after all his prayers. On the 12th of April was the court held, by the Earl of Argyle, as Justice General, with four assistants (*z*). A jury consisting of nine Peers, and other respectable gentlemen, were sworn to decide upon the guilt, or innocence, of Bothwell. But, as there was no evidence given against him, he was unanimously acquitted. The whole proceedings evince, that Bothwell's trial was collusive (*a*). Morton, and the other ruling men of that period, who knew Bothwell's guilt, resolved to screen the criminal; because they were aware, that he could reveal many secrets (*b*); and could be made the instrument of other crimes. The four assessors were the creatures of the Earl of Moray (*c*). On this conclusion of such a trial, by his Peers, Bothwell appears to have assumed a higher degree of audacity, amid an audacious baronage. Two days after his acquittal, when the Parliament assembled, Bothwell carried the royal sceptre, though not before the queen. He attended this Parliament, assiduously; wherein crimes were remitted, and many ratifications were made. On the 19th of April, several of the nobles disgraced themselves for ever, by signing a declaration, testifying the innocence of Bothwell; and recommending him as a husband to the

(*y*) Keith, 372-3.

(*z*) The assessors were, Robert Pitcairn, the commendator of Dunfermlin, Lord Lindsay, who had been one of the assassins of Rizzio, James MacGill, who had also been guilty of the same offence, and Henry Balnaves, who had assisted at the assassination of Beaton; and had received a pension from Edward VI. After the acquittal of Bothwell, these four assessors went into England to accuse the queen of the murder of her husband, by means of Bothwell. The Justice General had himself gone out into rebellion against the queen on account of her marriage with Darnley.

(*a*) Keith, 374-7.

(*b*) The Earl of Morton was afterwards convicted for that odious offence. Arnot's *Crim. Law*, 388. Archibald Douglas, the parson of Glasgow, the cousin of Morton, and his creature, was tried, and collusively acquitted of the murder of Darnley. *Ib.* 7.

(*c*) Three days before the trial of Bothwell, Moray set out for France, with the queen's leave, probably, though not on her business: calumny, indeed, remarked, that this artful man always went out of the way, when any signal mischief was in contemplation. Keith, 374.

queen (*d*). His ambition vaulted one step higher yet. On the 24th of the same month, he arrested the queen at Almon-bridge, on her return from Stirling to Edinburgh; he carried her forcibly to his castle of Dunbar; and he there boasted, “that he would marry the queen, who would, or who would not; yea, whether she would, or no (*e*).” Sir James Melville, who had been carried with the queen to Dunbar, asserts “that she could not but marry Bothwell, seeing he had lain with her against her will (*f*).” Bishop Leslie said, in her defence, “that she yielded to *that*, to which those crafty, colluding, seditious heads, and the necessity of the time, as then to her seemed, did in a manner enforce her (*g*).” When Mary married Bothwell, on the 15th of May 1567, she fell into the snare, which those *seditious heads* had been preparing for her, by the commission of so many crimes.

This necessary marriage of Mary was scarcely consummated, when public dissatisfaction appeared. A faction was immediately formed, on the pretence of preserving the prince from the possession of Bothwell. The 12th of June 1567 is the epoch of civil war. The faction, on that day, issued from Edinburgh a proclamation, avowing the cause of their taking arms to be, “to deliver the queen from the captivity of her husband; for preserving the prince; and for punishing the murderers of the late king (*h*).” Both parties made hasty preparations for hostile collision: and an army soon collected around the queen. Mary, and Bothwell, marched from Dunbar towards Edinburgh: the faction advanced to meet them: and at Carberry-hill, a battle was every moment expected, which was to decide the fate of a distracted country. But that princess, after a short communication with Kirkaldy, who commanded an advanced party, agreed to quit Bothwell, to join the associated Lords, by whose councils she was now willing to be directed, on the condition of their “respecting her, as their born princess, and queen (*i*).” Bothwell left the field. She was

(*d*) Eight Bishops, nine Earls, among whom were Huntly, Argyle, and Morton, and seven Lords, subscribed that infamous declaration. Ib. 384.

(*e*) Ib. 383.

(*f*) Ib. 384.

(*g*) Id.

(*h*) Keith, 398-9. The chiefs of this faction were the Earls of Morton, Mar, and the Lords Home, Sempil, and Lindsay: we may remember, that Morton, and Lindsay, had been active, in procuring the collusive acquittal of Bothwell. When the French ambassador tried to reconcile this faction, with the government, the Earl of Morton replied that, they had not taken arms against the queen, but against the murderers of their late king; and if she would separate herself from her husband, they would readily continue their obedience. All this was said by the wretched chancellor, who was afterwards executed, as one of the murderers of Darnley. Such were the *manners*, and *morals*, of reformed Scotland!

(*i*) Ib. 401-2.

conducted to Edinburgh in mournful triumph; where she was received with reproaches by the low, and commiseration by the good. After the repose of a wretched day, she was committed a prisoner for life to the fortalice of Lochleven, which was kept by William Douglas, who had married the concubine of James V, the mother of the bastard Moray (*k*). Whatever pretences were still used, by the associated Lords, it is apparent, that they had finally resolved to dethrone the queen. And she was obliged, by the brutality of Lord Lindsay, on the 24th of July 1567, to sign a formal resignation of her crown; which had thus been tarnished, by so many afflictive incidents. She, at the same time, assented to the regency of Moray. After all those events, and notwithstanding all those guards, Mary made her escape from that insulated castle, on the 2d of May 1568 (*l*). As she had many friends, she was soon surrounded by an army. The queen, and the regent, now prepared for civil war. But, the fortune, and conduct of Moray prevailed, at the battle of Langside, on the 13th of May 1568. And Mary fled from the field of battle first to Kirkcudbright, and afterwards across the Solway to Workington, in England, notwithstanding the remonstrances of those, who foresaw that, she would be received, with insidious welcome, by her cousin Elizabeth.

In the meantime, the infant James was crowned, in the church of Stirling, on the 29th of July 1567. Moray was formally appointed regent; and with the aid of Elizabeth's intrigue, and money, soon after arrived from France, to assume the distracted rule of a harassed people. If he had acted with less harshness to individuals, he would have merited the praise of vigour; and he would have been more safe. The Parliament forfeited Bothwell, and some of his instruments, for the murder of Darnley; and other persons of less note were executed, for that odious offence: but, as the Chancellor Morton, and his cousin, Robert Douglas, were both allowed to live, and to rule, these circumstances evince, that the scales of justice were still held by factious hands. These executions led on to the inquiries, which were carried on, in the subsequent year, between Elizabeth and Moray, for the disgrace of Mary (*m*). The letters,

(*k*) lb. 403: Lord Lindsay, and Lord Ruthven, two of the assassins of Rizzio, were the guilty persons, who were employed to conduct Mary Stewart to her prison.

(*l*) Keith, 471.

(*m*) In Lodge's Illustrations, ii. 1-6, there is a most intelligent letter on the affairs of Scotland, at that interesting moment, dated from York the 22d of October 1568, from the Earl of Sussex to Sir W. Cecil: "This matter, says this wise man, muste at lengthe take an end, ether by finding the S. Quene gyltye of the crymes, that be objected ageynst her, or by some manner of composytyon w^t a shewe of savyng her honor. The fyrste I thynke-wyll hardely be attempted
" for

letters, and sonnets, the contracts, and confessions before mentioned, were now formally produced, in various shapes, to overwhelm with infamy the Scottish queen (*n*). The historians, who, in relating that insidious transaction, allowed themselves to be deluded, by such shallow artifices, have incurred lasting discredit. The regent returned to Scotland only to end his days amidst the violence, in which he had lived (*o*). The Earl of Lennox, whose feebleness, or folly, had contributed to produce so much distraction, was appointed regent, on the 27th of January 1570, with Morton, for his Lieutenant. A civil war soon began to produce its usual miseries. Two Parliaments sat within Edinburgh, and its suburbs, and within Stirling and Edinburgh, which denounced each other. And the regent Lennox was surprized, by his opponents, and slain, at Stirling, on the 3d of August 1570. The Earl of Mar now succeeded to the regency, which his own weakness, and the intrigues of Elizabeth, induced him to relinquish, while he was hastening to his grave. On the 24th of November 1572, Morton was, in his room, raised to the pre-eminence, which he had committed so many crimes to obtain. The two factions of the queen, and king, divided an unhappy people into endless hostility. The castle of Edinburgh was held for the queen. And Elizabeth, seeing the prevalence of the queen's party, sent an army to Edinburgh, which compelled the castle to surrender, on the 29th of May 1573, after a vigorous defence. Kirkaldy, the governor, was executed (*p*). And a sort of calm ensued, which only foreboded other

“ for two causes : the one, for that yf her adverse partee accuse her of the murder, by producing
“ her letters, she will deny them, and accuse the moste of them of manifeste consent to the murder,
“ hardely to be denyed ; so as, upon the tryall on both sydes, her profes wyll judycially falle
“ beste owte, as it is thowght,” &c.

(*n*) Moray, Morton, Lord Lindsay, and others, affirmed on their honours, and consciences, that those writings “ were undoubtedly the said queen's proper handwrite.” The *original declaration* is printed in Anderson's Col. ii. 259. But, documents, which appeared, in such various shapes, sometimes as written by her, and now subscribed; sometimes as superscribed, and not superscribed; sometimes as written in Scottish, and other whiles in French, no one could swear to be genuine, without the imputation of perjury.

(*o*) He was shot, in the streets of Linlithgow, on the 26th of February 1570, by Hamilton of Bothewell-haugh, whose wife had been expelled his house, and driven to insanity, by the harshness of Moray's measures.

(*p*) This man, a gallant soldier, had been concerned in all the hostile enterprizes of that bloody age. He acted a part at the assassination of Beaton. He joined the factious Lords against the queen. He was the officer, to whom she surrendered herself, at Carberry-hill, on conditions, which were immediately violated. He resented that violation; and was only pacified, by the assurances of the Lords, that they had intercepted a letter from the queen to Bothwell, after her surrender, which evinced the most inordinate love for the murderer of Darnley. Yet, Kirkaldy retained

other storms. A party of the baronage attached themselves to James, even at the age of twelve. On the 10th of March 1578, the king, and his nobles, seized the government. But, Morton was not a man to be foiled by boyish politicians. On the 16th of April, he surprized the Castle of Stirling, wherein the king, and his advisers, resided. A sort of civil war now began between the king's friends and the regent's faction. But, an accommodation, between the contending parties, was formed on the 14th of August. The sovereign now began to assume the government, though he was still overshadowed by the regent. Means were soon formed to remove Morton for ever, though he was supported by the intrigues of Elizabeth. He was accused of being one of the murderers of Darnley; he was found guilty on sufficient evidence, by his Peers; and he confessed his guilt at the block, when he was executed, on the 2d of June 1581: he was the last of the four regents, who had thus perished untimely: and he was perhaps the most artful of the unprincipled men, who had involved their country in so many miseries. Yet, there remained other nobles, who, as they had been bred in the same school, and were incited by the same patroness, disquieted James by their intrigues, and disgraced their country, by their crimes. In August 1582, the Earl of Gowrie detained the king's person, on the factious pretence of removing the Earl of Lennox from the king's presence. Lennox retired to France; the king made his escape from thralldom; and Gowrie, continuing his rebellious practices, under the influence of Elizabeth, was executed, on the 4th of May 1584. The year 1587 will be always remembered, for the sacrifice of Mary Stewart to the guilty passions of Elizabeth, under the form of law (*q*). James tried to save his mother's life; but, he was betrayed by those, in whom he put his trust. The nobles continued to contend with each other: and the king used, in vain, all the arts of reconciliation, while the insidiousness of the neighbouring sovereign constantly incited their animosity. Elizabeth essayed to embarrass the marriage of James, as she had

tained a secret attachment to her cause. He was appointed by Moray the governor of the Castle of Edinburgh, which he defended now with such obstinate skill, as to require the army of Elizabeth to subdue it. And, like other chiefs of those corrupt times, he ended his guilty career by public execution.

(*q*) The whole question of Mary Stewart, touching her treatment, in England, is very fully discussed, by Mr. Ward, in his "Enquiry into the Law of Nations," ii. 564-99. He shows clearly that, she was detained from the first, *as an enemy*; but, as a real sovereign: whence, he concludes, that this detention was a *direct act of hostility* of Elizabeth against Mary. He goes on to state that, "the conclusion of this celebrated affair was equally unjust, on the part of the English, "with its commencement;" and infers, from the whole circumstances, "that her death, at best, "perhaps, can only be called a legal murder."

opposed

opposed the nuptia's of his mother : but, he easily leaped over all those obstacles, by an effort of gallantry, of which he was supposed incapable : and on the 22d of October 1589, he sailed to Denmark, where he married Anne, the daughter of Frederick II, in the sixteenth year of her age. Yet, domestic peace was not restored. The nobles now contended about religion ; while the reformed clergy assumed the popish privilege of dictating to the consciences of men, and domineering in the affairs of state. They were supported in such absurd pretensions, by popular tumult. And the three estates at length interposed ; and by wise regulations, placed the ecclesiastical, under the civil power. The year 1600 is memorable for what has been called the mysterious conspiracy of the younger Gowrie. But, the refinement of history has merely created difficulties, where the fact, as it has been attested by thirty witnesses, does not admit of the question, “ *whether this were a plot of Gowrie against the king ; or of the king against Gowrie ?* ” The experience of forty years exhibits so many conspiracies of the nobles against their prince, and not one plot of the prince against the nobles, that the probability would decide, in favour of James against Gowrie, if there were no evidence upon the point : but, the most satisfactory proofs have been produced, which establish a simple fact, that is altogether consistent with probability, and experience (*r*). Amid such conspiracies, James waited

(*r*) The Earl of Cromertie, in 1713, published “ an historical account of the conspiracies of the Earls of Gowrie, with the *Depositions from the Record* ” Mr. Arnot printed, in 1785, the trial of John Earl of Gowrie, and of Alexander Ruthven, in his *Criminal Trials*, 20. The fact, as it is attested by *those depositions*, and *this trial*, simply was : On the 5th of August 1600, at seven, in the morning, while the king was about to mount his horse, with design to hunt in Falkland park, Alexander Ruthven, the brother of the Earl of Gowrie, spoke familiarly with James. After the hunt was over, the king desired the Duke of Lennox to accompany him to the Earl of Gowrie's, at Perth ; telling him, that Alexander Ruthven had invited him to get some *hidden treasure* ; but willed the Duke to have an eye on himself, and to follow him, wherever he went, with Alexander Ruthven. When they arrived, it was observed, that Gowrie's servants were armed. After the king had dined, Ruthven carried him to the uppermost part of the house ; and attempted to make the king a prisoner, and to bind his hands ; but, the king resisted, and called out treason, from the window. Sir John Ramsay, who carried the king's hawk, first entered the chamber, where he saw Alexander Ruthven struggling with the king. He soon dispatched this person ; and the Earl of Gowrie, entering with a sword, in each hand, followed by armed men, after a short conflict, was mortally wounded, by Sir John Ramsay. Such are the facts, as they were attested by the oaths of twenty respectable witnesses. Where, then, is the difficulty ? The same ecclesiastics, who voted the treasonable conspiracy of Gowrie's father in 1582, *to be an acceptable service to God*, would not believe those oaths, and discredited the king's declaration. But, what motive had Gowrie to act thus ? The answer must be, the same motive that his father had, in 1582, and other conspirators had, on a dozen occasions, to seize the king's person ; in order

waited patiently, for the demise of Elizabeth, which he knew, from his *private correspondences*, would certainly transfer to him her crown. This event happened on the 19th of March 1603, when he was immediately proclaimed; and soon was seated on the throne of England.

It may be convenient, at this epoch, to take a slight review of the times, that have just elapsed. (1.) The *period* of the *Reformation*, as we have seen, may be deemed *the period* of *crimes*. The people were reformed, from papistry to protestantism; yet, was there no reform in their morals: about religion, there was much declamation; but, on life, and manners, religion seems to have had little influence, if we may judge, from the facts of those revolutionary annals. Conspiracy followed conspiracy, and crime induced crime, in quick succession (s). History evinces that, every great revolution produces the most unhappy influences on the human character. And, it is certain, from the annals of the reform, in Scotland, that the civil conflicts of those times left a very sharp edge upon the peoples spirits (t). (2.) We have already seen, that the reformers were more studious to pull down, than to build. The whole estates of the ancient church, were appropriated by the nobles, before any establishment could be made for the reformed clergy (u). Laws, for promoting, and securing the reformation, were extremely multiplied upon every topic, except a provision for the ministers (x). (3.) The church judicatories, and the

to govern, in his name. The dispatches of Nicolson, the English agent, at Edinburgh, which remain in the Paper-Office, show clearly, that Elizabeth had not any concern, in this conspiracy. The truth seems, at length, to have driven the lovers of scepticism, into a *new theory*, in respect to the motives of Alexander Ruthven, and Gowrie. It is said, that King James's wife, who was an intriguer, at least in the whispers of calumny, intrigued with Alexander Ruthven; in order to gratify her guilty passions. It was forgotten, when *that theory* was adopted, that the queen was delivered of Charles I. on the 20th of November 1600, three months after Ruthven had inveigled James to Perth. It would require *proofs of holy writ*, to establish such a theory, in opposition to such an improbability. Yet, there is no other evidence, but the calumnies of the times, which are brought forward now, to puzzle a plain question.

(s) We may see, in Birrel's Diary, an execution, at Edinburgh, every day, for some of the most odious crimes: such executions, indeed, as those of Morton, and of Gowrie, did not daily occur.

(t) It became necessary, in some measure, to disarm the people: a law was made against bearing, wearing, or shooting of culverings, and dags. 6 Parl. Ja. VI. 87. We may see some other laws, in the statute-book, of a similar tendency: such as the act against single combats. 16 Parl. Ja. VI. 12. and the law, for extinguishing *deadly feuds*, or family conflicts.

(u) In March 1596, it was calculated that, of the 900 churches, in Scotland, there were then 400, without ministers, or readers; that is, at the end of forty years, after the reformation began. Birrel's Diary.

(x) See the statutes of King James, and his Regents, throughout, and the remonstrances of the clergy, in their assemblies.

reformed

reformed clergy, took the place, and assumed the practices of the papal establishments, and their popish functionaries (*y*). The ministers censured from the pulpit James's conduct; they disputed his authority; they promoted tumults through the land: and the King, and Parliament, found it necessary to enact a variety of laws, for enforcing the submission of the ecclesiastical to the civil power (*z*): and some of the clergy continuing contumacious, the King expelled them his kingdom, though he incurred popular odium. In 1580, the clergy, in a convention, at Dundee, abolished episcopacy. The King opposed them with a counter declaration: and, in 1597, the Parliament passed a law, which enacted that, "ministers provided to prelacy should have a place in the *three estates* (*a*)."
 We may here see the beginning of contests on this topic, which led on to very fatal consequences. (4.) In the humour of *a church*, which was scarcely formed, to erect its assumptions upon the ruins of the state, it became necessary to interpose some barriers to such pretensions. In 1584, the Parliament declared, that the honour, authority, and dignity, of *the Estates* shall stand, and continue, in their ancient integrity, supreme over all things, and all persons (*b*). This affirmation was supported by an adequate penalty. It was declared to be treason, to call in question, or to diminish the power of *the three estates*. All other conventions, or assemblies, pretending to meet, without the King's authority, were denounced, as illegal. What was thus declared, as to the supreme power of the state, amidst the ravings of anarchy, were only new affirmations of the ancient law. Those wise provisions were followed, by a whole code, respecting the constituent members, the mode of sitting, and the authority of the *three estates* (*c*). (5.) As a new power had arisen, not so much in the state,

(*y*) In 1566, the *actis* and *constitutionis*, during the reigns of the five Jameses, and Mary, were printed, by authority. A late professor of law has said, in his *View of the Constitution*, that those *Black Acts* were interpolated; and has charged King James with the interpolation, in order to facilitate his innovations on the constitution. But, the fact is, that the *Black Acts* are not interpolated; they are only castrated. The late lamented Duke of Roxburgh, by collating the several editions of the Black Acts, established that curious fact. His Grace caused those castrations to be reprinted; consisting of eleven acts of James V, and one of Mary, in support of the *halie kirk*. It was the edition of the Black Acts, dated on the 23th of November 1566, and not the edition, dated on the 12th of October 1566, which was castrated: and it was the reformers, who thus vitiated the statute-book; in order to purge it of a dozen acts, which were inconsistent with their notions of reform. Now; the learned professor before mentioned did not recollect, that King James VI. was born on the 19th of June 1566; and, of course, was lying in his cradle, when those castrations were made, by reforming hands.

(*z*) 8 Parl. Ja. VI. 129; 131: Sir Geo. Mackenzie's Observ. on the Stat. 8 Ja. p. 207-12.

(*a*) 15 Parl. Ja. VI. 235.

(*b*) 8 Parl. Ja. VI. 130.

(*c*) 11 Parl. Ja. VI. 33, "Anent the Parliament;" this act recites that, "the King being

state, as in the church, to dispute the King's *legal capacity*, the Parliament, in its zeal, acknowledged his royal prerogative, and privilege of his crown over all estates, persons, and causes (*d*). The three estates engaged to maintain, with their lives, lands, and goods, the royal prerogative, and privilege of the crown (*e*). And they even did more, amidst the treasonous practices of the times, by providing a standing guard, for the King's person. (6.) The *judicial* power of the state acquired an useful improvement, for the happiness of the people, when *the College of Justice*, was established (*f*). Yet, if the senators could not act, without question by individuals, justice held her scales in vain. Amidst the wildness, and irascibility of those times, some of the judges had been thus questioned: and the Parliament interposed between justice, and wrong, by declaring, that whoever should challenge a senator, for his opinion, should be punished with death (*g*). (7.) During Gaelic times, there existed, in every part of North-Britain, clanship, from blood. Throughout the whole Scoto-Saxon period, as we have seen, there existed from conquest, and birth, universal villeynage, which disappeared, during the fifteenth century. Amidst the anarchy of subsequent times, there arose various clans, which were divided, in the policy of those ages, into the clans of *the borders*, and the clans of *the highlands* (*h*). From this state of society, and the want of employment, we may

“now of full age, and considering the decay of the form, honour, and majesty of his supreme
“court of Parliament, by occasion of the troubles, that had occurred since the decease of James V.;
“and being willing to restore the same to the ancient order, dignity, and integrity,” &c.

(*d*) 18 Parl. Ja. VI. 1.

(*e*) Sir Geo. Mackenzie observes, that this act first mentions the word *prerogative*, which was formerly called *the privilege of the crown*: and, therefore, this act mentions both the *old*, and the *new words*. Observ. on the Acts of Parl. 319.

(*f*) When Mary Stewart was dethroned, and imprisoned, the Court of Session fled from Edinburgh: and on the 21st June 1567, the rebel Lords, who, on this occasion, for the first time assumed the title of *the Lords of Secret Council*, required the Lords of Session, the Advocates, and Solicitors, to repair to Edinburgh, and to proceed in the administration of justice, with an assurance of safety, and with a threat, that if they should continue to absent themselves, they should be deemed partakers with the authors of the king's murder. Keith, 406. But, the dethronement of the queen had dissolved the commissions of the Judges!

(*g*) 16 Parl. Ja. VI. 4: Sir Geo. Mackenzie's Observ. 310. Previous to this act, several judges had been assassinated: and as late as 1689, Sir George Lockhart, the President of the Session, was deliberately murdered, by John Chislie, for what he had done as a judge. Arnot's Crim. Trials, 150-5.

(*h*) There were seventeen clans on the borders; and four-and-thirty, in several other parts of Scotland. There is a *roll* of those clans annexed to the stat. 11 Ja. VI. 95, which endeavoured to regulate them, since they could not be prevented.

account

account for the facility, with which great bodies of men could then be brought into action. In 1587, the chiefs of all those clans were obliged to give sureties for their quiet conduct, and were made answerable for their wrongs (i). The union of the two crowns dissolved the clans, and established the quiet of the borders: several of the other clans remained to our own times, often disturbing domestic tranquillity, and sometimes defying the mandates of law.

IV. The effluxion of time, from the union of the crowns to the union of the nations, may be considered as an energetic period of civil wars, and singular revolutions. The demise of Elizabeth left her throne for King James, at the age of thirty-seven, to ascend, amidst the acclamations of his subjects, as well the Scots, as the English. An unusual calm ensued, within his ancient kingdom. The spirit of the nobles seems to have been somewhat broken, or was perhaps turned to more distant views of ambition, and other objects of pursuit. There were seven Parliaments called by James, after his accession, wherein he presided by a commissioner. This was a new officer in the state, which a new situation of things required. The statute-book attests how many laws were made, always with good intentions, though not always with the best effects. There was passed a law, in 1606, for the *restitution of the estate of Bishops*, which the King declared, he had never intended to suppress. This restoration was followed, by a great variety of laws, for giving proper effect to the general principle. The estate of the Bishops was not, however, restored to the peoples' confidence. There were many laws enacted for promoting domestic œconomy. When we see the playing at *cards*, and *dice*, prevented, and horse races prohibited, we may infer, that puritanism began to supercede fanaticism. James did not long survive his visit to his native kingdom: he died, on the 27th of March 1625, after governing Scotland, with more authority, and success, during two-and-twenty years absence, than while he was present, amidst the effervescence of popular delusion.

He was immediately succeeded, by his son, Charles I, in the twenty-fifth year of his age. Ten years of quiet, perhaps of prosperity, were succeeded, by frequent perturbations. The King returned, after a long absence, in 1633, to be crowned, and to hold a parliament. With ample power, and high prerogatives, he possessed no influence, having nothing to bestow. Yet, was the Parliament as servile, and submissive, as any of their predecessors. Among many laws of a salutary tendency, they passed an act, resuming to the crown those lands, which the baronage had wrested from the church: though the

(i) See the Stat. of the 11th Parl. Ja. VI.

end of this resumption was useful, yet was the effects most afflictive (*k*): the clergy were thus benefited, the people were relieved, but the Barons were offended. In the midst of those dissatisfactions, the King introduced a book of canons, and a new liturgy. These were the signals of insurrection in the capital, and discontent throughout the kingdom; it being supposed that, such innovations were preparatory to the restoration of Popery. The year 1637 may be considered as the epoch of a civil war, which lasted, with short intermissions, during fifty years. It is in vain to impute to the weakness, or the violence of Charles I, the guilt of so much bloodshed, and devastation: such a multiplication of miseries could not have been continued, or indeed begun, on such frivolous pretences, if the baronage had not been factious, the clergy pragmatic, and the people fanatical. The contentions, in England, for civil liberty, and the reclamations, in Scotland, for religious prejudices, added fuel to the flames of each other. Long before Charles I. had fallen, in 1649, a sacrifice to the furious conflict of political, and religious discord, North-Britain had become completely exhausted by her own efforts of mischief.

The Scots, after selling Charles I. (*l*), proclaimed his son; wanting a pageant, rather than a magistrate. The English Parliament declared war against them. Cromwell passed the Tweed on the 22d of July 1650. He defeated them at Dunbar; owing more to the madness of the ministers, than to any want of skill in the generals, or bravery in the men. The King marched into England: and at Worcester, on the 3d of September 1651, met the fate, which his despair had prompted, and his rashness had merited. Scotland was now conquered. And, in April 1652, by an ordinance of the English Parliament, it was incorporated into one commonwealth, with England, in whose fortunes, whether happy, or fortunate, it now partook.

The restoration of Charles II. to the throne of his ancestors, in England, was followed by his restoration in Scotland. When he sent a mandate from London, dissolving the government, which had given them some years quiet, there was none to dispute his authority; so great a change had the revolutions, and bloodshed of twenty years, made in men's minds (*m*). The Parliament

(*k*) One of the greatest lawyers of the age, Sir Thomas Hope, the King's Advocate, drew that act of resumption; and was answerable to his country, for all its effects.

(*l*) The Three Estates, after the Restoration, declared this "to have been done by a prevalent party, against the judgement of the loyal subjects;" and they expressed their abhorrence and detestation of it. 1 Parl. ch. ii. 10.

(*m*) After the Restoration, the Three Estates speak feelingly of "the sad condition, slavery, and bondage, this ancient kingdom hath groaned under, during these twenty-three years troubled." Act for a Thanksgiving for the Restoration, 1 Cha. II. 17.

assembled,

assembled, under the Earl of Middleton, the King's commissioner, on the 1st of January 1661. Much of what had been done, during those three-and-twenty years of trouble, and bondage, was now rescinded. The power of Parliament, the King's prerogative, the judicial power of the College of Justice, were acknowledged, in warm terms of animated loyalty. Yet, nothing, on those heads, was declared to be constitutional law now, which had not been the known law, before the accession of Robert Bruce. The King declared, in Parliament, his resolution to maintain the true reformed protestant religion, as it had been established, during the reign of his father, and grandfather; intimating, however, that he would restore the episcopal government, though he allowed, meanwhile, the administration of Sessions, Presbyteries, and Synods. The measures, which were then adopted, for promoting domestic œconomy, were of full as much importance; as they tended to turn the hearts, and hands, of the people to some useful employments (*n*). The three estates, amidst the effervescence of their loyalty, settled on the King an annuity of £40,000 Sterling, during his life. This is a clear proof how much the Scottish people, had been exhausted, by their three-and twenty years troubles. There were but few sacrifices offered to the manes of the dead. Yet, amidst this unanimous loyalty, there still existed several bodies of men, who, as they were actuated by their old fanaticism, refused obedience to the King, to the legislature, to the laws, or to any power under heaven: hence, proceeded plots, privy conspiracy, and rebellion. As the people were irascible, and disobedient, the government was severe, perhaps tyrannous (*o*).

The demise of Charles II, on the 6th of February 1685, transferred his feverish administration to his brother James II. He professed his intention to support the government, in church, and state, as by law established: yet, without adverting to the experience of his father, he immediately adopted the

(*n*) There were acts passed for the promoting of fisheries; for erecting manufactories; for planting and inclosing ground; for the making of linen and tuffs; for encouraging shipping; for making soapworks; and there were some subsidiary laws passed, for preventing the export of raw materials; and prohibiting the import of manufactured articles. The interest of money was reduced from eight, to six, in the hundred.

(*o*) In the London Gazette of the 25th of December 1665, there is the following article, from Edinburgh, by authority: Six heads were set up on the gallows, betwixt Leith and Edinburgh, for a murder committed on the Laird of Mull, and his brother, led on by one Alester Mackeil, one of the Laird's own vassals. The offenders being required to come over [from the Isle of Mull] and make answer to the accusation, slighted the charge: whereupon the [Privy] Council ordered the clan, that lived near them, to take arms, and to bring over their heads, which accordingly was performed. This Alester, and his comrades, killed and wounded eighty men, before they were taken. Thus far the Gazette! This proceeding was legal: but, this is a complete example of the Turkish government.

imprudent

imprudent ambition of converting his people to the Catholic religion. He was encouraged, in such imprudence, by the servility of the Scottish Parliament, who seemed willing to invest him with absolute power. The late turbulence of the people now began to run in a contrary direction. And, when Argyle invaded his country, in order to overturn a violent, not to say illegal government, he found few, to support his dangerous enterprize. This success did not contribute to inspire the King with more prudence, and less precipitation. Yet, when James applied to Parliament, for an indulgence to his Catholic subjects, that assembly, however complaisant, as to their civil liberties, resolved to adhere to their religious principles. As the Parliament thus refused their concurrence, that imprudent prince had undisguised recourse to his prerogative, for effecting an illegal change in the religious establishment. Universal discontent was the result of this disgusting measure. When the people of Scotland heard of the landing of the Prince of Orange, and read his declaration, in favour of liberty, and in support of law, they concurred zealously in the passions, which, by those events, had been excited, in England. The nobles began to intrigue. The populace broke out into insurrection, at Edinburgh, to which zealots flocked from every shire. The Earl of Perth, the Chancellor, a new convert, imitating the pusillanimity, and distraction of his master, now deserted his charge. And, the Privy Council, which was noted, equally, for its servility to the Sovereign, and harshness to the people, on this occasion, made their application to the Prince of Orange, to whom every one looked up, as the timely saviour of the two nations. This able Prince, finding in London several of the Scottish nobles, and gentry, asked their advice, on their distracted affairs. Without much debate, they offered to the Prince the provisional government of their country. He now sent out circular letters, summoning a convention, at Edinburgh, on the 22d of March 1689. We may easily suppose, that the most zealous, and active of the constituent members, would attend, on such an emergency. In England, at *the Revolution*, it was of great importance, to the security of the constitution, and the quiet of the country, that the two great parties, into which the nation was divided, were so equally balanced: but, in Scotland, the members of the convention were all of one party, and were all actuated by a strong sense of their recent wrongs. After a slight opposition, they boldly decided, that King James, by his abuse of power, had *forfeited* the right to the crown; and immediately declared the Prince, and Princess of Orange, to be King and Queen of Scotland (*p*). This act, which involved

(*p*) The Revolution, in England, is said to have been conducted, constitutionally, by the English

involved such mighty consequences, was attended by a declaration of their wrongs, and their rights. Former insurrections, though accompanied by many mischiefs, passed away, without any advantage to the nation. The Revolution of 1689, brought with it, a civil war, indeed, but was the means of strengthening the constitution, of preserving public liberty, and securing private rights. The presbyterian church was now erected on the ruins of episcopacy. The prerogative was restrained to its proper functions; yet, the administration retained much of its ancient harshness; and much remained to be done, for giving efficacy to law, and affording safety to property, and persons. This revolution was also followed by much salutary legislation, for promoting domestic œconomy. The civil war, though sharp, did not last long: but, the foreign war with France continued till 1696, when it was closed by the peace of Ryswick, which supposed, by its silence, that the Scotch people had no ancient rights in France to be maintained.

The demise of William, in 1702, transferred the crowns of the two nations to Queen Anne. She wrote to the Scotch Privy Counsellors; authorizing them to continue their authority; and assuring them, that she would support the established government. And the same Parliament, which had established the Revolution, continued to act, on the accession of Anne, though not without protestations of its illegality. They passed an act, for treating of an union with England, which they annulled, in the subsequent year. The spirit of division seems to have overspread the land. In 1703, the Parliament refused to tolerate episcopacy; and they declined to concur, in adopting the protestant succession for their crown. They carried their ill-humour, not to say their illegality, one step further. They questioned the power of the Queen, the successor of David I, to negative their bills. They issued a declaration, which intimated a purpose, in case of the demise of the crown, to appoint a different sovereign from the English king. And both the contiguous nations passed hostile laws, and made slight preparations, for renewing ancient warfare. Such were the movements, which led to the appointment of commissioners, to treat of an union between the sister kingdoms (*a*). *An incorporate union* was

lish Parliament; but the Revolution, in Scotland, by the Scotch convention, to have been performed, unconstitutionally. Ward's Inquiry into the Law of Nations, ii. 513. The English found a *vacancy of the throne*, which they supplied; the Scots *made the vacancy*, which they filled. This may be considered as characteristic of the two nations; the one more grave, the other more vehement; the one regarding forms, the other disregarding law.

(*a*) The commissioners for the union met, on the 19th of April; and signed the articles, on the 22d of July, 1706.

at length agreed upon, between England, and Scotland, which thereafter were to form one kingdom, by the name of *Great Britain*. The two nations were to have, in future, the same sovereign. There was to be but *one legislative authority*; consisting of the Parliament of Great Britain. The *judicial power* was to continue separate. And there were concerted various regulations of domestic œconomy, for identifying the industrious pursuits of the two people, and for promoting their commercial benefits (*b*). When we look back upon the frequent collisions of the two kingdoms, this may be deemed one of the most fortunate events, in their annals, whether we regard the happiness of the people, or the power of the state.

Of the *accession period*, a *short retrospect* may be given, under the following heads: (1.) The Peerage of Scotland, during this busy, and factious effluxion of a century, was considerably augmented, in numbers, though not in respectability (*c*). (2.) The great body of the people gained nothing in numerosity, or in morals; they sunk into the lowest fanaticism; and in proportion as they resigned themselves to the guidance of this passion, they became ungovernable; and being disobedient to all law, the magistrate thought himself obliged to treat them as inanimate slaves, rather than as rational freemen. (3.) The Parliament, consisting of three estates, within one chamber, with their *Lords of articles*, never well performed the useful ends of wise legislation. Acting sometimes sycophantic, and often pragmatical, the constituent members seem to have had but very imperfect notions of liberty, as the happy result of law. When the convention of 1689 declared the king to have *forfeited the crown*, those zealous conventionists wounded the constitution, which they meant to strengthen: when the Parliament of 1703 denied the right of the crown to assent, or dissent to parliamentary legislation, they laid the axe to the main branch of the constitution. And the freeing of the people of Scotland from their parliament was one of the important objects, which were obtained by the Union. (4.) During the five-and-forty years, which elapsed from the epoch of the Reformation to

(*b*) 5 Anne, ch. viii. There had been two attempts formerly made to obtain an union between Scotland and England; one in 1604, and another, in 1670: the English Parliament, in 1604, thought the objections insuperable: in 1670, the Scottish lawyers deemed the constitutional arguments against an *incorporate union* unanswerable. Sir Geo. Mackenzie's *Observ. on the Stat.* 3.5. King William recommended to the Scottish convention an union, in his first communication: the Scottish convention, in answer, prayed the King, "to dispose England to the same purpose."

(*c*) At the ranking of the Scottish Peers, in 1606, they consisted of 1 Duke, 2 Marquises, 24 Earls, and 37 Lords; in all, 64: at the epoch of the Union, in 1706, the Scottish Peers consisted of 10 Dukes, 3 Marquises, 74 Earls, 17 Viscounts, and 49 Lords; in all, 153: so that, there had been an augmentation, during this period, of 89; consisting of 9 Dukes, 2 Marquises, 50 Earls, 17 Viscounts, and 12 Lords. Carmichael's *Tracts*, 38-160.

the

the era of the accession, the Scotican church lay in a ruinous state (*d*). After the establishment of the presbyterian forms, in 1560, throughout the reign of James VI, this church may be said to have existed in a feverish state. Had it been more moderate in its aims, and more moral in its effects, it would have been more secure, and more useful: but, it domineered over the state, while it very little enlightened the understandings, and still less meliorated the habits of the people. It triumphed, however, in 1638; it was abolished, in 1662; it was re-established, with its intolerance, in 1689; and it was finally settled, at the Union, as it was generally desired by the people. (5.) At the revival of learning, the Scots entered with ardour into the study of letters. Poetry blazed out, with extraordinary lustre, at the same interesting epoch. But, the Reformation turned the pursuits of the students into less congenial inquiries. And the voice of the muses were no more heard amid the crash of churches, and the frequent tumults of civil conflict. The accession of King James induced a languor upon the spirits of the Scottish people, which was not very favourable to the revival of learning. Every elegant, every rational, every useful study, was extinguished, by the long, and wasteful wars, which erewhile ensued, at the same time that, the finer spirits of men were completely debased by religious frenzy. Charles II. tried to revive the long lost learning of the Scottish people. He established the office of *royal historiographer*, to illustrate the antiquities, and to cultivate the history of his ancient kingdom; with a retrospective glance, perhaps, to the fictitious, if not factious narratives, of Buchanan. He appointed a royal topographer, to ascertain local facts, and to investigate natural knowledge. But, the lassitude of some, and the fanaticism of others, prevented any beneficial result from either of those institutions. (6.) After the plunder of the Scotican church, rapacity scarcely left enough to King James, not to exhibit the splendours of royalty, but to support the decencies of life (*e*). The civil wars of the seventeenth century wasted equally the fiscal of the Exchequer, and the fortunes of individuals (*f*). The annuity, which the loyalty of this

(*d*) At the Reformation, the Bishops were denuded of their benefices, and deprived of their functions, yet were deemed by King James, as fit Lords of Parliament. Episcopacy may be said to have been re-established, in 1606. It was superseded, in 1638. It was again established, in 1662. And it was finally abolished, in 1689.

(*e*) During the latter part of Elizabeth's reign, King James received from her pretty large sums of money, either as gratuities, or a pension. MS. in the Paper Office.

(*f*) The subjoined Notes, from Tucker's MS. in the Advocates Library, exhibit a lamentable view of the domestic state of Scotland, during the year 1656, that is, under Cromwell's usurpation:

The whole shipping of Scotland consisted of 93 vessels, carrying 2724 tons; with 18 barks.

this kingdom settled on Charles II, was scarcely equal to the rent-rolls of some of the baronage, or the profits of some of the traders, during the happier influences of late times : yet, does it attest the penury of a people, whose attentions had been turned, during a century, to the unreal pursuit of religious frenzy. The Parliament endeavoured, indeed, with some solicitude, to turn the ardour of the people to more enriching occupations. But, whoever has the habits of industry to learn, and his connections to form, cannot soon expect the benefits of wealth. The Parliament, indeed, established in 1695, *the Bank of Scotland*. Yet, a people must have made some progress, in agriculture, and manufacture, in the adventures of traffic, and in the practice of circulation, before a bank can give them the facilities of credit, and the advantages of capital (g). In the midst of this domestic debility, the nation formed a company, for colonizing *Darien* ; expecting wealth from foreign adventures, before industry had taken deep root in their native land. But, the government of King William opposed them at Hamburgh, and Jamaica ; as neither prejudice, nor hate, foresaw, that the jealousy of the Spaniards, and the damps of the climate, would destroy the hopes of visionaries, without exciting the indignation of disappointment.

V. The period of *the Union* will be found to contain great events, and salutary effects, though that measure was not at once completed, nor were those effects immediately felt. With that epoch, the history of the decline, and fall of Scotland, is supposed to have been accomplished : it is a much more pleasing task, to give

The whole customs, on imports and exports, were	-	-	-	£5,847	0	0
The whole excise on imports, and sale of goods	-	-	-	6,783	0	0
The excise on ale, spirits, and salt	-	-	-	36,414	0	0
				£39,044	0	0

During that era, lands were commonly sold, in Ireland, at two years purchase ; as we learn from Sir William Petty. In Kirkcudbright Stewartry, farms were offered, during the same age, by advertisement, to good tenants, without any rent. Below this, the value of lands could not easily fall. Miserable must be the condition of any country, which finds solace, in conquest.

(g) The nominal stock of the Bank of Scotland was £100,000 Sterling : but, £30,000 were found to be a capital quite sufficient, at that epoch, for transacting the banking business of North-Britain. On the 9th of April 1696, branches were planted at Dundee, Aberdeen, Glasgow, and Montrose. Yet, the Directors, soon finding, that the profit of those subordinate banks were unequal to the charges, recalled those establishments : on the 24th of December 1696, from Aberdeen, and Montrose ; from Glasgow, on the 2d of January 1697 ; and from Dundee, on the 6th of October 1698. Record of the Bank. What a wretched picture of commercial debility ! none of those towns could employ a bank on the smallest scale ; and £30,000 was a sufficient capital for a national bank !

an historical sketch of her resuscitation, and prosperity. The regulations of trade, under new circumstances, are supposed to have repressed the desires, and the efforts of foreign commerce. The fact is, that the Scottish people were not in a condition, to derive much benefit, from the advantages, which were held up to their anxious eyes: they wanted habits of industry; they had few connections of business; they had scarcely any commercial capital; and, although they had a bank, they had hardly any paper credit. The ratification of the Union, indeed, calmed their troubled spirits; yet, did they feel, for some time, the debility, which is the usual consequence of every uncommon effort. Nor, were they roused, by the artifices of faction, after their Parliament had adjourned, for ever, on the 25th of March 1707. Every measure was essayed to give fair effect to the Union (*b*). The people of Scotland now partook of all the privileges of trade, which the inhabitants of England enjoyed. Of North-Britain, the traffic of coal was facilitated; the linen manufacture was promoted; the fishing was regulated: and, in 1713, the interest of money, which, in Scotland, seems always to have kept pace with that of England, was reduced from six in the hundred, at the epoch of the Union, to five (*i*). The coins, which circulated, in Scotland, were recoinced, with the aid of *the Bank*, to a greater amount, than had been supposed to exist (*k*). And, in 1711, the Post-office, which is so commodious to the country, and as a mode of revenue so easy, was extended to Scotland. The statesmen of that reign, seem to have been diligent to render the Union, which had been left imperfect, still more complete. On the 1st of May 1708, one Privy Council was settled, for the

(*b*) In respect to the trade of Scotland with England, the Commissioners of customs represented various points, which required consideration; and which were referred to the law officers of the crown, who gave their sense of every article to the Lord High Treasurer Godolphin. MS. Report, dated the 5th of May 1707. He immediately ordered their opinion to be adopted, and carried into practice. A commission, for the management of the equivalent, amounting to £398,085 10 0, which was to be paid to Scotland, was, at the same time, issued. MS. Commission.

(*i*) 12 An. xvi. The comparative state, which is subjoined, of the rate of interest for money, in England, and Scotland, at successive eras, will illustrate the observation, in the text:

<i>In England.</i>		<i>In Scotland.</i>	
In 1571, settled at 10 per Cent.		In 1587, at 10 per Cent.	
1624, reduced to 8 per Cent.		1633, to 8 per Cent.	
1651, } reduced to 6 per Cent.		1649, } reduced to 6 per Cent.	
1660, }		1661, }	

(*k*) The sum, which was actually brought to the Mint, was £411,117 10 9: but, Ruddiman supposed, from various circumstances, that the whole circulating coin, in gold, and silver, amounted to £900,000. Pref. to the Diplom. Scotiz; Anderson's Chron. Com. ii. 245.

United Kingdom. The useful institution of Justices of the Peace was extended to Scotland (l). The *circuit Courts*, which brought justice into every district, were regulated. The English laws of treason were communicated to the Scottish people: and, it was declared, that no person, who was accused of any crime, should be subjected to torture (m). An act of general pardon was passed (n). Those various measures were undoubtedly considerable improvements. In addition to all those ameliorations, some ecclesiastical measures were adopted, perhaps, with equal success, though they were opposed by the church judicatories. Episcopal congregations were protected as legal: and it was declared that, no forfeiture should be incurred, in consequence of any ecclesiastical censure (o). The right of patronages was restored to those, who were supposed to represent the original founders of the several churches (p). In order to give effect to all those measures, a secretary of state for Scotland was appointed, who was soon found to be of less use, than had originally been conceived. Yet, was it believed by those, who lived in those eventful, and factious times, that much remained to be done, for making the Union complete, by freeing Scotland from ancient abuses (q).

The demise of Queen Anne, on the 1st of August 1714, transferred, under the act of settlement, the united crown to George I. The early measures of the new reign were dictated by extreme violence. And this impolicy produced disaffection, in England, and rebellion, in Scotland. A few months of the year 1715 saw the rebellion suppressed. Forfeitures followed in its train. And the jurisdictions, which were thus transferred, from the ancient proprietors, who had only used them for selfish purposes, were annexed to the crown. The spirits of men, during those party conflicts, were still greatly embittered (r).

(l) 6 Anne, ch. vi.

(m) 7 Anne, ch. xxi.

(n) 7 Anne, ch. xxii.

(o) 10 Anne, ch. vii. In 1712, the assembly of the church addressed the Queen against a *boundless toleration*, which was supposed, by the addressers, to be beyond the power of Parliament to establish.

(p) 7 Anne, ch. xii.

(q) There are many memorials to this effect, in the Paper Office. There is a list, in the Paper-Office, dated the 6th of November 1724, of the several Sheriffs, and Stewarts of Scotland, under three distinct heads; Of the whole 33, there were

During pleasure	-	9
For life, and lives	-	4
Hereditary	-	20

(r) The Earl of Ilay, whose address, and firmness, greatly contributed to suppress the rebellion of 1715, wrote the Secretary of State, from Edinburgh, on the 29th of September 1715: "There has happened an accident, which will suspend the Justice Clerk's fury against me: for, he and the King's Advocate have had a *corporal dispute*; I mean literally; for, I parted them." This letter is in the Paper-Office. Adam Cockburn of Ormiston was Lord Justice Clerk from 1707 to 1735. Sir David Dalrymple was Lord Advocate from 1707 to 1720.

And,

And, the year 1718 was marked, by the issue of a commission of vengeance, when the terrors of insurrection had ceased. Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer sat at Perth, Dundee, at the shire town of Fife, and at Kelso on the Tweed, to inquire into the treasons, which had been committed, in 1715. But, the firmness of the grand juries, in negating the presentments, taught their rulers the wisdom of forbearance, after justice had had her sacrifices^(s). In the subsequent year, there was an invasion of North-Britain, by a small number of attainted nobles, on the western coast of Ross-shire, which was soon repulsed. The Parliament, in 1725, enacted, that the highlanders should be disarmed: and, this delicate operation was performed with the mildness, and discretion, which were characteristic of General Wade. But, insurgents of a very different sort soon came upon the stage. The malt-tax, which had occasioned, during the late reign, a motion, in Parliament, for a dissolution of the Union, was extended over Scotland, during the present. The consentient voice of every party, and every person, in this country, now concurred, in reprobation, and resistance, of this hated measure. It was at Glasgow, a city noted for its loyalty, that an insurrection, on the 24th of June 1725, sacked the house of her representative in Parliament, and expelled the king's troops. Every town, and every village, were ready to imitate this example. And the king's servants at length saw, with reluctant eyes, that the united passions of a whole people must be respected^(t). They abolished the office of secretary of state for Scotland. They sent to that country, as a confidential agent, the Earl of Ilay, a nobleman of uncommon address, and talents, yet of little scrupulosity in his means. General Wade, with Duncan Forbes, the King's Advocate, marched at the head of an army into Glasgow, where there was none to oppose them. The principal insurgents were arrested; the Magistrates of that city were carried

(s) I have a MS. account of the proceedings of those courts, in September 1718, which shows, that all the authority, and artifices of the judges, and lawyers, could not overcome the firmness of the grand-jurors, in negating the bills of indictment. Lawyers were sent from London to assist, on an occasion so new, in Scotland, as such trials, for high treason.

(t) The Duke of Newcastle wrote to Lord Townshend, the Secretary of State, attending the King, at Hanover, on the 1st July 1725: "It is most evident, that neither the malt-tax, nor the disarming the Highlanders, could have occasioned any disturbance; and those two points being happily got over, Scotland will be as much in his Majesty's power, almost as the least corporation in England." This long letter, giving an account of the disturbances, in Scotland, for the King's information, remains in the Paper-Office: it attributes those disturbances to the division, and misconduct of the King's servants, in Scotland, "who did not use their united endeavours to make the people easy under those measures;" the *malt-tax*, and the *disarming* act: so difficult is it for statesmen to find any defect in themselves!

prisoners to Edinburgh, where they were not long detained (*u*). By great efforts of management, and perseverance, the malt-tax was enforced, with some mitigations; but a proper respect was henceforth paid to the spirit of the people (*i*).

Here, then, is the epoch of the improvement of Scotland, arising from the emergency of popular effervescence. While the law was enforced, it was deemed of full as much importance, to turn the ardour of the country on itself; to give a spirited people useful employments; to enrich them, by the salutary means, which are gradually supplied by agriculture and manufacture, fishing and traffic. And, in June 1726, the King invited the convention of royal burrows “to prepare schemes for their future welfare (*x*). Royal trustees were appointed, in 1727, for carrying all *those schemes* into practical effect (*l*). A *Royal Bank* was, at the same time, established, at Edinburgh, with a jealous, though unmerited retrospect to the Bank of Scotland. But, the competition,

(*u*) The insurgents were tried before the Court of Justiciary, wherein the Earl of Ilay, as Lord Justice General, presided. Sir Walter Pringle, Lord Newhall, who is praised by the late Lord Dreghorn, in his *Criminal Trials*, as a gentleman of worth, and a lawyer of eminence, led the court against the Justice General, in support of a mild construction of law, and of a mitigated infliction of punishment: some of the guilty persons were whipped in Glasgow, and some of them were transported to the plantations. The Earl of Ilay gave a very heated account of the conduct of the Judges to the Duke of Newcastle, the Secretary of State, in his letter, dated the 30th of September 1725, which remains, in the Paper Office: “I find four of the Judges inclinable to do all they can, and much more than there is any shadow of law to warrant, in order to skreen the criminals from justice: those I mean are Lord Newhall, who is a whig, and the best lawyer among them; and, consequently, does the most harm on this occasion, so far as to influence Lord Polton, and Lord Pencaithland, both whigs; the other is Lord Dun, a tory, of the name of Areskine: Lord Royston, son to the late Earl Cromartie, agrees with me in every point; and was to-day very free with the rest of our brethren upon that subject.” We have seen above what punishments were inflicted by the Judges: but, the Lord Justice General wanted to make the crime of the *rioters* to be *robbery*.

(*i*) The malt-tax act, in favour of Scotland, specially directed that, after paying £20,000 to the public, the surplus should be applied towards encouraging her manufactures, and commerce.

(*x*) In the Paper-Office, there remains a very intelligent report of that commercial *convention*, dated the 9th November 1726, to the King; stating the funds, which had been settled, for the useful ends of domestic œconomy, in consequence of the Union: and pointing out the most proper objects of manufacture, and fishery, to which they ought to be applied.

(*l*) At this epoch, the surplus linen, over the consumption, which was made, in North-Britain, was estimated at 2,000,000 yards: the quantity, which was made for sale, in that country, was carried up, by the prudent management of those trustees, during many years, to 24,000,000 yards, till the progress of the linen, was stopped, by the competition of the cotton.

and

and clash of the two Banks, as well obstructed the plans of improvement, as incommoded the motions of life (y).

The star of agricultural melioration began to twinkle at the Union (z). In 1723, a society of *improvers in the knowledge of agriculture* was formed at Edinburgh, consisting of all, who were either high, or opulent, or learned, or ingenious, in Scotland. This society continued its meetings, and exertions, till the rebellion of 1745 shed its baneful influences upon them. But, those improvers had sown the seeds, which after a while ripened into a harvest of agricultural intelligence, and lively effort; so that many a field of corn grew, in 1743, where none had grown in prior times (a).

Meantime, the demise of George I., on the 10th of May 1727, transferred his rights, under the Act of Settlement, with his ministers, to George II. The nation had undoubtedly prospered amidst the late negotiations, and projects, insurrections, and wars. The ten years peace, which succeeded that demise, contributed still more to the national prosperity. The great domestic manufacture of North-Britain more than doubled, in that prosperous period (b).

After

(y) The royal trustees stated to the king, in 1728, that the little progress they had been able to make was “owing principally to the scarcity of money, and lowness of credit, occasioned by the disputes between the two Banks.” MS. in the Paper Office. Duncan Forbes, the King’s Advocate, a magistrate, who is never to be mentioned but with praise, wrote from Edinburgh, on the 26th of June, 1728, to the Duke of Newcastle: “The Trustees, appointed by his Majesty, for taking care of the manufactures, proceed with great zeal, and industry; but, at present, credit is run so low, by a struggle between the Bank, lately erected by his Majesty, and the old Bank, that money can scarcely be found to go to market with.” Letter in the Paper Office. The old Bank, however, on the 14th of July, 1731, again settled branches at Glasgow, Aberdeen, Dundee, and Berwick: Yet, were they all recalled, on the 10th of July, 1733. Records of the Bank. The directors thus endeavoured to extend the usefulness of the Bank: But, those several towns were not yet sufficiently prepared to receive such commercial aids.

(z) Lord Belhaven, who is remembered for his speech against the Union, published “An Advice to the Farmers, in East Lothian, to labour and improve their Grounds.”

(a) The *Transactions* of that society were published, by Robert Maxwell, in 1743. The surplus of corn, which was exported, at the Union, may be stated at 23,000 quarters: In 1743, at 50,000 quarters. The average price of wheat may be given from the legal rates of Haddington, at the Union, at 12s. 3d. per Boll; and of oats, at 7s. 5d. per Boll: The prices did not rise beyond these averages, during many prosperous years. The convention of the royal burrows stated to the King, in 1726: “That the value of their coarse wool, commonly called *tarred wool*, had fallen in its value almost *two thirds*, of what it was, at the Union; owing chiefly to the law, prohibiting the export of it.” MS. Paper Office. In 1719, a law was enacted, which may have had some effect on agricultural improvements: The whole system of the road laws, which had existed, in Scotland, before the Union, was confirmed, and enforced. 5 Geo. I. 30.

(b) The surplus of linen made, above the consumption, was, in 1728, 2,183,978 yards; in 1738, 4,666,011. The surplus quantity of corn exported was in a far greater proportion: But,

After some years of captious peace, a war began, in 1738, with Spain, which drew on hostilities with France, in 1744: And in addition to the calamities of both, Scotland was soon involved in the miseries of insurrection. Much had been done, for preserving quiet; yet, more remained to be carried into effect, during the existing circumstances, for giving vigour to law, and teaching obedience to the governed. The whole country was distracted by domestic faction. The districts, lying northward of the Forth, were actuated by discontents, which were peculiar to themselves. Of all those dissatisfactions, the King's ministers were amply informed; yet, were unable, or unwilling, during unpropitious times, to apply adequate remedies to those various disorders. In this state of affairs, the nation was threatened with an invasion, from France. In August 1745, the standard of revolt was raised, within the recesses of the highlands, under the auspices of a grandson of James VII., who now claimed what his grandfather was declared to have forfeited. The successes of the revolted, during eight months, evinced the weakness, and impolicy, of the King's servants (*c*). At length, on the 16th of April 1746, that rebellious standard was torn down, for ever, at the battle of Culloden. After the close of that decisive day, the King's troops continued to do military execution, till they received an intimation from the Court of Session, that they were acting against law. Sacrifices were now offered to justice; and the penalties of forfeiture were fully inflicted. But, the more difficult task remained of removing the causes of a revolt, which had proved a diversion to the enemy, and had shaken the throne.

Memorials were now given to the King's servants; pointing to the causes of that mighty mischief; and indicating effectual remedies, for those great disorders (*d*). After much hesitation, was passed, on the 25th of March 1747, the

the surplus of the corn depends so much on the seasons, that it is not so good a criterion of prosperity, or decline. The laws, which had been recently made, for allowing the export of native commodities, free from duties, and for allowing the importation of the materials of manufactures equally free, must, no doubt, have had a considerable effect.

(*c*) There are various documents in the Paper Office, which show very clearly, that the King's Ministers were warned, as early as the year 1740, of the discontents of many considerable persons, both in South, and North-Britain; and of their purpose to revolt.

(*d*) Those memorials still remain in the Paper Office. It was said that, the great argument, which induced the Scots to come into the Union, not only to enjoy the invaluable privileges of the English constitution, but likewise to hold those privileges, by the same title; if there be any thing wanting to complete that design, one of the contracting parties is deceived; and consequently must be discontinued, but that truly no real Union can exist till what is essential to such an Union be performed; that under the notion of a complete Union, wherever any of the people of

the act “for taking away those heritable jurisdictions,” which had been so unfitly obtained, and so long complained of (*e*). Other laws were passed, for giving full effect to that salutary measure (*f*). It was objected, indeed, that those jurisdictions had been saved by *the Union*, to the proprietors: But, it was observed, that the power of Parliament had been also reserved to alter the Union, for the obvious melioration of the whole people: And, another principle of the constitution was brought in, to aid that reservation; by declaring that, the fair value of those private rights should be settled by the Court of Session, and paid for by the public (*g*). The great object appears to have been “to make effectual provision, for the regular administration of “justice, throughout North-Britain, by the King’s judges (*h*).” Such were the measures, arising from the rebellion of 1745, which gave completeness to the Union of 1706. We have seen, in the foregoing pages, what indeed all history attests, that morals seldom exist among civil conflicts, and religious frenzy. If it be inquired, when Scotland became a moral country, the answer must be that, when law was settled as the universal rule, and justice was equally administered, the people acquired morals, and the state became safe.

A nine years war was ended by the peace of 1748. North-Britain furnished her fair proportion of men, and of money, towards those hostilities; she had been disturbed by nine months insurrection; yet, it does not appear, that her industry had been much interrupted, or the progress of her prosperity long

of Scotland fell short in their enjoyment of those privileges, with the people of England, it may prove of the most dangerous consequence to the whole constitution: In order to make out those points, this intelligent memorialist went into a minute detail of those *holdings, superiorities, and jurisdictions*, which, as they were hereditary in particular families, necessarily tended to enslave the people, and to endanger the state; as successive insurrections had evinced.

(*e*) 20 Geo. II. 43; 21 Geo. II. 19: Those jurisdictions had certainly been reserved by the act of Union; and this had been made an objection to every proposal, for removing those evils: But, it was answered, that where the state is endangered, by the enjoyment of private rights, these rights must give place to the general good, on making adequate satisfaction to the interested individuals.

(*f*) The forfeited estates were annexed to the crown; and commissioners were appointed, for applying their produce to the improvement of the highlands, the inhabitants of which were again disarmed.

(*g*) There were claims given in, amounting to £602,127. 16s. 8d: The real pretensions were liquidated, by the Court of Session, at £152,237. 15s. 4d sterling money.

(*h*) For that important end, those jurisdictions were paid for, and removed: and sheriffs, consisting of professed lawyers, were appointed by the King, with adequate salaries; as the Court of Session had recommended to the House of Peers.

detained (i). The times, which succeeded that epoch, formed a period of great prosperity, in all that can make a people opulent, and a nation great (k). A society was formed, at Edinburgh, in April 1754, for the encouragement of Arts and Sciences, Manufactures and Agriculture. This body of eminent, and ingenious men, by inciting the spirit, and promoting the efforts of an active people, gave a new energy to their pursuits, and a more adventurous turn to their enterprizes. In the same year, the forfeited estates in Scotland were applied to the improvement of the highlands. In the mean time, disputes with regard to American boundaries, produced a new war, in 1754, between Great-Britain, and France. This war, which was marked by alternate misfortunes, and successes, was ended by the peace of 1763, when the French were expelled from North-America, and the Spaniards renounced the Floridas. The same swords, which had been felt, during the late insurrections, were turned, by dexterous management, upon the enemy (l). During this long, and glorious war, the people, neither of England, nor of Scotland, were much interrupted in their usual pursuits. We might infer this, from their consumption, which was not lessened. We may infer that instructive fact, from the augmented products, which they sent out to countries, which are less happy,

(i) It is an instructive fact, that the United Kingdom enjoyed more industry, more manufactures, more trade, and more shipping, in 1748, than in 1738. The surplus linen, which was made, in Scotland, during the year 1738, was 4,666,011 yards; in 1748, it was 7,358,098 yards. This is the true barometer of her internal prosperity. The surplus quantity of corn, which was exported from Scotland, in 1738, was 45,628 quarters; in 1748, it was 49,684. In April 1749, the first stage coach began to run between Edinburgh and Glasgow, twice a-week; but this project was soon relinquished, for want of employment: This fact marks the badness of the communications, and the deficiency of intercourse.

(k) It was in the period abovementioned, that the system of *banking*, in Scotland, began to energize the people, after they had been prepared, by previous measures, to derive facilities from their operations. The capital of the Royal Bank had been augmented to £150,000, in 1738. The British Linen Company had been established, at Edinburgh, in 1746, with a nominal stock of £100,000; and immediately began to issue notes. In 1748, a Bank was established, in Aberdeen, by four merchants, whose discounts were prosecuted for usury. This prosecution did not deter the intelligent traders of Glasgow from establishing, in that city, two Banks, in 1750, whose notes were circulated to a considerable extent. Whatever abuses may have been committed, by any of those establishments, they have promoted the industry, and augmented the wealth of North Britain, in a greater degree, than theorists are disposed to acknowledge. The compensation of £152,000, which was granted for the heritable jurisdictions, may be considered as so much active capital, that was added to the efforts of Scotland.

(l) In 1757, Lord Barrington, the Secretary of War, thanked the people of Scotland, for their activity, in raising the new levies. The clans had not yet been compelled to seek for comforts, in other countries. There were still, in that country, many persons, who preferred the levities of war to the drudgeries of industry.

in their situations, and less industrious, in their employments (*m*). It is one of the peculiarities of our happy island, that a nation of freemen never fail to carry the energies, which they acquire in war, into the occupations of peace.

The demise of George II., on the 25th of October 1760, transferred all his rights to the present King. When time shall have mellowed the transactions of his reign, the history of this period, which, as it is commonly written, consists only of domestic disputes, or of distant warfare, will naturally become of much less interest. Other objects will excite more curiosity, and offer more instruction. The amendment of the law, and the improvement of the constitution; the investigation of manners, and the encouragements of literature; the protection of arts, and of science, by an enlightened, and beneficent sovereign; the promoting, and performance of voyages of discovery; the encouragement of agriculture, and manufacture, the incitement of traffic and navigation; such are the topics, which future historians will delight to narrate, and explain, with just commendations. Of all those unwonted excitements to emulation, North-Britain enjoyed her full share. Various new professorships were settled, in her universities, for the instruction of youth, in the useful, and the elegant parts of scholarship. The office of *historiographer royal* was revived, for the more diligent cultivation of the unweeded garden of her history, though without much success. A Royal Society, for the Cultivation of Natural Knowledge, and true Science, was established at Edinburgh. At this seat of learning, and of law, an *Antiquary Society* was settled, with chartered privileges, in order to cultivate the *Archæology* of a nation, which cannot boast of its antiquaries. The forfeitures of late times were relinquished; proscriptions of principles, and of *dress*, were repealed; intolerance of every kind was discountenanced; those descriptions of Christians, who had been driven into disaffection, by harshness, were reclaimed by lenity; and at length, every

(<i>m</i>) To carry out those products before the war began, required, of shipping	661,184 tons.
After the restoration of peace	708,008
The value of their <i>cargoes</i> , in the first period, was	£ 12,599,112
in the second period	14,925,950
In 1754, the revenue of the Post Office was	£ 210,663
In 1764, the same revenue amounted to	281,535
The value of cargoes, exported from North-Britain, in 1754, was	£ 670,000
in 1764	1,244,000
In 1754, the surplus quantity of linen, which was made for sale, in N. Britain, was	8,914,369 yards.
In 1764, the surplus quantity was	12,823,048

meeting

meeting of Christians were heard to pray, with sincere animation, for the safety of a Sovereign, who had shown himself, by so many acts of beneficence, to be the true father of his people.

Meantime, the peace of 1763 left the State embarrassed, by the debts of the war, which were soon liquidated, and settled, by the prudent application of the national energies. During the dozen years, which followed that event, the greatest efforts were made to improve the surface of our island (*n*). The manufactures were promoted, by many laws of equal efficacy. The fisheries of our shores were also encouraged, by regulations, and bounties. Commercial circulation, which is of such mighty consequence, in industrious countries, was, with the practices of bankers, promoted, and regulated. Great attention was paid to the affairs of the mint, while a new practice was introduced into the theory, and circulation of the coins. Those active measures were attended with the most salutary effects, as to the industry, and commerce of this enterprising nation (*o*). North-Britain partook, as we may easily suppose, in all those encouragements, and in that prosperity. (*p*).

In 1775, while the nation thus prospered, her transatlantic provinces placed themselves in that state of revolt, at which they had aimed, from the epoch of *the Revolution*, as the State Papers attest. Why a nation, that had lately overpowered France, and Spain, did not quash that revolt, not in one campaign, but in several years, it is the business of some future historian to explain. If a nation will negotiate, when she should fight, and fight when she should negotiate, in vain does she expect success. The revolted Colonies were joined

(*n*) In the first fourteen sessions of the present reign, no fewer than seven hundred acts of Parliament were passed, for dividing commons, inclosing wastes, and draining marshes. In that period, were passed four hundred and fifty acts of Parliament, for the making of roads, in different districts. In that period also were nineteen laws enacted, for making artificial canals, exclusive of the many harbours, which were improved, and secured. Such were the arts, by which a great nation was enabled to bear burdens, and to accumulate wealth!

(*o*) In 1764, the whole shipping, which were employed in foreign trade,

amounted to - - - - - 708,008 tons.

In 1774 - - - - - 860,175

In 1764, the cargoes exported in that vast quantity of tonnage, amounted to £ 14,925,950

In 1774, to - - - - - 15,613,003

(*p*) In 1764, the cargoes, from Scotland, were of the value of - - - £ 1,243,927

In 1774 - - - - - 1,372,143

The statute book attests how many laws were passed, during that period, for the domestic improvement of North-Britain.

by

by France, in 1778, by Spain, in 1779, and by Holland, in 1781. Those Colonies were acknowledged to be independent in 1782; and peace was made with those powers, successively, in 1783, and in 1784. During those embarrassing hostilities, the foreign trade of this nation was greatly depressed; and her finances were wasted, though her resources remained unexhausted. It required great efforts of skill, perseverance, and magnanimity, to restore the nation, to that state of prosperity, which she enjoyed, before that distracting war began. But, her affairs, financial, and commercial, were soon restored. Her debts were settled; her exchequer was replenished; and a sinking fund of a yearly million was established, on such principles, as to lighten the burden of the public debts, to strengthen the national credit, and to energize the various pursuits of a diligent people (*q*). Meanwhile, the East-India affairs were regulated; the national fisheries were encouraged; the native shipping were protected, by a new navigation act; foreign treaties were renewed; manufactories were promoted; agriculture was encouraged; a thousand laws were made, for local improvements (*r*): And, the necessary result was a state of prosperity, in 1792, which far exceeded what this powerful nation had ever enjoyed, in the most prosperous times (*s*). In this prosperity, and in those encouragements, North-Britain fully partook, and equally obtained, the benefits (*t*).

Yet, amidst all that felicity, ensued, in 1793, bankruptcies, at home, and hostilities abroad. The evils, arising from the first of those misfortunes, were

(*q*) The national revenue was below the expence of the public establishments, in 1783, two millions of pounds: In 1792, the revenue exceeded those establishments two millions.

(*r*) The statute book is the best voucher, for all those measures.

(*s*) The shipping, which were employed, in the foreign trade of Great-

Britain, amounted in 1772-3-4 to	-	-	-	680,175 tons.
in 1785-6-7 to	-	-	-	1,130,370
in 1790-91-92 to	-	-	-	1,493,757
In the first period, the value of their cargoes amounted to	-	-	-	£ 15,613,003
In the second, to	-	-	-	17,123,373
In the third, to	-	-	-	22,585,771

(<i>t</i>) In 1772, the surplus value of her linen manufacture amounted to	13,089,006 yards.
In 1782, to	15,348,744
In 1792, to	21,065,386
In 1763, there were employed ships, in the foreign trade of North-Britain,	33,352 tons.
In 1782	50,530
In 1792	94,027

soon redressed, and credit was immediately restored: The war with France first, with Spain, afterwards, and with the powers of the North, in the end, continued, for years, rather to waste our wealth, than to interrupt our domestic industry, or to embarrass our foreign trade. We now enjoyed, from our naval victories, as much as from our skill, and wealth, almost the whole commerce of the world (*u*). Peace was restored to a harassed, rather than exhausted nation, in October 1801. Throughout this war, our domestic improvements went on, without interruption: In the eight years, which elapsed with 1800, there were upwards of a thousand laws passed, for local meliorations (*x*). A great debt had, however, been contracted by the state, which was lightened, by a new policy, that consisted, in appropriating a revenue to redeem every loan. In all those measures, both of war, and of peace, whether happy, or adverse, North-Britain, felt the distress, and enjoyed the benefits (*y*).

At this epoch, when a new century began, and another Union was formed, it may be proper to *review* the period of *the Union*, with a retrospective glance to the past, in order to recal some of the most important topicks, for marking a progress, and ascertaining the result. (1.) The most important topick is the great body of the people. It is a known circumstance, in the history of mankind, that they have a tendency to increase, and multiply, even under the most adverse circumstances. The numbers of the people of North-Britain, at the epoch of the Scottish Union, was unknown to the statesmen, who conducted that difficult measure to a happy end. By carrying back the mind, from the enumeration of 1801, to the returns, that were made, in 1791, and in 1755,

(<i>u</i>) The value of the whole cargoes exported, in 1792, was	-	£ 22,585,771
in 1802	-	46,120,962
		—————

The number of ships, belonging to the British dominions,

in 1792, was 16,079 bearing	1,540,145 tons.
in 1802 - 20,568	2,128,055
	—————

(*x*) The Statute Book attests this instructive fact.

(<i>y</i>) The whole shipping, which belonged to Scotland, carried, in 1792	84,027 tons.
in 1802	94,276
	—————

The whole cargoes exported from Scotland, in 1792, amounted to	-	£ 1,230,884
in 1802, ——— to	-	2,602,858
		—————

the

the whole people, in 1706, may be fairly estimated, at 1,093,000 (2). They multiplied in proportion as they advanced, and as they enjoyed additional security, and greater comforts. They became a moral people, as we have seen, when *the law* was established, in 1747, as the rule of their conduct, and the measure of their safety: In their progress, they perhaps acquired morals, as they gained habits of industry; and while they obtained wealth, by their labours, they became virtuous, from their applications. (2.) The admission of the people of Scotland, by their representatives, into the Parliament of Great-Britain, which is so much better constituted, in its theory, and so much more useful, in its practice, was a most advantageous acquisition. The abolition of their Privy Council, on the 1st of May 1708, was almost of equal importance to them. The criminal jurisdiction of that corrupt body seems, from that measure, to have devolved on the King's Advocate: Their civil affairs was transacted, by a Secretary of State, for Scotland (a). They were, subsequently,

(2) The enumeration of 1801	-	-	-	1,610,000 souls.
The returns of - 1791	-	-	-	1,526,000
The returns of - 1755	-	-	-	1,265,000

The numbers of people, who lived, in the principal towns of Scotland, at those epochs, may be stated, in the following manner:

	In 1706.	—	In 1755.	—	In 1801.
Edinburgh contained of souls	- 30,192;	—	47,790;	—	68,826.
Leith	- 5,500;	—	9,405;	—	15,272.
Glasgow	- 14,940;	—	27,451;	—	76,820.
Dundee	- 9,920;	—	12,477;	—	26,084.
Perth	- 7,040;	—	9,100;	—	15,500.
Paisley	- 2,530;	—	4,820;	—	25,030.

(a) This office was abolished, as we have seen, after the insurrection of Glasgow. The Earl of Ilay was now employed, as a political agent, under the two Secretaries of George I. After his return to court, in 1725, Duncan Forbes, the King's Advocate, corresponded with the King's servants, during several years: His correspondence is full of knowledge, candour, and moderation. The Earl of Ilay, who died in 1761, long ruled, by a delegated, but sovereign sway. The Post-Office, at Edinburgh, was for some time infested, by the two Dukes of Argyle. The Earl of Ilay wrote to Sir Robert Walpole, in 1738; "I am forced to send this letter, by a servant, twenty miles out of town, where the Duke of Argyle's attorney cannot handle it; and I inclose it to William Stewart." John, Duke of Argyle, died on the 3d of April 1743. On the 15th of March 1747-8, General Bland, the Commander of the troops, wrote to the Secretary of State: "That his letters were opened at the Edinburgh Post-Office; and I think this is done by order of a noble Duke; in order to know my secret sentiments of the people, and of his Grace: If this practice is not stopped, the Ministers cannot hope, for any real information." We have long lived, in happier times: No person dare now open letters at the Post-Office, which is sacred.

ruled by secret agency, under the King's ministers, rather than by any avowed minister. Their administration was gradually improved, as well by positive law, as by the spirit of the Parliament, and the temper of the nation. (3.) The public revenue of North-Britain may be considered, under different aspects, at distant periods, in proportion to the abilities of the people. In 1656, as we have seen, the whole revenue, which could be derived from an exhausted country, was £39,044. It may have been double this petty contribution of a dispirited people, in the three subsequent reigns. At the Union, in 1706, the whole revenue was estimated, at £160,000. At the Union, with Ireland, in 1800, the yearly revenue, which was actually paid, by Scotland, into the Exchequer, was at least 1,790,000 sterling pounds (*b*). If we were to consider the sums, which were appropriated, by the act of Union, and actually applied, as a mercantile project, towards encouraging the industry of the people, we might thus see how much profit was derived from that prudent application of very inconsiderable sums. (4.) The enriching industry of the North-British people may be viewed under several aspects. The agriculture of Scotland was early encouraged, as we have seen, though certainly, without much success. It has advanced greatly, during the present period; and it may perhaps be asserted, that the surface of Scotland has been more meliorated, during the last fifty years, by every sort of manurance, than England, which has been greatly improved (*c*). The agriculture, and manufactures of North-Britain were not probably, after so many conflicts, and revolutions, in a better state, at the epoch of the Union, than they had been, at the demise of Alexander III. They had been sometimes encouraged, as we have seen; but, they seem to have never advanced beyond the domestic supply. During *the period of the Union*, the industry, and manufactures of Scotland have been assiduously cultivated;

(*b*) The income of the Posts, which illustrates so many points of domestic

æconomy	-	-	in 1706 was	-	-	£ 1,194
The same income	-	-	in 1801 —	-	-	89,817
The amount of the Excise	-	-	in 1706 was	-	-	£ 33,500
			in 1801 —	-	-	833,000
The Custom-house duties	-	-	in 1706 were	-	-	£ 34,000
			in 1801 —	-	-	578,000

(*c*) The whole export of corn, from Scotland, at the Union, was only - 22,937 quarters.
The greatest export was in 1749 - - - 105,573

From that epoch, owing to bad seasons, and an augmented consumption, the import of corn has been generally equal to the export.

and

and those endeavours have, in the tedious result, proved successful, beyond the expectations of hope (*d*). In addition to the linen manufacture, the Scottish tradesmen work up almost all the wool, which the Scottish sheep produce. They have moreover acquired the manufactures of silk, and of cotton, to a vast amount, besides various other ingenious fabricks to a great extent (*e*). The whole value of the several cargoes, which were exported, from Scotland, in 1755, was only £663,401: The same cargoes, which were exported thence, in 1805, were valued, at the Custom-house, to the amount of £2,507,128. The fisheries, in Scotland, have always been promoted, in proportion to their importance, though not always with equal success (*f*). There had undoubtedly been some increase both in the fishery, and shipping of North-Britain, during the reign of Charles II. There was an additional augmentation of ships, before the epoch of the Union: And there has been an increase, in the intervenient period, proportionate to the progress of their improvements, and the increment of their traffick (*g*). And the opulence of the people accumulated, according to the activity of their advancement, and their habits of œconomy: If the public revenue may be considered, as an adequate measure of private wealth, in a nation, where the practice of finance has been brought to perfection; then, must the private wealth of North-Britain, have increased, during the period of the Union, in the proportion of £160,000 to £1,790,000 (*h*). (5.) A very slight inquiry would shew, that Scotland has produced, during that age, a vast mass of genius, erudition, and literary

(*d*) At the Union, the surplus manufacture of linen, in North-Britain,

could not have been more than - - - 1,500,000 yards.

In 1801, the surplus amounted to - - - 25,271,155;

Which were valued at £1,018,642 sterling.

(*e*) It was estimated, in 1792, that there were occupied, in the four shires of Lanerk, Renfrew, Ayr, and Dunbarton, by those various employments, 90,000 men, women, and children, who earned daily £6,850, or £2,137,200 sterling a-year. There were imported into Scotland of cotton wool, during the year 1755 - - - 105,831 lbs.

in 1789 - - - 2,401,661

in 1803 - - - 8,620,996

(*f*) In 1760, there were employed, in the Scottish fishery, 113 vessels, carrying 3,842 tons.

In 1800 - - - 558 - - - 23,688

(*g*) In 1706, there belonged to Scotland, of ships, 215, carrying - 14,485 tons.

In 1805 - - - 2,581 - - - 210,295

(*h*) In 1800, the income tax of North-Britain was spread over 20,537 persons of various faculties, whose incomes were assessed at £4,512,570, on which was paid £344,015.

effort. A full proof of this intimation might be found, were we to run over only the learned professions of *Law*, *Physic*, and *Divinity*. The reign of Charles II. was the period of great lawyers, in Scotland, as the reign of James I. had been the age of learned lawyers, in England (*i*). The subsequent reigns produced uncommon jurists: The President, Duncan Forbes, whether we regard him, as a lawyer, or as a man, was beyond all praise. And North-Britain, in the same period, sent lawyers to the English bar, who would have dignified the forums of Rome, and of Greece, during the best days of their oratory, and jurisprudence. The schools, for teaching *the healing art*, may be said to have been opened, in 1681, when the College of Physicians was established (*k*). In the subsequent age, Pitcairn seems to have carried away the palm of erudition, and discovery, in his own art. At an after period, the schools of physic appear to have been again refounded, by those eminent physicians, Alston, Monro, Rutherford, Sinclair, and Plummer. By individual exertion, and royal munificence, the University of Edinburgh became generally known, in subsequent times, for still greater masters, in the healing art. As the reign of Charles II. was remarkable for illustrious lawyers, the reign of Charles I. was distinguished for learned divines. The family of Forbes produced several theologians of profound erudition. And the University of Aberdeen could then boast of several doctors, with Baron, at their head, who were celebrated by Clarendon, for their fortitude, and praised by Burnet, for their temper, as well as their learning. Those extraordinary scholars have not yet been surpassed, in their knowledge of theology. Yet, more recent times, have produced, in this faculty, among other learned theologues, Leachman and Macknight, Gerard and Campbell. If we were to diverge, from those learned professions, to elegant literature, and to the higher sciences; were we to follow BACON, throughout “the parts of human learning, which have a reference to

(*i*) That position may be made out by the following enumerations: The President, Sir John Gilmour; Sir John Nisbet, a person of great learning, both in the law, and in language, chiefly the Greek, was a person of great integrity, says Burnet; the President, Sir George Lockhart, was the most learned lawyer, and the best pleader, in any nation, according to Burnet: To these, may be added, Sir George Mackenzie, and the Lord President, Stair. The late Lord Hailes has preserved a tradition, from the mouth of the Lord President Dalrymple, who said, “I knew the great lawyers of the last age, Mackenzie, Lockhart, and my own father, Stair; Dundas excels them all!” This celebrated person was admitted Lord President, on the 16th of September 1748, in opposition to Charles Areskine, Lord Tinwald, who, as Solicitor General, conducted the trials of the Glasgow rioters; and was praised, for his eloquence, by the Earl of Ilay.

(*k*) The first physician, in the charter of that establishment, was Sir Robert Sibbald, and the last was Doctor Pitcairn.

“the

“ the three parts of man’s understanding, history to his memory, poesy to his imagination, and philosophy to his reason;” our inquiries would find distinguished men, in every department of letters. Keith has shown an admirable example how history may be cultivated, when it is to ascertain facts, and to inculcate truths, with regard to the events of turbulent times. Many writers of memoirs have arisen, during this period of the Union. Robertson, and Hume, are supposed to have approached almost to the perfection of historic composition: And they had both attained it, if the one had had more knowledge of the affairs of Scotland, and the other had had more research into the annals of Britain. They have been followed, in their faculty, by several writers, who emulated their celebrity, without success, and envied their gains, without acquirement. North-Britain has not yet produced an antiquary, that necessary helpmate to the historian, as few delight to labour a field, where there is much toil, and little profit. Neither has North-Britain yet succeeded in *biography*, that more agreeable department of historic writing; as research was requisite, and the reward was doubtful. The Scottish poets contested the prize of poesy with the English, till the rise of Spenser, and Shakspeare. During the Union period, the lyric poets of Scotland have carried away the palm from the greatest of the English lyrists (*1*). Thomson has been assigned “ praise of the highest kind; his mode of thinking, and of expressing his thoughts, “ being original.” In dramatic poetry, the Scottish writers are acknowledged to have failed: But, they only failed, as compared with the great dramatists of England, who, by a rare felicity, have surpassed the writers of every other nation, in the arduous accomplishment of *representative* poesy. They succeeded better, in what Lord Bacon calls *Parabolical* poetry; as we know from the *Fables* of Ramsay, and of Wilkie. Scotland has been long distinguished for its pathetic music: On the theory of this agreeable art, Malcolm has written, with uncommon learning: And the Earl of Kellie carried up musical practice, by scientific efforts, to extraordinary excellence. The cultivation of the art of *criticism* had a late beginning, in Scotland: During the last fifty years, it has been extended to a great height, by the successive labours of Lord Kaimes, George Campbel, Beattie, and Blair: Yet, few have distinguished themselves, during that period, in classical learning; though every one ac-

(1) There is not in any language, perhaps, any composition to equal the *Tweedside* of Crawford. Mallet’s *William and Margaret* has never been surpassed. And *the Tears of Scotland*, by Smollet, “ for pathetic sentiment, and elegant versification, according to Ritson, has not been excelled by “ any thing, that ever was written.” Nor, will Ramsay be ever forgotten, while the lyrists of Scotland shall be regarded as poets, who have contributed to the honours of their country.

knowledges its importance; Ruddiman, indeed, and Doig, were scholars, and Lord Monboddo had learning, if he had known how to use it. In this country, much has been written, on *Metaphysics*, during late times: Reid seems to have gained the first place, in this department of letters, from his acuteness, and perseverance, as much as from the rectitude of his purpose: Hume maintained his first honours as a *Sceptical* philosopher, till he was encountered by Beattie, who showed the futility of such speculations, if not the folly of building hazardous system on airy nothing: Yet, the Scottish writers continue to labour, in this school, with worthless emulation, as if fame could be enjoyed in obscurity, or honours could be obtained from nothingness. In speculations of a different sort, the cultivation of what BACON calls *civil wisdom*, other writers have obtained merited applause: Sir James Stuart, and Doctor Adam Smith, have distinguished themselves above all others, in teaching the lessons of *political œconomy*, though their doctrines had been more satisfactory, had they delighted more, in the ascertainment of facts, than in the investigation of theories. The reign of Charles II. saw very different studies begin, within North-Britain. In that age, Sir Robert Sibbald acquired the distinguished honour of being the chief cultivator of *natural knowledge* (*m*). Sutherland, Martin, and Wallace, followed his example. But, it was Alston and Hope, who, in subsequent times, cultivated the curious field of botany, on scientific principles: Elizabeth Blackwel, and William Ayton, distinguished themselves as herbalists. The year 1685 may be deemed the epoch of the introduction of the Newtonian philosophy, into the public schools of the learned metropolis of North-Britain. In the meantime arose the Gregories, a most ingenious family, who will ever be dear to scientific men. They were followed by the two Keils, who left writings, which attest how well they had cultivated the field of science. Those very able men were succeeded in their scientific career by Matthew Stewart, and Colin Mac Lauren, who, with superior talents, followed science to its utmost bounds. Neither were there wanting men, who cultivated in those times, what BACON entitles *Practical Philosophy*. And, in this period, which was so fruitful of genius, North-Britain produced several men, who have distinguished themselves, in the arts of painting, and modelling, of en-

(*m*) On the 12th of December 1686, Sir Robert Sibbald had a pension of £100 settled on him, as the King's ordinary Physician. King William was too much occupied with war, and his Ministers were too busy with faction, to give any encouragement to science, or the arts. Queen Anne soon adopted a more liberal policy. On the 22d of February 1702-3, a pension of £50 a-year was settled on James Sutherland, the *Botanist*. In the same year, a yearly pension of £60 was settled on Matthew Martin, who was sent to the Hebrides, in pursuit of natural knowledge.

gineering,

ginieering, and architecture. We have now seen, from those short sketches, how much North-Britain, during the period of the Union, has increased her people, energized her industry, improved her manufactures and traffic, augmented her wealth, and distinguished herself, by the cultivation of the useful, and the elegant arts.

The same causes, which had induced the Union, between Scotland, and England, gave rise to the Union between Great-Britain, and Ireland. At both those epochs, it became apparent to the wisest statesmen, that a crisis had arisen, which must end either in a separation, or conjunction. Wisdom decided, that the happiness, and safety, of Great-Britain, and Ireland, could be only enjoyed by *an Union*. The essential principle of the former Union was adopted in this; the incorporation of the two nations, by uniting their legislatures. Different circumstances, however, introduced, on this occasion, very different details, as to policy, and commerce. But, the 1st of January 1801, will be always considered, in the history of the kingdom, as the happy epoch of one of the greatest achievements, in her annals. The Britannic islands, as we have seen, was originally settled by the same Celtic people. The conquests of the Romans, and the intrusions of the Saxons, produced separations, and estrangement, a different language, and a distinct polity, within those several islands. The irruption of the Normans into England gave a new cast to those separations, and to that estrangement. Scotland, by great efforts of valour, and fortitude, during a long continued contest, maintained her independence. The intrusion of the English into Ireland, under Henry II. introduced a new speech, and a novel polity, amongst a very different people. Ages of dissatisfaction, and struggle, were the result. And, *the Union* with Ireland has again conjoined the several people, and interests of the British isles, under one intelligence, and one legislation. Let it be the wish, and the endeavour of every wise, and good, man, that this Union may be perpetual!

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FINIS.

ERRATA.

- p. 18, for *Cornabii*, read *Carnabii*.
p. 19, for *Durabona*, read *Darabona*.
p. 20, for *Gaulic*, read *Gaelic*.
p. 32, for *Hadui*, read *Hedui*.
for *Rerigonum*, read *Rerigenium*.
p. 35, for *fartherest*, read *farthest*.
p. 41, for *Rosshire*, read *Ross-shire*.
p. 50, for *Ora*, read *Ore*.
p. 56, for *Tre-villy*, read *Tre-villy*.
for *and Ayrshire*, read *in Ayr-shire*.
p. 59, for *Aattacotti*, read *Attacotti*.
p. 61, for *Clota*, read *Glotta*.
p. 80, for *New-Battle*, read *Newbottle*.
p. 86, for *signify*, read *signifies*.
p. 100, for *Iu*, read *In*.
p. 101, for 726, read 1726.
p. 113, for *Command*, read *Commander*.
p. 128, for *Ordqubill*, read *Ordiequbill*.
p. 129, for *Alatta*, read *Alata*.
p. 135, for *Lochhart*, read *Lockhart*.
p. 137, after "river," read *Ae*.
p. 145, for *Kempshill*, read *Kemp's Castle*.
p. 160, for *Station, below which*, read *Station below, while*.
for *Strengths*, read *Strength*.
p. 161, read *in*, before "its."
p. 165, for *intimate*, read *intimates*.
p. 166, for *Roman*, read *Romans*.
for *Marisbank*, read *Mavisbank*.
p. 216, for *Tryn*, read *Trawn*.
read a (,) after "fortress," and a (;) after "Caterthun."
p. 220, for *int heir*, read *in their*.
p. 227, for *language*, read *lineage*.
p. 228, for *judgment*, read *judgement*.
p. 230, after "acting," read *in*.
p. 237, for *Congeris*, read *Congeries*.
p. 240, for *alike*, read *unlike*.
p. 245, dele the (,) after *hill*.
p. 261, for *Oee*, or *Oee*, or *Ey*, read *Oè*, or *Ey*.
p. 266, for *Three-island*, read *Tiree island*.
p. 272, for *tumulos*, read *cumulos*.
p. 274, and 275, for *Caentir* read *Ceantir*.
p. 276, for *Duan et Clanich*, read *Duan Albanich*.
p. 277, for *suppositious*, read *supposititious*.
p. 283, for *Caer*, read *Cear*.
p. 285, for *Aodhi*, read *Aodh i*.
p. 298, for *Sealbuigh*, read *Sealbhuigh*.
p. 301, No. 28 of the Table, for *Eocha*, read *Eocha*.
p. 312, for *Adanman*, read *Adamnan*.
p. 321, for *relicts*, read *relicks*.
p. 354, for *Aldcluyd*, read *Alcluyd*.
p. 358, for *Rims* read *Rinns*.
for *Cunig ham*, read *Cuning-ham*.
dele *a* before "Maormor."
p. 376, for *Cumbro*, read *Cambro*.
p. 385, for *four*, read *three*.
p. 394, for *on*, read *sen*.
p. 412, for *than*, read *and*.
p. 414, for *Sobroquet*, read *Sobriquet*.
p. 423, for *Monasticum*, read *Monasticon*.
p. 432, for *those*, read *the*.
p. 435, for *dicimas*, read *decimas*.
for *in court*, read *in the King's court*.
p. 448, for *Lean*, read *Sean*.
p. 449, for *Gailebin*, read *Gailchin*.
p. 450, for *No. 3*, read *No. 111*.
p. 475, read *among*, before "the Celts."
p. 479, for *Dac Gillemichael*, read *Mac Gillemichael*.
p. 484, dele *even*.
p. 499, for *Gurwelda*, read *Gunwelda*.
p. 504, for *ose*, read *rose*.
for *Herdsmanton*, read *Herdmanston*.
p. 533, for *Loudon*, read *London*.
p. 556, for 606, 273 ; 47, read 606, 273, 427.
p. 559, for *Alexnnder*, read *Alexander*.
p. 565, for *falshood*, read *falsehood*.
p. 567, for *Peebleshire*, read *Peebles-shire*.
p. 574, for *General*, read *Genealogical*.
p. 609, for *Johu*, read *John*.
p. 626, for *Ecton*, read *Eyton*.
p. 627, for *Moraies*, read *Morays*.
p. 631, for *imposter*, read *impostor*.
p. 632, for *independence of the kingdom*, read *dependence of their kingdom*.
for *William all*, read *William, all*.
p. 633, read a (.) in place of a (,) after "Suther-land."
p. 635, for *ruggid*, read *rugged*.
p. 637, for *Dorvorgille*, read *Dervorgille*.
p. 653, for *Magistatem*, read *Majestatem*.
p. 655, for *tne*, read *the*.
p. 682, for *St. Michael*, read *St. Machute*.
p. 716, for *per ambulav't*, read *perambulavit*.
p. 721, for *Stratechin*, read *Strathechin*.
p. 727, for *Advocates*, read *Advocates*.
p. 736, for *requiring*, read *requiring*.
p. 749, for *vivicomitatem*, read *vicecomitatem*.
p. 773, read a (.) after "lights."
p. 778, for *thes ame*, read *the same*.
p. 787, for *saddler*, read *sadler*.
p. 790, for *Anglicarum*, read *Anglicanum*.
p. 793, for *Ssuchie*, read *Sauchie*.
p. 794, for *performannce*, read *performance*.
p. 799, for *Strivelim*, read *Strivelin*.
p. 800, for *home*, read *Home*.
p. 801, for *examples*, read *example*.
for *particute*, read *particulate*.
p. 801, read a (,) after "monks."
p. 815, for *grealy*, read *greatly*.
p. 848, dele the second "Earl."
p. 86, for *supercede*, read *supersede*.
p. 863, for *Presbytries*, read *Presbyteries*.
p. 870, for *accussed*, read *accused*.
p. 887, for *was*, read *were*.

DIRECTIONS to the BINDER.

The Map to face	-	P. 57
The Plan of the British Fort on <i>Barra-hill</i> , to face	-	90
The Plan of the <i>Normandikes</i> , to face	-	125
The Plan of the Roman <i>Tuensis</i> , to face	-	129
The Plan of <i>Forres</i> , to face	-	131
The Plan of the Roman Fort near <i>Clattering brig</i> , to face	-	178

EXPLANATION.

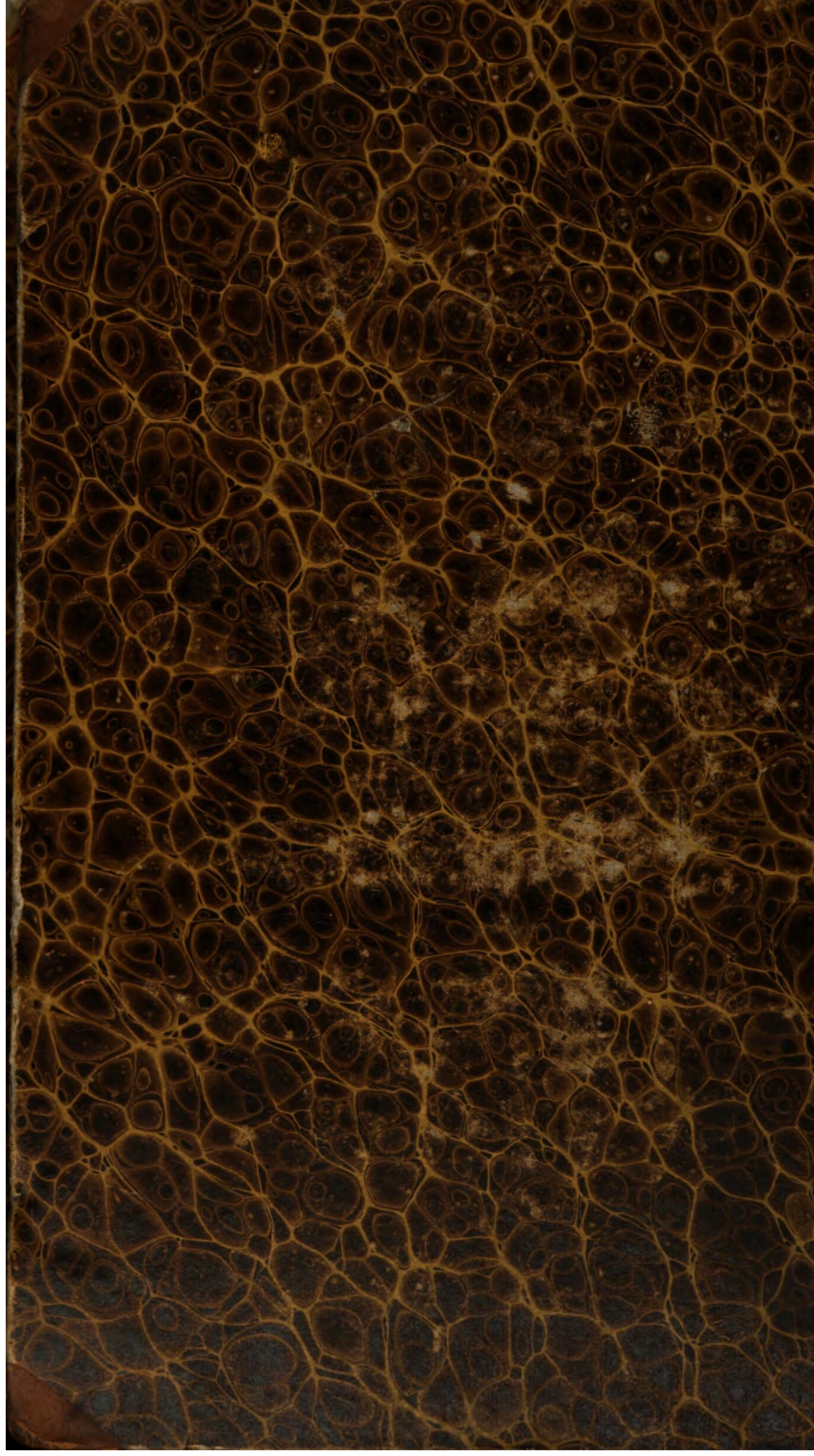
- The boundaries of the Tribes*
- The Roman Walls*
- The Roman Roads*
- The track of the Iters IX, and X, through Vespasiana*
- Agricola's Route into Galloway*
- The course of the Catrail, and Herrits dyke*
- Roman Stations, Camps, and small Posts*
- British Towns, and Hill Forts*
- Druid Temples, and rocking Stones*
- The Roman Ports are marked by*

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8

Vidu
Sheep



Chalmers, George,

Caledonia, or an account, historical and topographic, of North Britain,
from the most ancient to the present times with a dictionary of places,
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Bd.: 1

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